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THE

WORKS OF HORACE.

VOL. I.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

THE

WORKS OF HORACE,

TRANSLATED INTO

ENGLISH PROSE,

AS NEAR THE ORIGINAL AS THE DIFFERENT IDIOMS OF THE LATIN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES WILL ALLOW;

WITH

THE LATIN TEXT AND ORDER OF CONSTRUCTION IN THE OPPOSITE PAGE;

AND

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND CLASSICAL, NOTES IN ENGLISH,

FROM THE

BEST COMMENTATORS BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN;

AND

A PREFACE TO EACH POEM,

ILLUSTRATING ITS DIFFICULTIES, AND SHOWING ITS SEVERAL ORNAMENTS AND DESIGN:

Also the Method of scanning the several Sorts of Verse used by Horace, and a Table showing at one View of what Sort of Verse each Ode consists;

FOR THE

USE OF SCHOOLS, AS WELL AS OF PRIVATE GENTLEMEN.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

LYRIC Poetry being the designed subject of this preface, I shall here only premise a few observations on poetry in general, which, as those who are in the least acquainted with it know, chiefly consists in that enthusiasm so much boasted of, which, seizing a poet, quite transports him. When sufficiently warmed with it, he triumphs over every thing that stands in his way: rhyme and measure are to him no obstacles at all, for he discourses with as much ease and energy as if he were tied down neither to the rigid rules of rhyme nor of measure; which has made the ablest masters recommend the reading of the poets as the best method to learn the art of thinking. Aristotle proposes Homer in particular, as the pattern to be imitated by every one who would write well, as he excels all the ancients both in sentiment and expression; and Quintilian says yet more of him; "Homer," says he, "extended "the limits of human genius to their utmost stretch, "and possessed such complete ideas of all the different

" kinds of writing, that he alone is a perfect model of " all the different beauties that can enter into any com- " position." And where indeed can we find such patterns for writing as in Homer, Pindar, Horace, and Virgil? Can we read their works without discovering all that human invention can conceive of the truly grand, sublime, and heroic? Can we read their noble sentiments, their daring and happy strokes, without being animated by their fire? But if we look into the sacred poets, the beauty and excellency of poetry will be still more manifest; for who can read the song of Moses, the psalms of David, or the book of Job, without admiring the artful images and inimitable beauties wherewith they abound? Rivers flow back to their sources, hills tremble, mountains dissolve like wax, seas meet and retire, at the voice of their Creator: these are expressions so lofty and sublime, as plainly show their author; nor can such ideas fail of awakening the soul, and expanding its thoughts to the utmost extent and elevation.

We cannot, therefore, be at too much pains to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ancient poets, whose primary design was to instruct men; and it is well known how greatly they contributed, in the first ages, towards polishing mankind, forming them into states and societies, and uniting them in one common interest; which gave rise to the fables of Amphion raising the walls of Thebes by the sound of his lyre, and Orpheus softening rocks and taming wild beasts by the exquisite sweetness of his song. Of the very laws that Solon made for the wisest state in the world, he put the greater part

into verse; and the descendants of the first poets seem to have inherited their humane, social disposition. Horace and Virgil were the delights of the court of Augustus.

The nature and true object of each kind of poetry, are to make us wiser and better. The Epic conveys instructions to us, couched under the allegory of one important heroic action. The Lyric celebrates the virtues and noble achievements of great men, in order to engage us to imitate their example. Tragedy regulates our pity and fear, by familiarizing us to these passions, which, when they surpass certain bounds, create so much trouble and disquiet. Comedy and Satire correct our vices in a pleasing and diverting manner, and wage an implacable war against whatever is absurd or ridiculous in conduct. Elegy laments the death of those persons who deserve to be mourned and regretted. The Eclogue sings the innocent pleasures of a country life. Hence it is evident, that the intent of poetry is not so much to please the imagination, as to inform and enlighten the understanding. It only makes use of the imagination as a canal to convey truth to the mind and heart; for which purpose it uses figures, fables, allegories, energy, and richness of expression, and harmony of numbers. Accordingly we see that all the great men, poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of every age and every country, have not scrupled to make use of the same innocent artifices for the same end.

Poetry, with all its charms, would be of very little

value, were amusement its only aim. A poet proposes to be really useful:

Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo. Hor.

And whatever subject he treats of, his view is still

Jucunda et idonea dicere vitæ:

"To say what's pleasant and instructive too."

But as our happiness depends chiefly on providing for the necessary demands of nature, and obeying the dictates of our serious affections towards our family, friends, and country, such pursuits demand the greater part of our time; and all other personal gratifications ought to give place to them, as these necessarily engage us in a course of very laborious application. Without intervals of relaxation and pleasing diversions, it would be difficult to support that cheerfulness of mind which is requisite towards success in our most important concerns; wherefore even that poetry which only amuses us, and gives a relief from the fatigues of business, is far from being unprofitable; but the ends of poetry are far more noble, as has been already hinted, and will be more fully shown in the following treatise on lyric poetry, for a great part of which I am indebted to the best critics who have illustrated our author.

Lyric Poetry is allowed to be of all others the most ancient. It made its first appearance at the feasts which the first men made as a relief from their labours, and to return thanks to God for his blessings. But it may be said to owe its origin more particularly to the

Hebrews; and as they were influenced by a spirit of quite a different sort from that of the Gentiles, their poetry had a more noble origin, and was presently carried to the greatest perfection in the song of Moses and the children of Israel, on Pharaoh and his host being drowned in the Red Sea; which is so very grand and sublime, I may say so divine, that wisdom itself seems to have dictated it. The same sublime spirit of poetry reigns throughout the prophetic books and the psalms. There shines, in all its majesty, that true poetry which excites virtuous affections only, which leads us to the true God, which pleases without seducing us, which instructs without disgusting us, which is always agreeable yet always useful, ennobled by its sublime expressions, by its animated figures, and yet more so by the truth it announces, which makes it alone merit the name of divine language; nor do any odes of Horace or of Pindar come near it, nor any human composition whatever; whence it appears how far divine inspiration is above that poetic fury and enthusiasm which the poets endeavour to excite in themselves by every thing that can heat their imagination. The Greeks could not profit by the example of this grand lyric poem, nor by the sublime songs of David and Solomon, which were to them unknown, because of the little commerce they had with the Hebrews before the thirtieth olympiad; and, as they were left to their own natural genius, many years intervened before they produced their first essays in poetry, which were no other than

unpremeditated praises of their gods and heroes. And these praises, says Aristotle, were sometimes mixed with a little satire: but it soon changed its form, according to the different talents of the poets; for those who had the most elevated genius chose the most difficult subjects, the praises of the gods and panegyrics on the heroes; whereas those of a lower genius chose more easy subjects, raillery and satire; for, in poetry as in painting, it is easier to show the defects of nature than to imitate her perfections.

Those who sang the praises of the gods or heroes made use of heroic verse, and those who made raillery their subject chose iambic verse. After experience had taught them to give each kind of poetry the verse most proper for it, lyric poetry changed its tone, and assumed a greater freedom than any other, by admitting all kinds of verse, the pentameter alone excepted.

What poets were the authors of these changes we know not; but lyric poetry first appeared in its true form in the works of Alcman, who is the oldest lyric poet of whom we have any fragments. He lived long before Crœsus, about the twenty-seventh olympiad, six hundred years before our Saviour.

From this time lyric poetry began to debase itself by descending from those sublime subjects, the praises of the gods and heroes, to subjects less grave and serious; such as describing games, amours, dances, feasts, and every kind of diversion and gallantry. This change plainly appears in the poems of Sappho and

Alcæus, who lived four or five hundred years after Alcman; but we cannot persuade ourselves that they were the authors of it.

In the space of fifty-five Olympiads, or 220 years, there appeared in Greece nine great lyric poets, whose names I here give in the order in which they lived: Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho, Alcæus, Simonides, Ibicus, Anacreon, Pindar, Bacchylides.

In the same space of time there appeared three iambic poets, Archilochus, Simonides, and Hipponax.

We have no collection of the works of any lyric poets except Anacreon and Pindar; nor do there remain above two odes of Sappho: of the other six of her odes we have only fragments. Among the lyric poets, Pindar bears the pre-eminence; and of the iambic poets, Archilochus is esteemed the first.

To the nine lyric poets whom we have mentioned may be justly added Corinna of Thebes, Praxilla of Sicyon, and Telesilla of Argos.

Thus have we given the state of lyric poetry during fifty-five olympiads, or two hundred and twenty years.

After this we are not to look for the least vestige of lyric poetry among the Greeks, it having suddenly stopped, like certain rivers, which, after having watered several countries, and in their long course beautified and enriched the fields with their moisture, disappear without any body knowing what becomes of them.

The Romans, like the Greeks, owed to nothing else but their own natural genius the origin of all kinds of poetry; and their first essays were also nothing but the

efforts of pure nature. Among them likewise, poetry was soon divided into two kinds. The first they consecrated to the praises of gods and heroes, and the other they employed in raillery and satire. But it would seem that the former was the more ancient, the great care of this warlike people being to excite a love to arms and religion.

From the year of Rome 57, the Salian verses were in vogue, which were a collection of songs chanted by the priests of Mars to the honour of the gods at the time they were making sacrifices to Hercules, when they mentioned the names of those who had distinguished themselves by any heroic action.

Soon after this they introduced the custom of singing at public feasts and at table, either with the voice alone, or in concert with the flute or lyre. These songs, in all appearance, were much the same with those which Achilles played on his harp to celebrate the heroes.

But we do not find that for more than seven hundred years one lyric poet appeared in Italy, viz. from the first Punic war to the time of Augustus, when Horace suddenly rose into fame. Born with a happy genius for poetry, assisted by his knowledge of the Greek lyrics, he was the first Roman poet that imitated Alcæus, Stesichorus, Anacreon, and Sappho.

It is true, that some years before Horace, in the dictatorship of Cæsar, Catullus wrote some verses, for which, some think, the Romans ranked him among the lyric poets; seemingly with little reason; for, in all

the works of Catullus, there are but three pieces that can be called lyric poems; and, of these, one is only a translation of an ode of Sappho, and the other two are of a different sort from Horace's odes. All his other pieces entitle him rather to the name of an iambic poet: now iambic poetry and lyric poetry are quite different; not but that a lyric poet may be also an iambic, as Horace is, and the Romans had as many iambic poets as the Greeks, but the lyric genius was far more rare at Rome than in Greece.

Under the first kings of Rome there appeared only the poems of the Salii, and some indigested songs. Thus it continued under the commonwealth, because of the little regard they had for poetry, till Augustus's reign, when, as I have said, Horace appeared, who was the first and only poet that disputed the prize of lyric poetry with the Greeks he imitated. It was about this time, also, that Titius Septimius wrote, to whom Horace himself gives this great encomium, "that he was not afraid to drink in Pindar's fountain:"

Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus.

But we do not find that his works were ever published.

In Tiberius's reign there was not one lyric poet; and under Nero there appeared only Cæsius Bassus, to whom Persius addresses his sixth satire. In the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian we find only Salleius Bassus and Passienus, the latter of whom, after having written a few essays after the example of Propertius, tried his skill at lyric poetry, and attempted to imitate Horace.

These five or six are the only lyric poets that appeared among the Romans, a small number indeed of a people, who, for extensiveness of genius and greatness of soul, excelled all the other nations upon earth, and whose language, if it was not quite so rich and pompous as the Greek, yet had grandeur, variety, harmony, and graces, sufficient for any kind of poetry; which shows that the great difficulty of lyric poetry was the only reason of its scarcity.

However, it is a great happiness to mankind, that the only two lyric poets saved entire out of the ruins of Greece and Rome, are precisely the two that are most valuable, Pindar and Horace.

It is certain that Horace has neither the sublimity, depth, nor rapidity of Pindar; nor has he herein imitated him; he even cautions any one from attempting it, and warns all writers of their fate if they should be so presumptuous, in these beautiful lines of the second ode of the fourth book:

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, Iule, ceratis ope Dædalea
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.

"Whoever, Iulus, attempts to vie with Pindar, soars "on wings joined with wax, in imitation of Dædalus, "and will certainly, like Icarus, leave his name to the "azure sea, into which he falls."

Horace, in his lyric poetry, follows Alcæus, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Anacreon; and in his iambic poetry he follows Archilochus: not but that his flight

is often very high, and that he supports himself in that height; but then his flight is different from that of Pindar, who raises himself above the clouds, and whose efforts are always favoured with a prosperous gale.

Beside, if Horace has not imitated Pindar in the form and character of his odes, which are continued, and not divided by strophes, antistrophes, and epodes, as Pindar's are; we must not blame his language, which is rich enough to furnish out this variety, but we must impute it to the fault of the Roman music, which, being far inferior to the Greek, and quite different from it, did not suit this sort of poetry. Nor do I at all doubt that, if Horace had derived the same assistance from music which Pindar had, he would have imitated him in his secular poem, which, being so solemn as to require two choirs of young gentlemen and young ladies, gave him a fair opportunity so to do.

But if Horace does not come up to Pindar in enthusiasm and poetic rapture, he makes up this loss another way; for I am persuaded that, of all the gifts of the Muses, Horace's poems are the most useful. He is a great poet, a great philosopher, and a great critic. And in none of his pieces do we find the dictatorial author, but every where the accomplished gentleman, who, while he instructs us, always pleases, amuses, and diverts himself with us. There is nothing laboured, nothing pedantic; every thing flows easy, every thing seems noble, every thing grand.

He is a great poet, even in his philosophy, notwithstanding his dialogue-style: he is a philosopher in his

poetry and in his criticism; and through the whole we perceive a happy and fruitful genius, an exquisite judgement and wonderful solidity. Of all the poets he is the only one that can form the gentleman, as he alone lays before us the duties of a civil life, and teaches men to live happily with themselves, with their equals, and with their superiors. The public man, the private man, the magistrate, the warrior, subjects, kings, in fine, men of all ranks and ages, may here find precepts and rules, the most important and the most necessary for their conduct in life.

Horace's poems being then so excellent and so useful, they deserve the utmost care and pains to explain them as clearly as possible; and whoever attempts to do this, ought to show wherein consist the charms and beauties of his poetry; set in a clear light the excellency of his fables, the strength and boldness of his figures, the loftiness and majesty of his ideas and images, the harmony and magnificence of his expressions, and make a just distinction between the natural, the graceful, and the sublime. For they greatly deceive themselves who think, that to understand the poets perfectly, and have a true taste of them, it is sufficient to know the terms they make use of; neither is it strange that such persons should fail to discover the concealed niceties and secret delicacies that make the greatest excellencies of poetry, and take for beauties and ornaments the extravagancies of an irregular and wild fancy, which they might easily avoid by observing the rules Horace has given, who demonstrates that the epic poem, the ode,

and all other species of poetry, have their fixed ornaments and peculiar characteristics; which if a poet knows not how to maintain, he deserves not the name of poet, as our author says of himself:

Descriptas servare vices operumque colores,
Cur ego, si nequeo ignoroque, Poeta salutor ?

" If I know not how to observe all the different characters, and " give every piece its proper ornaments, why am I honoured with " the name of a poet ?"

This shows what great care ought to be taken in forming the taste of youth in the course of their studies; for it is a great defect not to have a true judgement of the beauties of poetry, and not to be acquainted with them, so far at least as to be able to distinguish the true from the false.

If it is necessary to form the taste of youth, it is much more so to form their manners; wherefore he that explains an author, ought to teach and maintain whatever may contribute to improve them, and refute and amend what may have the least tendency to debase or corrupt them: and this is more particularly necessary in explaining poets; for young people are not so ready to give attention to serious discourses as to those which are delivered in a pleasant jocose manner, and with a design rather to divert than instruct; hence comes the taste they generally have for fables.

Poetry also, by its allurements and charms, slides insensibly into their very souls; and when it has once gained possession of the fancy, it quickly persuades the

heart; and surely no pieces of poetry can strike the fancy sooner than Horace's odes, which offer us the fruits of wisdom curiously set off with the most charming flowers of Parnassus.

In them Horace teaches all to be content with their station, and not disturb their own peace with groundless ambition; to obey the laws, submit to their superiors, shun avarice, be moderate in every thing, and reckon none happy but those who know how to make a right use of the gifts of heaven, and who are more afraid of infamy than of death itself:

Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Rectè beatum: rectiùs occupat
Nomen beati, qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti
Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejùsque letho flagitium timet.

He teaches the magistrate to keep his passions under entire subjection, and to administer justice with steadiness, resolution, and the utmost impartiality.

He lays down most useful rules for young warriors; he shows them that, to succeed in a profession attended with so much glory, and at the same time with very great toil, they must renounce all indolence and sloth, expose themselves to dangers, bear up under the greatest fatigues, and, far from carrying the effeminacy and luxury of the city into the camp with them, must learn to suffer cold, hunger, and every other hardship to which a soldier is exposed.

To generals he gives this excellent precept, which he

enforces by a noble example; that to the protection of heaven, they, on their part, ought to join vigilance and foresight, which are the surest resources of armies in all the operations of war, and which promise and ascertain a happy success to the most hazardous undertakings. His words are very remarkable:

Nil Claudiæ non perficient manus,
Quas et benigno numine Jupiter
Defendit, et curæ sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.

"No enterprise is too hard for the Neros, whom Jupiter favours "so remarkably with his protection, and who, by their great pru- "dence and conduct, are able happily to extricate themselves from "the most threatening dangers they are exposed to in battle."

Without this prudence and conduct, the greatest force destroys itself, and sinks under its own weight:

Vis consilî expers mole ruit suâ.

For it is not on strength or force, but on wisdom and prudence, that states depend for safety. Sallust has an expression very much to this purpose:

Ego ita comperio omnia regna, civitates, nationes, usque eò prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt:

"For me, I find that kingdoms, cities, and nations, continue to "flourish so long as good counsels prevail, and are put in execu- "tion."

In fine, we may justly say of Horace, that of all the poets he has extracted the most from philosophy, and amassed in his odes more maxims of morality and philosophical truths than any Roman poet whatever. I

must transcribe the greater part of Horace, were I to collect all the momentous principles of morality diffused through his works, in which his chief intention is to improve reason, and purify the heart from every vicious passion; to give us useful rules for our behaviour, not only under adversity, but likewise in prosperous circumstances, which are more dangerous to virtue than afflictions; and to establish a perfect tranquillity in our minds, by rescuing us from the tyranny of ambition and of fear.

Horace is not only a great poet and a great philosopher, but a great critic: nor is his Art of Poetry his only critical piece; the fourth and tenth satires of his first book, and the second book of his epistles, are full of useful precepts.

It is to be wished, that Horace had explained himself as fully on lyric poetry, as he has on other kinds of it, and taught poets what to follow and what to shun; but he has contented himself with pointing out its character without giving one precept; whether he found it too difficult to lay down rules for this poem, or thought that a natural genius was sufficient to improve in it. Hence he says, *Musa dedit*, "The Muse hath "given, hath taught;" and so he thinks he may be excused from saying any more: and indeed those to whom the Muse hath given this genius, have no occasion for rules relative to a poem so short; they are led, or rather drawn, by a genius stronger and surer than any rules whatever. However, as none have yet given rules for the Ode, to assist in some sort those who read

the lyric poets, I shall give, from Dacier, some observations that he made on the practice of Pindar and Horace, by which they may be enabled to judge more readily and more surely of the works of those who have courage to imitate them.

The Ode is a poem that is generally short, made to be played on the harp, or in imitation of such as are played upon it, and which, at its pleasure, employs in its different compositions every kind of verse, and often admits several in the same piece; and suiting itself to all sorts of subjects, treats the smaller in a florid manner, yet always noble, and the greater, with an elevation that seems rather the effect of inspiration and enthusiasm, than of a solid judgement.

Grand lyric poetry being then the effect of enthusiasm, my first observation is, that it may begin with transport and poetical fury; for inspiration has its ready and sudden motions; of which sort we see many in Pindar and in Horace. It is quite contrary in the epic poem, which being very long, the poet is obliged to prepare an exordium, to show its subject and pray to be inspired; and this exordium is simple, as it is the poet that speaks when not yet inspired. This is the practice of Homer and Virgil. There is then a great difference between the beginning of the ode and the exordium of the epic poem; not but that the ode sometimes makes use of this kind of exordium.

The second is, that the poet ought to speak of things

remarkable, entirely new, and that have not been sung by any other. This is Horace's own direction:

Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
Indictum ore alio.

And of consequence the poet ought to reject every thing that is mean or low, and that savours of mortality, as he else-where explains himself:

Nil parvum, aut humili modo,
Nil mortale loquar.

It is in grand lyric poetry as it is in grand painting. In subjects grand and heroic, the painter does not amuse himself with searching into the little niceties; he minds what is noble, what is grand, what is heroic, and disdains every thing that is frivolous, mean, or low. The lyric poet does the same, and when he descends to inferior subjects, gay or tender, which require not such majesty and loftiness, he never departs from this character. He searches for what is new and noble, and is particularly nice in his choice.

As a painter does not make use of the utmost perfection of his art, unless it be to imitate the most grand subjects, neither does the lyric poet make use of the whole of his, unless it be to set the grandest subjects in a just light. Both the one and the other must vary their manner, that they may imitate the tender, the light, the graceful, and the delicate, that true nature may be represented in all its different shapes.

The third, that the lyric poet observes neither order nor strict method; so that his pieces are not a continued syllogism or chain of reasoning. Inspiration allows not motions so exact and so regular; it has allurements more ready and more free. But we are not thence to infer, that the judgement ought to be banished from its composition; no; the judgement lies concealed under this beautiful disorder. There is somewhat divine in a lyric poet, which makes him excel other men in judgement.

The fourth, that its strophes, its stanzas, its couplets, are not sharpened into epigrams or madrigals: there is nothing farther from the ode, nor what savours less of inspiration. In a poet truly inspired, we perceive not his spirit but his genius only, which are quite different, as might be easily shown.

The fifth, that its morals, which are the very soul of poetry, must not be trivial and cold; but, on the contrary, solid, and ought to have all the fire of poetry; nor must they appear different from the work, like gold inlaid, but should be incorporated into its very body.

The sixth (or last) is, that in all its lines there must be such number and harmony as will charm the ear; I say, number and harmony different from feet and rhyme, and which result from nice choice and magnificence of the terms, from their connexion and arrangement, that give them something musical, which wonderfully transports and ravishes the very soul. It is

this harmony that Homer first taught, and which reigns with sovereignty in the odes of Pindar and Horace. Neither is there music more perfect, or that gives greater pleasure.

This is lyric poetry; and every poem in which this is not found is not lyric, but counterfeit. This is the reason why genuine lyric poetry has been so scarce in all ages; for a poet, to succeed in it, must have a happy genius, and that alone is not sufficient, if not improved by reading and meditating on the works of the ancients, and by a thorough knowledge and admiration of the beauties wherewith they shine. This made Horace recommend, with so much earnestness, to the poets of his time, the careful and diligent perusal of the Greek poets:

——— *Vos exemplaria Græca*
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

This is the method to improve that sound reason has always taught; by pursuing which, some of our best modern poets have gained a solid and lasting reputation, and to it posterity will certainly put their last seal.

As to this Translation of the Odes of Horace, which has met with so great encouragement from the public, all care has been taken to keep free of a paraphrase, and to give the full and true sense of the author, as near the original as the different idioms of the Latin and En-

glish languages will allow, without falling into a flat verbal translation.

To this method our author himself directs in his Art of Poetry, when he says;

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres; ————————

"Nor like a servile interpreter study to follow your author too "closely, translating word for word."

And Cicero says, in his book *De optimo genere oratorum*, when speaking of the two orations of Æschines and Demosthenes, which he had translated,

Non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum vimque servavi.

"I did not think it necessary to translate word for word, but "only to express the whole force and propriety of the terms."

St. Jerome also observes, "that Homer himself, "who is so judicious, harmonious, and sublime, be- "comes childish, insipid, and insupportably low, when "literally translated."

All which shows the great absurdity of some translations, which are so wretchedly servile, that they debase the very language in which they are written, and create in youth a distaste and aversion to the author they are reading.

To avoid this evil, I have, in those passages which would not admit a close translation on account of the

different idioms of the two languages, chosen rather to give the literal meaning of the words below the version, than debase the sense of the author by a mean servile translation.

And here I must take notice of an objection some make against all translations, *viz.* That they encourage slothfulness; whereas the contrary has, by frequent experience, been found to be true; for, as there is nothing so discouraging to youth as the dry study of words, which has marred many a fine genius, whatever tends to make this study easy and agreeable, must encourage youth in the progress of their studies, and entice them to proceed with alacrity and cheerfulness; and what tends more to make study easy and agreeable than translations, by the use of which a youth will make a greater progress in the Latin tongue in one year than he can by the use of a dictionary in two or three? A great deal of time is lost in searching for words in a dictionary; besides, few can distinguish, among the several significations many words have, which is proper for their purpose; and if they can, the very best dictionaries will often fail them, after all the pains they have taken: nor can the use of translations make them idle; for, if they get their lessons soon, they ought to be increased in proportion, translations being only to be used in preparing their lessons, and not in rendering them to the master.

The necessity of English translations to attain the Latin tongue expeditiously, still farther appears by the

great use Latin translations have for many years been found to be of, for attaining the Greek tongue expeditiously; and why should not English translations be of the same use for attaining the Latin tongue?

Having plainly shown the necessity and usefulness of English translations, I shall here only observe, that a translator in prose is more likely to give the true sense and meaning of an author than a translator in verse; for if a translator in prose, who is at full liberty to make his choice, is often straitened to find words in one language, that convey the same idea and precise meaning of the words in another language, what must a translator in verse be, who is confined to number and measure? though both the one and the other are in some sense confined; which is curiously described by the earl of Roscommon, in these inimitable lines:

'Tis true, composing is the nobler part;
But good translation is no easy art;
For, though materials have long since been found,
Yet both your fancy and your hands are bound;
And by improving what was writ before,
Invention labours less, but judgement more.

However, a translator in prose is not near so much confined as a translator in verse, especially if he is fettered with rhyme, which forces him often to sacrifice the sense of his author, to preserve his exact numbers and the graces of his versification.

What I have to add, as to this translation of the Odes of Horace, is, that the reader will find nothing translated contrary to the rules of decency or good manners, or that can offend the chastest ear. This is the reason why no version is made of the Eighth and Twelfth Odes of the Book of Epodes; for whoever gives a translation of what may tend to corrupt the minds of youth, or debase their manners, manifestly transgresses that excellent rule of Juvenal;

Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat
Intra quæ puer est.

Suffer no lewdness or indecent speech
The apartment of the tender youth to reach.

And also that of the judicious earl of Roscommon;

Immodest words admit of no defence;
For want of decency is want of sense.

The ellipses necessary to connect the sense of the author are very few, and printed in Italics.

As to the Latin text, all imaginable care and pains have been taken to make it correct, by comparing it with the best editions of Horace; and on the same page with the text are the author's words put into the order of construction; which, with the translation, and notes that are extracted from the best commentators both ancient and modern, and interspersed with several of

the translator's own, will, it is hoped, be of great use, not only to schools, but to young gentlemen who have only a superficial knowledge of the Latin tongue, in assisting them thoroughly to understand these inestimable poems.

THE

LIFE OF HORACE.

HORACE was born at Venusium, a town of Apulia, on the eighth of December, in the year of Rome 688, two years before Catiline's conspiracy, in the consulship of L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta*.

His father was only the son of a freedman and a tax-gatherer†; with which mean descent Horace was sometimes reproached. When about ten years of age, he was brought to town by his father, who gave him a very liberal education, as he himself tells us in Book I. Satire VI.

> *Puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum*
> *Artes, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator*
> *Semet prognatos.*
>
> He boldly brought me up a child to town,
> To see those ways, and make those arts my own,
> Which every knight and noble taught his son.

* See Book III. Ode xxi. and Book V. Ode xiii.

† Book I. Sat. vi.

At the age of eighteen, he was sent to Athens to learn philosophy, and finish his studies.

Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri,
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ;
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.
LIB. II. EPIST. II.

Rome bred me first, she taught me grammar-rules,
And all the little authors read in schools;
A little more than this learn'd Athens show'd,
And taught me how to separate bad from good.
The Academic sect possess'd my youth,
And 'midst their pleasant shades I sought for truth.

In the twenty-third year of his age, he, with several others, joined Brutus then at Athens, and went into Macedonia with him, who made him a tribune*; but Brutus and his party being defeated at the battle of Philippi, Horace, and many others, forfeited their estates.

After this battle he left the army†, and set about writing poetry, wherein he acquitted himself so well, that both Virgil and Varius took notice of him, and introduced him to Mæcenas‡, who was not only a great statesman, but a man of great learning, and a generous patron of all learned men, more especially so to Horace, who forgets not to mention it in several places of his poems, but particularly in the first Epode.

* Lib. I. Sat. vi. † Lib. II. Ode vii. ‡ Lib. I. Sat. vi.

Satis superque me benignitas tua
Ditavit.

Your bounty gave my present store:
'Tis all I want, nor will I ask for more.

In the progress of friendship, Mæcenas introduced our poet to Augustus, and procured for him a restitution of his estate. Horace was at length so highly in favour at court, that the emperor offered to appoint him his secretary; but he had the great address to refuse that high and honourable office without offending his prince.

His taste for polite literature was very great: he was so fond of study, that he thought books as necessary to life as the things which support it.

Sit bona librorum et provisæ frugis in annum
Copia.

Lib. I. Epist. XVIII.

Born a poet, he composed verses rather like a gentleman than a poet by profession, indifferent about the approbation of the vulgar, and solicitous only to please a small number of select readers.

Neque te ut miretur turba labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus.

Lib. I. Sat. X.

He liked retirement, and had an aversion to the hurry

and trouble that attend a court-life, though no one was better qualified for it.

He was very moderate in his diet, and contented with his condition, as appears by Ode XXXI. Book I.

Me pascunt olivæ,
Me cichorea levesque malvæ;
Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoe, dones, et precor integrâ
Cum mente.

Olives and mallows deck my board,
The wholesome vegetable kind;
O! let me thus alone be stor'd,
With health of body, health of mind.

It is thought he was never married, as he makes no mention of his wife or family in any of his poems.

He was of a cheerful facetious temper, of an amorous disposition, and somewhat passionate and hasty; but his anger was never of long continuance. He was short, but corpulent; whence Augustus, in a letter to him, compared him to a thick little book he sent him. He was soon grey-haired, and could bear heat better than cold.

Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique,
Corporis exigui, præcanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
LIB. I. EPIST. XX.

Tell them I the greatest please,
A little man, and studious of my ease;

And pettish too, I can be angry soon,
My passion's quickly rais'd, but quickly gone.
Grown grey before my time, I hate the cold,
And seek the warmth.

His love of retirement increased with his age, which induced him to live very much at Tivoli*, near the grove of which his house is shown to this day.

Here he desired to live, and here he desired to die, as in Ode VI. of Book II.

Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum
Militiæque.

Quite tir'd of foreign lands and mains,
Of journeys great, and dire campaigns;
My age at Tibur let me spend,
At Tibur all my labours end.

But if the Fates denied him this request, he wished that they would allow him to retire to Tarentum, and end his days there. Next to Tivoli, Tarentum seems indeed to have been his favourite seat and theme; for never was a more beautiful description given of a villa than of this, in the following inimitable lines of the same Ode:

Unde si Parcæ prohibent iniquæ,
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galesi

* Tivoli is the Italian name of Tibur.

Flumen, et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalanto.
Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Bacca Venafro;
Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus et beatæ
Postulant arces: ibi tu calentem
Debita sparges lacryma favillam
Vatis amici.

But if the Fates this wish refuse,
Then fair Tarentum will I choose,
Where sweet Galesus softly glides,
And downy flocks adorn his sides.
O'er all I prize that spot of ground,
With honey and with olives crown'd;
This good as Attica can show,
And these as at Venafrum grow;
Where Jove a lasting spring bestows,
And winters free from frost and snows;
Where Aulon pours his generous wine,
Nor envies the Falernian vine.
To these fair plains, this happy seat,
Will you and I, my friend, retreat;
Here shall you lay your poet, here
On his warm embers drop a tear.

Horace, being taken suddenly ill, was not able to sign his will; but, declaring Augustus his heir with his last words, expired in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Some

think that he died a few days before his great and good friend Mæcenas; because, say they, Horace, who was one of the most grateful men upon earth to his benefactors, would certainly have shown his gratitude, by expressing his sorrow in an elegy for Mæcenas, to whom he owed his all.

But the more common and received opinion is, that Mæcenas died before his friend, and that Mæcenas' death accelerated the decease of Horace. If so, could the poet have foreseen the time of Mæcenas' death, and of his own, he could scarcely have spoken of them with more exactness than he does in Ode XVII., Book II., written twelve years before:

Ah, te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æque, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam.

Think not, since you and I are one,
That Horace can himself desert,
Or live when half his soul is gone,
Or stay behind his better part.
Thus hand in hand we'll greet the shades;
'Tis so resolv'd and fix'd by fate:
I'll follow where Mæcenas leads;
Our lives shall have one common date.

He was buried in the Esquiline hill, near the tomb of Mæcenas. And as he expected immortal fame from his works, it is supposed that his funeral was attended

with no pomp, according to his own directions in the twentieth Ode of the second Book:

Absint inani funere næniæ,
Luctusque turpes, et querimoniæ:
Compesce clamorem, ac sepulcri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

Say not I died, nor shed a tear,
Nor round my ashes mourn,
Nor of my needless obsequies take care;
The glare of pomp is lost upon an empty urn.

THE DIFFERENT SORTS OF VERSE USED BY HORACE, IN HIS ODES AND EPODES, ARE NINETEEN IN NUMBER.

THE First is the Asclepiad, called so from Asclepias, the inventor, and consists of four feet*, viz. a Spondee, two Choriambic feet, and a Pyrrhichius, or Iambus, as Ode I. of Book I.

Mæce - nas atavis - edite re - gibus.

Others measure this sort of verse by putting a Cæsura after the second foot; and then a Spondee and a Dactyl go before it, and two Dactyls follow it; thus,

Mæce - nas ata - vis - edite - regibus.

The Second is the Sapphic, so called from Sappho the inventress; and consists of a Trochee, Spondee, Dactyl, and two Trochees, or Spondee for the last, as Ode II. Book I.

Jam sa - tis ter - ris nivis - atque - diræ
Grandi - nis mi - sit pater - et ru - bente
Dexte - ra sa - cras jacu - latus - arces.

But every fourth verse is Adonic, consisting of a Dactyl and Spondee, as

Terruit - urbem.

---

* A foot consists of two, three, or four syllables, of which there are ten mostly in use, viz.

Pyrrhichius,	consisting of	two short syllables,	as *deus*
Spondæus,		two long ones,	*omnes*
Iambus,		a short and long one,	*pios*
Trochæus,		a long and short one,	*servat*
Dactylus,		a long and two short ones,	*carmina*
Anapæstus,		two short ones and a long one,	*animos*
Tribrachys,		three short ones,	*melius*
Proceleusmaticus,		four short ones,	*hominibus*
Choriambus,		one long, two short, and one long,	*nobilitas*
Bacchius,		one short and two long ones,	*dolores.*

The Third is the Glyconic, so called from Glycon, the inventor, and consists of a Spondee, a Choriambus, and Pyrrhichius, or Iambus, as Ode III. Book I.

Sic te - diva potens - Cypri.

But every second verse is of the first sort of verse, viz. an Asclepiad, as

Sic fra - tres Helenæ - lucida si - dera.

The Fourth is the Dactylic Archilochic, and consists of Spondees or Dactyls indifferently in the four first feet, as in a heroic verse, then of three Trochees, or a Spondee for the last, as Ode IV. Book I.

Solvitur - acris hy - ems gra - ta vice - veris - et Fa - voni.

But every second verse is an Iambic Archilochic, consisting of an Iambus or a Spondee, a Trochee, a Cæsura, and three Trochees or a Spondee for the last, as

Trahunt - que sic - cas - machi - næ ca - rinas.

The Fifth is the Pherecratian, the first two verses of which are Asclepiad, viz. of the first sort of verse, as Ode V. Book I.

Quis mul - ta gracilis - te puer in - rosa
Perfu - sus liquidis - urget odo - ribus.

The third verse consists of a Spondee, Dactyl, and Spondee, as

Grato - Pyrrha sub - antro.

But every fourth line is Glyconic, viz. of the third sort of verse, thus,

Cui fla - vam religas - comam.

The Sixth is the Asclepiad Glyconic, the three first verses being all Asclepiad, as Ode VI. Book I.

Scribe - ris Vario - fortis et ho - stium

Victor - Mæonii - carminis a - lite
Quam rem - cunque ferox - navibus aut - equis.

But every fourth verse is Glyconic, as

Miles - te duce ges - serit.

The Seventh is the Heroic Hexameter, and consists of six feet, a Dactyl and Spondee being used indifferently in all places; though a Dactyl is very seldom used as the sixth foot, or a Spondee as the fifth, but is almost always the last foot, and sometimes a Trochee, as Ode VII. Book I.

Lauda - bunt ali - i cla - ram Rhodon - aut Mity - lenen.

But every second verse is Dactylic Alcmanic, consisting of the four last feet of an heroic verse, as,

Aut Ephe - sum bima - risve Co - rinthi.

The Eighth is the Aristophanic, and consists of a Choriambus and a Bacchius, as Ode VIII. Book I.

Lydia dic - per omnes.

But every second line is Choriambic Alcaic, consisting of an Epitrit, which is composed of four syllables, commonly the second short, and the other three long; after the Epitrit follow two Choriambic feet and a Bacchius, as

Te Deos o - ro Sybarin - cur properas - amando.

The Ninth is the Dactylic Alcaic, or Horatian, as some call it, because Horace seems to have taken great delight in this kind of verse. It consists of two Iambic feet, or a Spondee for the last, then a Cæsura and two Dactyls, as Ode IX. Book I.

Vides - ut al - ta - stet nive - candidum.
Sora - cte nec - jam - sustine - ant onus.

But every third verse is Iambic Archilochic, consisting of four feet,

the first and third an Iambus or Spondee, the second and fourth an Iambus only, and a Cæsura, thus,

Sylvæ - labo - rantes - gelu - que.

And every fourth verse is Dactylic Pindaric, consisting of two Dactyls and two Trochees, or a Spondee for the last Trochee, thus,

Flumina - constite - rint a - cuto.

The Tenth is the Choriambic Alcaic Pentameter, and consists of a Spondee, three Choriambic feet, and a Pyrrhichius or Iambus, as Ode XI. Book I.

Tu ne - quæsieris - scire nefas - quem mihi quem - tibi.

The Eleventh is the Iambic Archilochic, and consists of a long, a short, and a long syllable, and two Iambic feet, or the last Pyrrhichius, as Ode XVIII. Book II., thus,

Non ebur - nequ' au - reum.

But every second verse is Iambic Archilochic, and consists of five Iambic feet and a Cæsura, thus,

Mea - reni - det in - domo - lacu - nar.

The Twelfth is the Ionic, and consists of three Ionics, which are respectively composed of two short and two long syllables, as Ode XII. Book III.

Miserar' est - nequ' amori - dare ludum.
Neque dulci - mala vino - laver' aut ex -

But every third verse consists of four Ionics, thus,

animari - metuentes - patruæ ver - bera linguæ.

The Thirteenth is the Heroic Hexameter, as Ode VII Book IV.

Diffu - gere ni - ves rede - unt jam - gramina - campis.

But every second verse is Dactylic Archilochic, consisting of two Dactyls and a Cæsura, thus,

Arbori - busque co - mæ.

The Fourteenth is the Iambic Hipponactic, so called from Hipponax the inventor, consisting of six Iambic feet, admitting sometimes a Spondee for the first, third, and fifth, as Ode I. Book V.

Ibis - Libur - nis in - ter al - ta na - vium.

But every second verse is Iambic Archilochic, consisting of four Iambic feet, admitting sometimes a Spondee for the first and third feet, as,

Ami - ce pro - pugna - cula.

The Fifteenth is also the Iambic Hipponactic, as consisting of six Iambic feet, Ode XI. Book V.

Petti - nihil - me sic - ut an - tea - juvat.

But then every second verse is Sapphic, consisting of two Dactyls, a Cæsura, and four Iambic feet, admitting also a Spondee for the first, third, and fifth feet:

Scribere - versicu - los -amo - re per - culsum - gravi.

The Sixteenth is the Heroic Hexameter, as Ode XIII. Book V,

Horrida - tempe - stas cæ - lum con - traxit et - imbres.

But every second verse is Archilochic, and consists of four Iambic feet, with sometimes a Spondee for the first and third feet; then follow two Dactyls and a Cæsura, thus,

Nives - que de - ducunt - Jovem - nunc mare - nunc silū - æ.

The Seventeenth is the Heroic Hexameter, as Ode XIV. Book V.

Mollis in - ertia - cur tan - tam dif - fuderit - imis.

But every second verse is Iambic Archilochic, and consists of four Iambic feet, admitting sometimes a Spondee for the first and third feet, as,

Obli - vio - nem sen - sibus.

The Eighteenth is the Heroic Hexameter, as Ode XVI. Book V.

Altera - jam teri - tur bel - lis ci - vilibus - ætas.

But every second is Iambic Hipponactic, as,

Suis - et ip - sa Ro - ma vi - ribus - ruit.

The Nineteenth is the Iambic Hipponactic throughout, each verse consisting of six feet, as Ode XVII. Book V.

Jam j' ef - fica - ci do - manus - scien - tiæ.

A VERSE is called, 1. Acatalecticus, when it is every way complete, and has no syllable deficient or superfluous, as in this Iambic,

Musæ Jovis sunt filiæ.

2. Catalecticus, when it wants a syllable at the end, as,

Musæ Jovem canebant.

3. Brachycatalecticus, when it wants a foot at the end, as,

Musæ Jovis gnatæ.

4 Hypercatalecticus, or Hypermeter, when it has one or two syllables beyond its just measure, as,

Musæ sorores sunt Minervæ; and,
Musæ sorores Palladis lugent.

When an Ode consists of one sort of verse only, it is called Monocolos, as Ode I. Book I.

When of two sorts of verse, it is styled Dicolos, as Ode II. Book I. And,

When of three sorts of verse, it is called Tricolos, as Ode V. Book I.

According to the number of verses in a Strophe or Stanza *, an Ode takes its name.

If the same sort of verse return after the second line, it is called Distrophos, as Ode III. Book I.

If after the third line, it is called Tristrophos, as Ode XII. Book III. And,

If after the fourth line, it is called Tetrastrophos, as Ode II. Book I.

* The Ode originally had but one strophe or stanza, but was at last divided into three parts; the strophe, antistrophe, and epode. For the priests went round the altar singing the praises of Jupiter and Juno in verse: so they called their first entrance to the left Strophe, or turning to; the second returning to the right they denominated Antistrophe, or the returning; and the songs they styled Ode or Antode, as they called their entrance and return strophe and antistrophe. At last, standing still before the altar, they sang the rest, and that they called the Epode.

THE READER MAY HERE SEE AT ONE VIEW, OF WHAT SORT OF VERSE EACH ODE IS COMPOSED.

Book I. Ode	Sort of Verse.	Book I. Ode	Sort of Verse.	Book II. Ode	Sort of Verse.
I.	1	XX.	2	I.	9
II.	2	XXI.	5	II.	2
III.	3	XXII.	2	III.	9
IV.	4	XXIII.	5	IV.	2
V.	5	XXIV.	6	V.	9
VI.	6	XXV.	2	VI.	2
VII.	7	XXVI.	9	VII.	9
VIII.	8	XXVII.	9	VIII.	2
IX.	9	XXVIII.	7	IX.	9
X.	2	XXIX.	9	X.	2
XI.	10	XXX.	2	XI.	9
XII.	2	XXXI.	9	XII.	6
XIII.	3	XXXII.	2	XIII.	9
XIV.	5	XXXIII.	6	XIV.	9
XV.	6	XXXIV.	9	XV.	9
XVI.	9	XXXV.	9	XVI.	2
XVII.	9	XXXVI.	3	XVII.	9
XVIII.	10	XXXVII.	9	XVIII.	11
XIX.	3	XXXVIII.	2	XIX.	9
				XX.	9

THE READER MAY HERE SEE AT ONE VIEW, OF WHAT SORT OF VERSE EACH ODE IS COMPOSED.

Book III. Ode	Sort of Verse.	Book III. Ode	Sort of Verse.	Book IV. Ode	Sort of Verse.	Book V. Ode	Sort of Verse.
I.	9	XVI.	6	I.	3	I.	14
II.	9	XVII.	9	II.	2	II.	14
III.	9	XVIII.	2	III.	3	III.	14
IV.	9	XIX.	3	IV.	9	IV.	14
V.	9	XX.	2	V.	6	V.	14
VI.	9	XXI.	9	VI.	2	VI.	14
VII.	5	XXII.	2	VII.	13	VII.	14
VIII.	2	XXIII.	9	VIII.	1	VIII.	14
IX.	3	XXIV.	3	IX.	9	IX.	14
X.	6	XXV.	3	X.	10	X.	14
XI.	2	XXVI.	9	XI.	2	XI.	15
XII.	12	XXVII.	2	XII.	6	XII.	7
XIII.	5	XXVIII.	3	XIII.	5	XIII.	16
XIV.	2	XXIX.	9	XIV.	9	XIV.	17
XV.	3	XXX.	1	XV.	9	XV.	17
						XVI.	18
						XVII.	19
						XVIII.	2

ODARUM TABULA ALPHABETICA.

A

LIB. ODE.

Ælı, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo, ... iii. 17
Æquam memento rebus in arduis, ... ii. 3
Albi, ne doleas plus nimio, memor, ... i. 33
Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas, ... v. 16
Angustam amice pauperiem pati, ... iii. 2
At ô Deorum quisquis in cœlo regis, ... v. 5
Audivere, Lyce, Dî mea vota, Dî, ... iv. 13

B

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus, ... ii. 19
Beatus ille qui procul negotiis, ... v. 2

C

Cœlo supinas si tuleris manus, ... iii. 23
Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem, ... iii. 5
Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi, ... i. 13
Cur me querelis exanimas tuis, ... ii. 17

D

Delicta majorum immeritus lues, ... iii. 6
Descende cœlo, et dic age tibia, ... iii. 4
Dianam teneræ dicite virgines, ... i. 21
Diffugere nives: redeunt jam gramina campis, ... iv. 7
Dive, quem proles Niobæa magnæ, ... iv. 6
Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ, ... iv. 5
Donarem pateras, grataque commodus, ... iv. 8
Donec gratus eram tibi, ... iii. 9

E

LIB. ODE.
Eheu, fugaces, Posthume, Posthume, ... ii. 14
Est mihi nonum superantis annum, ... iv. 11
Et thure et fidibus juvat, ... i. 36
Exegi monumentum ære perennius, ... iii. 30
Extremum Tanaim si biberes, Lyce, ... iii. 10

F

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator, ... iii. 18
Festo quid potius die, ... iii. 28

H

Herculis ritu modo dictus, ô plebs, ... iii. 14
Horrida tempestas cœlum contraxit; et imbres, ... v. 13

I

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium, ... v. 1
Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides, ... i. 29
Ille et nefasto te posuit die, ... ii. 13
Impios parræ recinentis omen, ... iii. 27
Inclusam Danaen turris ahenea, ... iii. 16
Intactis opulentior, ... iii. 24
Integer vitæ scelerisque purus, ... i. 22
Intermissa Venus diu, ... iv. 1

J

Jam jam efficaci do manus scientiæ, ... v. 17
Jam pauca aratro jugera regiæ, ... ii. 15
Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ, ... i. 2.
Jam veris comites quæ mare temperant, ... iv. 12
Justum et tenacem propositi virum, ... iii. 3

L

LIB. ODE.
Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mitylenen, ... i. 7
Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit, ... v. 4
Lydia, dic, per omnes, ... i. 8

M

Mæcenas, atavis edite regibus, ... i. 1
Mala soluta navis exit alite, ... v. 10
Martiis cœlebs quid agam calendis, ... iii. 8
Mater sæva cupidinum, ... i. 19
Mercuri facunde, nepos Atlantis, ... i. 10
Mercuri, nam te docilis magistro, ... iii. 11
Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum, ... iii. 12
Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis, ... v. 14
Montium custos nemorumque virgo, ... iii. 22
Motum ex Metello consule civicum, ... ii. 1
Musis amicus tristitiam et metus, ... i. 26

N

Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis, ... i. 27
Ne forte credas interitura, quæ, ... iv. 9
Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori, ... ii. 4
Nolis longa feræ bella Numantiæ, ... ii. 12
Non ebur neque aureum, ... ii. 18
Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos, ... ii. 9
Non vides quanto moveas periclo, ... iii. 20
Non usitata nec tenui ferar, ... ii. 20
Nondum subacta ferre jugum valet, ... ii. 5
Nox erat, et cœlo fulgebat luna sereno, ... v. 15
Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem, ... i. 18
Nullus argento color est avaris, ... ii. 2
Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero, ... i. 37

O

LIB. ODE.

O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium, ... i. 35
O fons Blandusiæ, splendidior vitro, ... iii. 13
O crudelis adhuc, et Veneris muneribus potens, ... iv. 10
O matre pulchra filia pulchrior, ... i. 16
O nata mecum consule Manlio, ... iii. 21
O navis, referent in mare te novi, ... i. 14
O sæpe mecum tempus in ultimum, ... ii. 7
O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, ... i. 30
Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo, ... iii. 1
Otium Divos rogat in patenti, ... ii. 16

P

Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras, ... i. 25
Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens, ... i. 34
Parentis olim si quis impia manu, ... v. 3
Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus, ... i. 15
Persicos odi, puer, apparatus, ... i. 38
Petti, nihil me, sicut antea, juvat, ... v. 11
Phœbe, sylvarumque potens Diana, ... Carmen Seculare
Phœbus volentem prœlia me loqui, ... iv. 15
Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, ... iv. 2
Poscimus, si quid vacui sub umbra, ... i. 32

Q

Quæ cura patrum, quæve Quiritium, ... iv. 14
Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem, ... iv. 4
Quando repostum Cæcubum ad festas dapes, ... v. 9
Quantum distet ab Inacho, ... iii. 19
Quem tu, Melpomene, semel, ... iv. 3
Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri, ... i. 12

LIB. ODE.
Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes, ... ii. 11
Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem, ... i. 31
Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi, ... iii. 7
Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis, ... v. 6
Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces, ... v. 17
Quid tibi vis, mulier, nigris dignissima barris, ... v. 12
Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus, ... i. 24
Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa, ... i. 5
Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui, ... iii. 25
Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris, ... v. 7

R

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum, ... ii. 10
Rogare longo putidam te seculo, ... v. 8

S

Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium, ... i. 6
Septimi, Gades aditure mecum, et, ... ii. 6
Sic te Diva potens Cypri, ... i. 3
Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni, ... i. 4

T

Te maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ, ... i. 28
Tu ne quæsieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi, ... i. 11
Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi, ... iii. 29

V

Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem, ... i. 17
Vides ut alta stet nive candidum, ... i. 9
Vile potabis modicis Sabinum, ... i. 20

LIB. ODE.
Vitas hinnuleo me similis, Chloe, ... i. 23
Vixi puellis nuper idoneus, ... iii. 26

U

Ulla si juris tibi pejerati, ... ii. 8
Uxor pauperis Ibyci, ... iii. 15

THE

WORKS OF HORACE,

TRANSLATED INTO

ENGLISH PROSE.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI
CARMINUM
LIBER PRIMUS.

ODE I.

Horace, in this beautiful Ode, shows the different inclinations of men in general, and his own in particular. It is placed first, as a dedication of the poet's works to his great patron Mæcenas, though composed after a great number of those that follow; but when it was written is uncertain. It is curious in all its parts, the characters being natural and lively; but its

AD MÆCENATEM.

MÆCENAS, atavis edite regibus,
O et præsidium et dulce decus meum,
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat; metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.

ORDO.

O Mæcenas, edite atavis regibus, O et præsidium et meum dulce decus, sunt *plurimi* quos juvat collegisse pulverem Olympicum curriculo; metaque evitata fervidis rotis, nobilisque palma evehit ad deos dominos terrarum.

NOTES.

1. *Mæcenas.*] This great favourite of Augustus was distinguished by the regard he always paid to men of learning; insomuch that his name is, even at this day, a title of honour bestowed upon all such as encourage learning, and patronise the professors of it. This great man showed a very particular regard for Horace and Virgil; and it was by his means they were first recommended to Augustus, who proved a great benefactor to them both. This is the reason why Mæcenas is so often addressed, and so honourably mentioned, in the works of these two eminent poets.

1. *Regibus.*] Propertius, Pedo Albinovanus, Silius Italicus, and Martial, agree with Horace, that Mæcenas was descended of a royal family; and Marcus Portius Cato confirms the account in some fragments; in which he says, that Elbius Volturenus, who was killed near the Lake of Vadimon, in the year of Rome 445, was the last of the kings of Tuscany, whose descendants he names from father to son, till he comes to Mæcenas, who had no children.

HORACE'S ODES.

BOOK FIRST.

ODE I.

principal beauty consists in the fine turn given by the poet to his expressions, which he manages so artfully, that though he is obliged often to mention the same thing, in running over the different employments of men, yet he never falls into a tautology, nor makes use of a low term.

TO MÆCENAS.

MÆCENAS, descended from *the* princes *of Tuscany*, your *royal* ancestors, my *generous* patron, *whose favour I esteem* my greatest honour, some take pleasure * in being covered with dust in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; and, if they gain the glorious prize for dexterously turning their glowing wheels round the *dangerous* goal, they think they are as great as gods, the rulers of the earth.

* To have gathered Olympic dust.

NOTES.

3. *Sunt quos curriculo.*] How expressive of the sense is the sound of these charming verses! We can scarcely read them without thinking that we are carried along with the chariots, and see the dust flying. There are many instances of this kind in our author and Lucretius, but more especially in Virgil. See the preface to the prose translation of Virgil.

3. *Olympicum.*] The Olympic games were at first instituted by Pelops; and after they had been discontinued for some time, were re-established by Hercules, in honour of his father Jupiter Olympius. They were celebrated every fourth year with great pomp and solemnity, and continued for five days together, consisting of five several kinds of exercises. The conquerors had the greatest honours paid them, being carried in a triumphant manner back into their own city, and had an annual allowance granted them by the republic; so that nothing was esteemed more honourable than to return victorious from these warlike exercises.

4. *Meta.*] A goal or mark set up to determine the extent of the race. The great

Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
Illum, si proprio condidit horreo
Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis;
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
Agros, Attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypriâ
Myrtöum pavidus nauta secet mare.
Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens, otium et oppidi
Laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates
Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici,
Nec partem solido demere de die
Spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
Stratus, nunc ad aquæ lene caput sacræ.

ORDO.

Si turba mobilium Quiritium certat tollere hunc tergeminis honoribus, nunquam *eum* dimoveas *etiam* Attalicis conditionibus, ut pavidus nauta secet Myrtoum mare Cypriâ trabe; *neque* illum, si condidit quidquid verritur de Libycis areis *in* proprio horreo; *nec alium* gaudentem findere patrios agros sarculo. Mercator, metuens Africum luctantem Icariis fluctibus, laudat otium et rura sui oppidi; mox *tamen* reficit rates quassas, indocilis pati pauperiem. Est *alius* qui nec spernit pocula *vini* Massici veteris, nec demere partem de solido die, stratus membra nunc sub viridi arbuto, nunc ad lene caput aquæ sacræ.

NOTES.

art, in these chariot-races, consisted in turning swiftly round the goal, and yet so near as to seem to touch it; by which the charioteers were often in danger of being dashed to pieces against it.

10. *Libycis.*] Libya was a part of northern Africa, bounded on the east by Egypt, and on the west by the kingdom of Tripoli. The abundance of corn it yielded, made it one of the granaries of Italy. It supplied Rome yearly with forty millions of bushels, on which it subsisted for eight months. The poets often give the name of Libya to all that part of Africa which lies along the Mediterranean.

11. *Gaudentem.*] Commentators refer this word to *illum*, and maintain that Horace speaks only of one individual person. But I am persuaded our author meant otherwise; and that by this word he introduces a character distinct from the former. By *hunc* he represents to us one whose sole ambition is to be advanced to the highest preferments. By *illum* he points at a rich but avaricious citizen, who thinks of nothing but of enriching himself by the corn-trade of Africa, without exposing his person to any danger on that account. And by *gaudentem* he describes to us one who is so fond of the tranquillity of a country life, that he neither covets riches nor honours, but chooses above all things, as the greatest pleasure in life, to cultivate his estate with his own hands. Horace says, that none of these three men can ever be prevailed on to run the risk of going to sea, though the riches of Attalus, with all the gain in the world, were proposed to them. This sense has doubtless more of beauty and strength than the other; and (what is still more remarkable) it perfectly agrees with the like expressions our poet uses, which is done by the other explication in a forced and improper manner. To contend that *gaudentem* refers to *illum*, is contending that Horace has given two such different passions

If one finds the giddy mob bent on raising him to offices of the highest trust and honour; if another has stored his granaries with vast quantities of corn from Africa; and if a third places his sole delight in cultivating his paternal estate himself; were you to offer them the immense riches of Attalus to commence traders and brave the seas, you would not prevail.

The merchant, alarmed when the stormy south-west wind swells the Icarian sea, praises the sweet retreat and pleasant fields of his country-seat; yet the danger is no sooner over, than he refits his shattered vessels, hating the thought of being reduced to poverty.

The toper takes pleasure in spending the greater part of the day at his bottle, stretched at his ease, sometimes under a shade, and sometimes near the pleasant source of a sacred fountain.

NOTES.

to one man, as never were found yet in one person together. For it is inconceivable how the avarice of him who hoards up in store-houses the corn of Africa, can consist with the moderate desires of that man whose delight is in cultivating the lands of his fore-fathers. What has led commentators into this mistake, is the admirable change of the terms *hunc*, *illum*, and *gaudentem*. To use *alter* for a third, would be too low; and therefore, to express a third character, he uses the participle, according to the occasional practice of the Greeks and Latins.

12. *Attalicis conditionibus.*] So called from Attalus king of Pergamus, who had amassed such immense riches, that he made the Roman people his heir, judging none so proper to come to the possession of so great wealth.

14. *Mare Myrtoum.*] The Archipelago, a branch of the Mediterranean, is so interspersed with islands and rocks, that it is liable to great storms. It is divided into several parts, that go under the particular names of the Cretan, Icarian, Carpathian, Myrtoan seas, &c. A part of this obtained the last name from the small island Myrtos, which lies on the south point of Negropont. Ancient fables give it this name from one Myrtilus, whom Pelops threw into this sea.

15. *Icariis fluctibus.*] The Icarian sea is a part of the Ægean, lying near Samos. The poets fancy it is so called from Icarus, the son of Dædalus, who fell headlong into it; because, flying from Crete, he approached too near the sun; by which means the wax, which held together the feathers of his wings, melted. But it is certain, that the true origin of the name is from the island Icaros, now Nicaria.

19. *Veteris pocula Massici.*] This wine was once very much esteemed, being made of grapes which grew upon a mountain of Campania of the same name.

20. *Nec partem solido demere de die Spernit.*] *Demere partem de solido die*, is to spend one half of the whole or entire day. Thus Lucretius, in his 2d book, v. 200, says, *plus ut parte foras emergant*, instead of *plus dimidiâ parte*. And our author himself uses in another place, alternately, *partem animæ meæ*, and *dimidium animæ meæ*. Amongst the Romans, sober and regular persons had but one meal a day; and if it happened that they did eat before this stated meal, it was no more than a very light breakfast, at which there was no occasion to sit down, or to wash their hands after it, as Seneca (who with a great deal of pleasantry calls it a dinner) expresses it, *sine mensa prandium, post quod non sint manus lavandæ*, Epist. 83.

Multos castra juvant, et lituo tubæ
Permistus sonitus, bellaque matribus
Detestata. Manet sub Jove frigido
Venator, teneræ conjugis immemor;
Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
Me doctarum ederæ præmia frontium
Dîs miscent superis: me gelidum nemus,
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori,
Secernunt populo; si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet, nec Polyhymnia
Lesbŏum refugit tendere barbiton.
Quòd si me lyricis vatibus inseres,
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

ORDO.

Castra juvant multos, et sonitus tubæ lituo permistus, bellaque detestata matribus. Venator, immemor teneræ conjugis, manet sub Jove frigido; seu cerva est visa catulis fidelibus, seu aper Marsus rupit plagas teretes. Ederæ, præmia doctarum frontium, miscent me Diis superis: nemus gelidum, et leves chori Nympharum cum Satyris, secernunt me *a* populo; si neque Euterpe cohibet tibias, nec Polyhymnia refugit tendere barbiton Lesboum. Quod si *tu* inseres me vatibus lyricis, feriam sidera sublimi vertice.

NOTES.

23. *Lituo tubæ.*] The sound of the clarion was shrill; that of the trumpet was grave. The first was used by the cavalry; they were both of brass, but the first was bent as French-horns are, and the other was straight like our trumpets and flutes.

25. *Sub Jove frigido.*] In the cold air; for the ancients called all that space which our atmosphere takes up, Jupiter.

29. *Me doctarum.*] Some critics substitute *Te* here in place of *Me*, and assert that it is a compliment to Mæcenas. It is true, Mæcenas composed some verses; but it does not appear that he was so considerable a lyric poet, as to merit this piece of panegyric; so that I cannot think Horace was such a gross flatterer, or that Mæcenas would allow him to be so. No, Horace compliments his patron in a more polite manner in the two last lines of this ode. See the note on them.

29. *Ederæ.*] All the celebrated poets were crowned with the branches of the ivy-tree, as being the crown of Bacchus and the Muses.

30. *Dîs miscent superis.*] Class me among the gods, *i. e.* render me happy. For the Romans, and Greeks too, called those gods who enjoyed a perfect happiness. If this passage is not thus explained, there will follow a manifest contradiction when Horace says, that Mæcenas' sole approbation will advance him to heaven.

31. *Nympharumque.*] Nymphs were goddesses, supposed by the ancients to preside over rivers, springs, woods, and hills.

31. *Cum Satyris chori.*] The ancients always represent the Satyrs dancing. Thus Virgil, in his 5th eclogue, ver. 73, says,

Saltantes Satyros imitabitur Alphesibœus.

"*Alphesibœus* will imitate the dances of the "Satyrs."——And even the sacred author Isaiah confirms this in his representation of the desolation of Babylon, when, among other things, he says in the 21st verse of the 13th chapter, "And Satyrs shall dance

Many take pleasure in the camp and in the *warlike* sound of trumpets and clarions, and in battles, the aversion of *fond* mothers.

The *keen* sportsman, unmindful of his young spouse *at home*, exposes himself to the most stormy weather in chase of a hind roused by his staunch hounds, or of a huge boar that hath broken his toils.

An ivy-crown, the reward of the poets, would make me as happy as the gods themselves. *To sing* the shady groves and nimble dances of the Nymphs with the Satyrs, advances me above the crowd, provided Euterpe deign to join in concert with her flute, and Polyhymnia with her Lesbian lute.

But if you rank me among the lyric poets, I shall be exalted to the skies.

NOTES.

"there." Satyrs were reputed half men, half goats. From the waist upwards they were men, with this difference, that they had two little horns sprouting from their heads; and from the waist downwards they were in the shape of goats. Horace represents himself in company with them, to signify that imagination is an essential qualification for a poet, and because all the ancients firmly believed that the Satyrs were profoundly learned, and had a great knowledge of every thing, and that their very sports and diversions had something mysterious in them; from this persuasion, they used to paint and draw the Graces, Cupids, and Venus, round the most ugly Satyrs; hence Horace associates them with the Nymphs; and even the sculptors at Athens made the statues of their Satyrs hollow, so as to shut and open; and in opening them there appeared to the spectator little images of Venus, the Graces, Cupids, and the like deities. For this reason Alcibiades compares Socrates to one of these statues.

32. *Si neque tibias.*] Our author with good reason interposes this condition *si*. For let a poet do what he can, and let him heat his imagination to the highest pitch, if the Muses do not assist him and produce enthusiasm, he will always grovel, and never become a sublime and distinguished genius.

33. *Euterpe.*] One of the Muses, the inventress of the flute. She had her name from the sweetness of her voice.

Ib. Polyhymnia.] Her distinguishing employment among the Muses, was to sing many hymns, and preside over the encomiums bestowed on great men; whence she had her name.

35. *Quòd si, &c.*] This sentence, with which he concludes, is a polite compliment. Horace, selected from the vulgar by the favour of the Muses, not inferior to the great Alcæus, introduced into the consecrated groves, and admitted into the company of the rural deities, still aspires at something more noble and glorious, viz. he wants Mæcenas' approbation to crown his glory with immortality. This is passing, in two words, a finished encomium on his patron, and in one turn including the whole design of the ode. In fine, this encomium is not without some foundation. For Mæcenas, besides several pieces in prose, composed a great number of verses. They quote two of his tragedies, and ten books of his poesy.—Those lyric poets whom Horace here mentions are Greeks; himself had the honour of being the first among the Latins who deserved the name of lyric poet. Catullus was the only one before him who attempted this kind of poetry, of whose essays we have but a few, and even those in the Grecian strain and measure. Horace has used them more discreetly: he has borrowed their matter, but has given it quite a Latin air; or (so to speak) has clothed a Grecian lyric in a Roman dress.

ODE II.

This is one of the finest odes of Horace; as the subject is very grand, the verse very noble, and the turn extremely ingenious. Nothing can be more sublime, and at the same time more curious, than the manner in which Horace makes his court to Augustus, by first enumerating all the prodigies that happened on the death of Cæsar, as if all nature had been interested in it; and afterwards insinuating, that, to revenge it, Jupiter sent a god from heaven under the form of Augustus, as if he had there but one god, and one of the greatest gods, who could appease nature that was so highly irritated, and make expiation for a crime that would have proved so fatal to the Romans. Some take this to be the subject of the ode; others conjecture that the two following events, recorded by Dio, gave

AD AUGUSTUM CÆSAREM.

Jam satis terris nivis atque diræ
Grandinis misit Pater, et, rubente
Dexterâ sacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit urbem:
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Seculum Pyrrhæ, nova monstra questæ;
Omne cùm Proteus pecus egit altos
Visere montes;
Piscium et summâ genus hæsit ulmo,
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis;
Et superjectò pavidæ natârunt
Æquore damæ.

ORDO.

Pater *Jupiter* jam misit terris satis nivis atque diræ grandinis, et jaculatus arces sacras dexterâ rubente terruit urbem: terruit gentes, ne grave seculum Pyrrhæ questæ monstra nova rediret; cum Proteus egit omne *suum* pecus visere montes altos; et genus piscium hæsit summâ ulmo, quæ sedes fuerat nota columbis; et damæ pavidæ natarunt *in* æquore superjecto.

NOTES.

1. *Jam satis terris nivis, &c.*] I do not remember any historian that mentions snow and hail amongst the prodigies that followed the death of Julius Cæsar. And seemingly Horace gives us, here, some reason for censuring him, in making such natural and common occurrences as snow and hail marks of heaven's displeasure, and in joining to these the inundation of rivers, the burning of temples by lightning, and civil wars, prodigies so extraordinary, that the whole of religion was employed to avert and expiate them. But Horace may well be defended from this censure, since it is easy to prove, that the ancients took that hail, which they called stones, for a manifest declaration of the indignation of heaven, and concluded that they must appease the gods, under a judgement of this kind, by religious services. Hence they celebrated

ODE II.

rise to it. "Octavius received the surname of Augustus on the 17th day "of January, in the year of Rome 727, and the following night there "happened a prodigious inundation of the Tiber." The other is that, "he had some time before offered to resign the government to the senate, "and told them in his speech at that time that he did not intend to con- "tinue sovereign longer than he had avenged Cæsar's murder, and de- "livered Rome from all its troubles." From these events the ode took its rise, in which the poet artfully advises Augustus to continue in the sovereignty, to which fortune and his own merit had raised him; whereby Horace not only flatters Augustus, but Mæcenas, who gave him the same advice.

TO AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

JUPITER hath already showered down so many prodigious storms of hail and snow on the earth, and his avenging arm hath with dreadful thunderbolts so shattered our sacred buildings, that the city is stricken with terror.

The waters also are swollen to so great a height, that not Rome only, but the *neighbouring* nations are in great fear of such a deluge as happened in the fatal days of Pyrrha, who lamented to see such unheard-of prodigies, as Proteus driving his scaly herd to the tops of the highest mountains, and shoals of fishes caught in the boughs of the tallest trees, on which pigeons used to perch, and the timorous deer swimming in the waters that overflowed *both the woods and mountains.*

NOTES.

the festival *Novemdialia*, the origin of which you may find in Festus, on the word *Novemdiales*. Horace, by joining snow with hail, by no means intends a distinct, but one and the same prodigy; as it commonly happens that great hail is attended with some snow which had not time for being of the former's figure and consistency. This is doubtless the true meaning of the passage, which has not been well understood, and is for that reason unjustly censured by Scaliger the father.

2, 3. *Rubente dexterâ.*] This expression *rubente*, with his hand blazing with fire, carries in it an inexpressible force. It is as much as if he had said, that all heaven was set on fire with thunder and lightning. This single word conveys to us the idea of a dreadful storm.

6. *Seculum Pyrrhæ.*] Pyrrha was the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, and wife of Deucalion, king of Thessaly; in whose time happened a deluge that drowned the whole country, he and his wife only escaping.

7. *Proteus.*] The son of Jupiter; or, according to others, of Neptune. During the fore-mentioned deluge, he brought the sea-calves, committed to him by his father, as far as the highest mountains; who formerly used to live in rivers, and on their banks. He was remarkable for the power he had of changing himself into any shape whatever.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis,
Templaque Vestæ;
Iliæ dum se nimiùm querenti
Jactat ultorem, vagus et sinistrâ
Labitur ripâ, Jove non probante, uxorius amnis.
Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ meliùs perirent;
Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara juventus.
Quem vocet divûm populus ruentis
Imperî rebus? prece quâ fatigent
Virgines sanctæ minùs audientem
Carmina Vestam?
Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Jupiter? tandem venias, precamur,
Nube candentes humeros amictus,
Augur Apollo.
Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam Jocus circumvolat, et Cupido:
Sive neglectum genus et nepotes
Respicis auctor,

ORDO.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim ire dejectum monumenta regis *Numæ* templaque Vestæ, undis violenter retortis *a* litore Etrusco; dum *hic* amnis uxorius Iliæ nimium querenti jactat se fore ultorem *necis Cæsaris*, et vagus labitur sinistrâ ripâ, Jove non probante.

Juventus rara vitio parentum audiet pugnas, audietque cives *Romanos* acuisse ferrum *in se*, quo graves Persæ melius perirent.

Quem divûm populus vocet rebus imperii ruentis? Quâ prece virgines sanctæ fatigent Vestam minus audientem carmina? Cui Jupiter dabit partes expiandi scelus?

O augur Apollo, precamur *ut* tandem venias, amictus candentes humeros nube. Sive tu mavis *venire*, *O* Erycina ridens, quam Jocus et Cupido circumvolat; sive *tu*, *Mars*, *gentis nostræ* auctor, respicis genus *tuum* neglectum et nepotes,

NOTES.

15. *Monumenta regis.*] Among the ancient monuments of the kings there were two in particular, viz. Numa's palace and mausoleum; the first lay on the left of the Tiber, at the foot of mount Palatine, and the other to the right on mount Janiculum.

16. *Templaque Vestæ.*] Vesta is the same with the earth; and her temple was round, in allusion to the spherical figure of the earth.

17. *Iliæ.*] Ilia was the mother of Romulus; and being thrown headlong into the Tiber, by the command of Amulius, as some report, was thence said to be married to that river. She was related to Julius Cæsar, who descended from her; whence Horace feigns, that her complaints to her husband had moved him to revenge the death of that great man too severely.

19. *Uxorius amnis.*] The Tiber, says Horace, seems to pursue the revenge which

We have also seen the troubled Tiber, when his waves have been with violence thrown back from the Tuscan shore, * threaten ruin and destruction both to Numa's palace and Vesta's temple. And excessively fond of his beloved Ilia, who deeply bewailed *the death of Cæsar*, he declares that he will be the avenger of it; and *accordingly*, † leaving his usual channel, he overflows his banks on the ‡ city-side; at which Jupiter was much displeased, *having reserved the glory of that revenge for Augustus.*

The Roman youth, reduced to a small number through our fault, will be astonished to hear, *some years hence*, of our bloody civil war, in which we turned our arms against one another, which had been better employed in conquering our formidable enemies the Persians.

What god's protection shall we invoke to save this tottering empire? With what prayers shall our holy vestals importune the goddess who refuses *at present* to hear their sacred songs? Whom will Jupiter commission to make an atonement for so great a crime?

We pray thee, Apollo, thou god of augurics, come at length *to our assistance;* but let thy radiant shoulders be veiled in a cloud. Or if you, charming Venus, deign, whom love and joy always attend; or if you, *great Mars*, our father, whose sole pleasure is the noise of war, the flashing of armour, and stern frown of our infantry on their inveterate enemy, § vouchsafe to

* Go to overthrow. † Wandering. ‡ Left bank. § Regard *us*.

NOTES.

Augustus had taken, and imagines that the utter destruction of the city of Rome is the only atonement that can expiate so great a crime. Besides, Ilia's resentment in this case must be satisfied. But the complaints and condescension of both are excessive. Jupiter equally disapproves the one and the other, and will admit of none with Augustus to share in the glory of revenging Cæsar's death. So, you see, it is indifferent whether you refer *nimium* to *querenti* or *jactat*, though I choose to join it with the first.

27. *Virgines sanctæ.*] The Vestal virgins, the chief part of whose office was the preservation of the eternal fire. They were sacred to Vesta; and, of consequence, their prayers, it might be supposed, would be the more powerful with her.

32. *Augur Apollo.*] Apollo presided over divination and soothsaying. He inspired the poets and Sibyls; and his oracles were always in the greatest esteem.

33. *Erycina ridens.*] All the deities here mentioned patronised Rome. And the poet takes care to give Venus a designation that must raise a sensible pleasure in Augustus. Æneas, from whom Augustus descended, had brought from Sicily into Italy a statue of Erycine Venus, to whom afterwards a temple with a magnificent portico was built at Rome without the gate Collina. The goddess received this name from the mountain Eryx in Sicily, on which she was worshipped. Its modern name is San Juliano, in the valley of Massara, near Trepano. Or rather the goddess and mountain were so called from Eryx, the son of Venus and Butes.

36. *Respicis auctor.*] The Romans were descended of Mars by Ilia, on whom he begot Romulus and Remus.

Heu, nimis longo satiate ludo;
Quem juvat clamor, galeæque leves,
Acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
Vultus in hostem.
Sive mutatâ juvenem figurâ
Ales in terris imitaris, almæ
Filius Maiæ, patiens vocari
Cæsaris ultor:
Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque
Lætus intersis populo Quirini;
Neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
Ocior aura
Tollat. Hìc magnos potiùs triumphos,
Hìc ames dici pater atque princeps;
Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
Te duce, Cæsar.

ORDO.

satiate ludo heu nimis longo; quem clamor juvat, galeæque leves, et vultus Mauri peditis acer in hostem cruentum: sive, *tu* ales filius almæ Maiæ, patiens vocari ultor Cæsaris, imitaris in terris juvenem *Augustum*, mutatâ figurâ: redeas serus in cœlum; diuque lætus intersis populo Quirini; neve ocior aura tollat te iniquum nostris vitiis. *Ames* hic potius magnos triumphos, ames hic dici pater atque princeps; neu sinas, *O* Cæsar, Medos equitare inultos, te duce.

NOTES.

41. *Sive mutatâ.*] There can be nothing more exquisite than this is. The poet would persuade the Romans that Augustus was no other than Mercury come down to avenge Cæsar's death.

41. *Juvenem.*] Augustus is here meant, who was at most but nineteen years of age when Cæsar was killed. Dio too calls him Νεον. It was from no regard to his age that the poets gave him the names of *Juvenis* and *Puer*; for Horace, Virgil, and Ovid; addressed him thus when he could not be said to be a young man.

ODE III.

We may look on this ode as the last farewell of Horace to Virgil, when he embarked for Greece; and they never saw one another more. Had Horace foreseen what was to happen, he could scarcely have expressed his grief in a more affectionate manner than he does in this ode; the first eight lines of which have something in them admirably tender, and the rest something very grand; for nothing can be more finished in its kind than this ode, Horace being about forty-seven years of age when he composed it. This is one of those odes wherein he is censured for his Pindaric excursions and sallies, but without reason; for lyric enthusiasm is not only

come touched with compassion for your offspring, which you seem to have forgotten, *we shall be highly pleased;* for you are surely fully surfeited, by this time, with the *cruel* diversion *which our civil wars* have so long given you.

Or, if it be you, * Mercury, chaste Maia's son, who appear here on earth in the form of our young prince, ready to avenge Cæsar's murder, may your return to heaven be late, that the Romans may long be blessed with your desirable presence; and let not, we beg, the abhorrence you have of our late crimes make you leave us soon. Stay rather and enjoy the glorious triumphs prepared for you. Vouchsafe to bear the amiable titles of prince and father *of our country;* nor suffer, *great* Cæsar, in your happy reign, the Parthian cavalry to insult us unrevenged.

* Winged *Mecrury.*

NOTES.

42. *Ales.*] Mercury obtained this appellation from the wings he had on his head and heels.

45. *Serus in cœlum redeas.*] This is a noble, delicate, and happy turn; and the more so, as it agrees with Mercury, whose natural habitation was heaven, and with Augustus, who was, as the descendant of Venus by Æneas, of heavenly origin.

49. *Magnos triumphos.*] A year and a half elapsed between these triumphs and the date of this ode. The time of their celebration was for three days of the month that goes under Octavius' name, in the year of Rome 721. His first triumph was for defeating the Pannonians and Dalmatians, his second for the victory at Actium, and his third for the reduction of Egypt.

51. *Medos.*] Horace means the Parthians, whom he before calls Persians. These three different people have been undistinguished by some authors, because their kingdoms have been so too. The Persians subdued the Medes, and the Parthians became masters to the first.

51. *Equitare.*] Our author uses this term, because the greatest strength of the Persians and Parthians consisted in their cavalry: and *inultos*, because of the signal defeat given by the latter to Crassus.

52. *Te duce.*] This is an honourable epithet, and is equivalent to *imperator.* Horace uses it often when speaking of Augustus. In the fifth Ode of the 4th Book, he addresses him twice with the title of *Dux bone.*

ODE III.

an enemy to grammatical connexion and methodical transitions, but likewise gives a licence to pass from one subject to another that has some affinity with the principal. After fulfilling the duties which the separation of a great and intimate friend required of him, the idea of the vessel in which Virgil had embarked, and the hazards that he might incur, had thrown our poet into a bad humour. He abhors navigation, and looks on it as a wicked attempt against the laws of nature, and an open defiance to heaven, and ascribes all the bold adventures of this kind to an ungovernable and precipitant disposition in man after

things forbidden; and from this source he draws all the miseries with which human life is chequered. From this account one may venture to say that there is no great disagreement in the progress of this piece, and that all the three parts of which it consists naturally arise the one from

Ad Navem Virgilium Athenas vehentem.

Sic te Diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obstrictis aliis, præter Iapyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Debes Virgilium; finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.
Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus,
Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti,
Quo non arbiter Adriæ
Major, tollere seu ponere vult freta.
Quem mortis timuit gradum,
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,
Qui vidit mare turgidum, et
Infames scopulos Acroceraunia?

ORDO.

O navis, quæ debes Virgilium creditum tibi, precor *ut* sic potens diva Cypri, sic fratres Helenæ lucida sidera, et pater ventorum, obstrictis aliis *ventis* præter Iapyga, regat te, *ut* reddas *eum* incolumem finibus Atticis, et serves dimidium animæ meæ..

Robur et æs triplex erat illi circa pectus, qui primus commisit fragilem ratem pelago truci, nec timuit Africum præcipitem *cum* aquilonibus decertantem, nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti, quo non *est* major arbiter Adriæ, *seu* vult tollere seu ponere freta.

Quem gradum mortis timuit *ille*, qui vidit monstra natantia siccis oculis, qui *vidit* mare turgidum, et infames scopulos Acroceraunia?

NOTES.

1. *Diva potens Cypri.*] Venus is invoked here, probably, because that planet is of great use to seamen, in directing their course.

2. *Fratres Helenæ.*] Castor and Pollux were feigned by the ancients to have been transformed into those stars which are called Gemini, or the Twin-stars. In their lifetime, they were remarkable for clearing the sea of the rovers and pirates that infested it.

3. *Ventorum pater.*] Ancient mythology represents the winds as volatile, restless, and turbulent deities, taking pleasure in throwing the universe into confusion. They forced a passage for the sea into the main land, tore numbers of islands from the continent, and committed num-

the other. Either all kinds of digressions must be discarded from lyric poetry, which would be absurd, or it must be owned that this piece has nothing extravagant in it.—Virgil's voyage happened in the year of Rome 735, probably in the beginning of spring: the date of this ode, therefore, cannot be doubtful.

TO THE VESSEL THAT WAS CARRYING VIRGIL TO ATHENS.

DEAR ship, as *the life of* Virgil, *my beloved Virgil*, is intrusted to you, take care, I conjure you, to keep the half of my *very* soul from all danger, and land him safe on the coast of Attica; on this condition may the goddess Venus, who reigns in Cyprus, and Helen's *two* brothers, those auspicious stars, *direct your course*; on this condition, may * Æolus, putting all the winds under confinement except the west, favour your voyage.

His heart must surely have been cased in oak or three plates of brass, who first had the courage to expose himself to the raging sea in a slender bark, and defied the violent south-west wind beating against the north, nor feared the stormy Hyades, or south wind's rage, which swells or smooths the waves of the Adriatick sea at pleasure. What form of death would frighten him, who could † unconcerned behold the huge sea-monsters rolling in the deep, who could *without terror* look on the tempestuous sea, and those notoriously dangerous rocks of Epirus?

* The father of the winds. † With dry eyes.

NOTES.

berless devastations. To prevent the like dismal catastrophes, they confined them to a certain country, and imposed a king on them, by name Æolus. This new monarch, or rather new god, has always had a great part to act in every poem, either to raise or calm a storm. Ulysses prays to him for a happy voyage; Juno, the queen of the gods, stoops to implore his aid for defeating the establishment of the Trojans in Italy; and it may be said, that Æolus has the honour of beginning the broil of that great subject in the Æneid of Virgil, for which see the Prose Translation, Book I.

6. *Finibus Atticis.*] Virgil, in the 52d year of his age, resolved to go to Athens, to give the last polished turn to his Æneid. And it is to this voyage that Monsieur le Fevre, with good reason, refers this ode; showing that Horace, who was five years younger than Virgil, was in the 47th year of his age when he composed it.

7. *Reddas incolumem.*] The propriety of the terms *debes*, *creditum*, *reddas*, *incolumem*, ought by no means to be passed over unobserved. They are borrowed from the notion of debit and credit, or from the obligations arising from having a trust, which have a peculiar and singular beauty in this place.

14. *Hyadas.*] The seven stars. The poets feign them to be the daughters of Atlas and Æthra; who, greatly lamenting the death of their brother Hyas, were translated into heaven, where they are supposed still to continue weeping; it being observed, that their rising and setting are frequently attended with storms of rain.

Nequicquam Deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiæ
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
Audax omnia perpeti,
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
Audax Iapeti genus
Ignem fraude malâ gentibus intulit:
Post ignem æthereâ domo
Subductum, macies, et nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors,
Semotique priùs tarda necessitas
Lethi corripuit gradum.
Expertus vacuum Dædalus aëra
Pennis non homini datis:
Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
Nil mortalibus arduum est.
Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitiâ; neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina.

ORDO.

Deus prudens nequicquam abscidit terras Oceano dissociabili, si tamen rates impiæ transiliunt vada non tangenda.

Gens humana, audax perpeti omnia, ruit per vetitum nefas. Audax *Prometheus* genus Iapeti intulit ignem gentibus fraude mala: macies et nova cohors febrium incubuit terris post ignem subductum æthereâ domo: necessitasque prius tarda corripuit gradum lethi semoti. Dædalus expertus *est* vacuum aëra pennis non datis homini: labor Herculeus perrupit Acheronta.

Nil est arduum mortalibus. Petimus cœlum ipsum stultitiâ; neque patimur Jovem ponere fulmina iracunda per scelus nostrum.

NOTES.

24. *Non tangenda.*] As the ancients were persuaded that God had set the ocean as a boundary to the land, so they firmly believed that the man who first broke through these bounds was punished for his bold attempt:

Exitu diro temerata ponti
Jura piavit.

27. *Iapeti genus.*] Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, first made a man of clay, and afterwards, by fire stolen from heaven, put life in his image. In revenge for this freedom, Jupiter sent Pandora, the wife of Epimetheus, with a box to her husband, from which, as soon as he opened it, there flew out sundry sorts of diseases, and spread themselves up and down the earth.

30. *Macies, et nova febrium.*] Consumption and fevers represent all the infirmities of the body. The poet alludes to the above story of Pandora. Jupiter, to punish the audacious Prometheus, dispatched this woman to him with a box which contained the seeds of all kinds of diseases. Prometheus suspected the present, and refused it: but his brother incautiously received and opened it. Hence arose that inundation

In vain hath God divided the several kingdoms of the earth by wisely placing the ocean between them*, if profane men will, in small vessels, cross those seas on which they ought not to venture. *But* what is it bold man will not attempt, furiously bent on every thing that is wicked and forbidden? Thus *Prometheus*, the aspiring son of Japhet, stole fire *from heaven* for the use of man, by an artifice fatal *to his posterity;* for this† *piece of sacrilege* was followed by famine, and a frightful swarm of diseases entirely new to us, which over-ran the whole earth; and death, sure before, though slow, began from that time to double his pace

Dædalus *also* dared to soar in the air with wings not intended for man, and Hercules forced his way to hell; *in fine*, nothing seems impossible to men; we are even so mad as to attempt *to storm* heaven itself;‡ hence it is, that Jupiter, provoked at our repeated crimes, still finds use for his thunderbolts.

* If impious ships cross. † Fire stolen from the heavenly house.
‡ Nor, through our wickedness, do we suffer Jupiter to lay aside his angry thunderbolts.

NOTES.

of calamities that pursue and embitter all our pleasures.

31. *Incubuit.* This word has been admirably chosen to point out to us that every part of this our earth was seized with the corruption. Virgil has used it with the same meaning in his first Æneid:

——*ponto nox incubat atra.*

"Sable night covers the sea."

32. *Semotique priùs tarda necessitas.*] Never were there two more beautiful verses. And Horace has infinitely surpassed in this the original which he had in his eye. I do not dwell upon the terms, than which nothing can be more proper. But I cannot help remarking the happy art observed in the slowness of the first verse. Horace seems to make death move heavily, and with a slow pace in the first, with a view to hasten his pace in the second, and as it were gives him wings by the swiftness of that one expression, *corripuit.*

34. *Expertus vacuum Dædalus.*] Dedalus was a famous architect. He lived in Crete at Minos' court, a little before the Trojan war, and there built, by his order, the famous labyrinth, into which himself was shut, for having discovered the secret of his way to Theseus. His friends, and even the queen herself, who was under some obligations to him for having favoured her amorous adventures, bribed his guards, procured his escape, and put him in a vessel, which sailed so well, that those who pursued him reported that she had wings. This was generally believed among the people, as if in fact she had flown; whereas those people spoke only of the wings of his ship, as all the ancients have given that name to the sails of a ship.

36. *Perrupit Acheronta.*] This earth furnishing no more monsters for the exercise of Hercules' valour, he goes down to hell, thence takes Theseus, and drags Cerberus himself to the very foot of Pluto's throne.

38. *Cælum ipsum petimus.*] The poet here alludes to the story of the giants.

ODE IV.

Though the subject of this ode is common, Horace's manner of treating it is far from being so. A gaiety of spirit, under an air of seriousness, appears through the whole. The prospect of approaching death at the end of it, was, according to the principles of the Epicureans, a strong reason for spending life agreeably; but to let us into a thorough knowledge of this ode, and into our author's ingenuity, it will be necessary to lay before the reader's eye a sketch of the Roman calendar. In it the fifth day after the nones of February, that is to say, the tenth day of the month, was reckoned the spring's commencement. The very next day began Faunus' festivals, which were no sooner ended, than immediately succeeded the Feralia or Feriæ of the dead. Thus Ovid says, in his second book of Fasti:

En etiam si quis Boream horrere solebat,
Gaudeat: a Zephyris mitior aura venit.
Quintus ab æquoreis nitidum jubar extulit undis
Lucifer, et primi tempora veris erant.

"Now if there be any who used to shrink at the cold northern wind, let "him be glad, since a kinder breeze blows in the Zephyrs; and from the com- "mencement of the early spring, the great luminary of the day has now the "fifth time raised his refulgent beam from the watery main." And afterwards:

AD L. SEXTIUM CONSULAREM.

Solvitur acris hiems gratâ vice veris et Favonî,
Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas;
Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator igni,
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Lunâ;
Junctæque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes

ORDO.

Hiems acris solvitur gratâ vice veris et Favonî, machinæque trahunt carinas siccas; ac qenue pecus jam gaudet stabulis, aut arator *gaudet* igni, nec prata albicant pruinis canis.

Venus Cytherea jam ducit choros Lunâ imminente; Gratiæque decentes junctæ nymphis

NOTES.

1. *Solvitur*, &c.] This introduction is beautiful; there is poetry in the sense itself, and propriety in the expression. These two words *acris* and *grata* are so far from being bare words, that they are expressive of the rigour and mildness of the two seasons here mentioned.

5. *Cytherea Venus.*] Cythera, now Cerigo,

ODE IV.

Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni,
Hic ubi discretas insula rumpit aquas.

"Upon the ides (that is, on the 13th of the month), the altars of rural "Faunus smoke in the island which separates the waters of the Tiber." Five days afterwards, the last of which was the last too, and grandest holiday of the fast instituted for the dead,

Hanc quia justa ferunt dixere Feralia lucem,
Ultima placandis manibus illa dies.

"They call this day the holiday of the dead, because they sacrifice to them, "and the last day of the solemnity is destined for appeasing the Manès." All this serves to give us a good insight into this ode, in letting us see that the very subject of it was taken from the festivals of the calendar, which was a kind of remembrancer to them, of making the best use of every moment of their time; because scarcely has the spring begun, and carried with it the agreeable and delightful festival of Faunus, when immediately follows the dismal and mournful festival of the dead, to put us in mind of our exit or departure out of this life. This appears to me highly ingenious, and well deserving an explication. The very first line of the ode shows that it was written in the spring, but in what year is uncertain.

TO L. SEXTIUS.

THE spring, with its *warm*, refreshing breezes, comes *at length* to free us from the extreme cold of winter; and they *now* begin to haul with engines the ships out of the docks. The cattle * *now* forsake their stalls, and the ploughman takes no pleasure in *sitting by* the fire, nor are the fields any longer covered with *nipping* hoar-frost. †Venus now leads her *joyful* choirs by moon-light; the

* Do not rejoice in. † Cytherean Venus.

NOTES.

was an island of the Ægean sea, on the coast of Peloponnesus. In this island there was a most ancient temple belonging to Venus; whence she was called Cytherea.

5. *Choros ducit Venus.*] Horace here speaks of the festival of Venus, which began on the first of April. Then the young ladies walked for three nights successively, and divided themselves into three companies, out of which they formed several choruses. They passed all this time in dancing, and in singing hymns to the honour of their goddess.

6. *Gratiæ.*] The Graces were doubtless the most amiable divinities in the ancient mythology. They were looked upon as the

Alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum graves Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.
Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto,
Aut flore, terræ quem ferunt solutæ :
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agnam, sive malit hœdum.
Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres. O beate Sexti,
Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.
Jam te premet nox, fabulæque Manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia ; quò simul meâris,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis,
Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere, quo calet juventus
Nunc omnis, et mox virgines tepebunt.

ORDO.

quatiunt terram pede alterno, dum Vulcanus ardens urit graves officinas Cyclopum.

Nunc decet impedire caput nitidum aut viridi myrto, aut flore quem terræ solutæ ferunt. Nunc et decet immolare Fauno in lucis umbrosis, seu poscat agnam, sive malit hœdum.

Pallida mors pulsat tabernas pauperum turresque regum pede æquo. O beate Sexti, brevis summa vitæ vetat nos inchoare spem longam. Nox jam premet te, fabulæque Manes, et domus exilis Plutonia ; quò simul meâris, nec sortiere regna vini talis, nec mirabere tenerum Lycidam, quo juventus omnis nunc calet, et virgines mox tepebunt.

NOTES.

source of all that is agreeable and cheerful in nature. They are generally thought to be the daughters of Bacchus and Venus : some make Eurynomè their mother. The majority of poets determine their number to be three, viz. Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia. Horace calls them *Gratiæ decentes*, to point out their modesty and reservedness at these festivals.

7. *Cyclopum.*] The Cyclops were a people of Sicily : it is said that Vulcan employed them at his forges. Virgil names three of them, viz. Brontes, Steropes, and Pyracmon ; they were the first inhabitants of that

ODE V.

Horace, in this ode, ridicules, in a very handsome manner, the weakness of those youths who are deluded by intriguing women, such as Pyrrha was, and exposes the arts by which they seduce the unwary ; and, at the same

AD PYRRHAM.

Quis multâ gracilis te puer in rosâ
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus

ORDO.

O Pyrrha, quis gracilis puer, perfusus odoribus liquidis, urget te in rosâ multâ, sub

Nymphs and lovely Graces dance hand in hand, while glowing Vulcan blows the fire to his labouring Cyclops in the stifling forge. Now is the time to perfume our hair, and to crown our heads with garlands of verdant myrtle, or flowers just sprung from the pregnant earth. Now is the time to offer in the shady groves, to Faunus, a lamb or a kid, whichever he may best approve. Grim death, with equal freedom, attacks the palaces of kings, and cottages of peasants. Our life, dear friend, at its greatest extent, is so short, that it suffers us not to *form great designs, which cannot soon be put in execution, or* entertain any hopes which are too remote. You yourself will be soon buried in eternal darkness, among the Manes so much talked of, in Pluto's melancholy abode; where once arrived, you shall no more cast lots who is to be master of the feast, nor shall you any more admire young Lycidas, with whom all of his age are now charmed, and of *whom* the ladies will soon be enamoured.

NOTES.

island, and possessed the western coast of it round Trapani and cape Lilybeum.

8. *Vulcanus.*] The god of fire, and son of Jupiter and Juno. He was employed in making his father's thunderbolts, in which work he was assisted by the Cyclops.

11. *Fauno.*] Faunus is the same with the god Pan, to whom they usually sacrificed in the beginning of the spring, that he might be propitious to the flocks, which were then brought forth to feed in the fields.

16. *Fabulæque Manes.*] Some learned men have grossly mistaken this epithet *fabulæ*, in thinking that Horace calls the Manes groundless fictions. But it is certain, that an admission of this meaning would destroy what follows; and Monsieur le Fevre has observed, that *fabula* is not always taken in a bad sense, but often, on the contrary, for reality and matters of fact; and so is μυθος among the Greeks. Therefore the phrase *fabulæ manes* is the same with *manes de quibus multæ sunt fabulæ, i. e.* "the Manes who are much talked of." And so when he says "the fabulous Hydaspes," he does not mean the Hydaspes is a pure fable, but that it is much talked of either by poets or historians.

18. *Nec regna vini sortiere talis.*] The ancients ordinarily made choice of a master at their feasts, and the election was determined by the cast of the dice.

ODE V.

time, shows what they must expect who are caught in their snares. He chooses such fine expressions, and words so well adapted to the subject, that there are few or none of his odes more finished than this.

TO PYRRHA.

WHO, Pyrrha, is this slender young gallant perfumed with rich odours, that caresses you on a bed of roses in a pleasant grotto?

Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam,
Simplex munditiis? heu, quoties fidem
Mutatosque Deos flebit, et aspera
Nigris æquora ventis
Emirabitur insolens,
Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aureâ;
Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem
Sperat, nescius auræ
Fallacis! Miseri, quibus
Intentata nites. Me tabulâ sacer
Votivâ paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

ORDO.

antro grato? Cui religas comam flavam, simplex munditiis?

Heu, quoties *ille* flebit fidem, Deosque mutatos, et insolens emirabitur æquora aspera ventis nigris, qui credulus nunc fruitur te aureâ; qui, nescius auræ fallacis, sperat *te fore* semper vacuam, *et* semper amabilem!

Miseri *sunt illi* quibus nites intentata. Paries sacer indicat *ex* tabula votiva me suspendisse uvida vestimenta potenti Deo maris.

[NOTES.

4. *Cui flavam religas comam.*] Horace is pointing at the careless manner of the Spartan ladies in dressing their heads, who contented themselves with tying their hair behind, in a knot, with a bunch of flowers. And to this he refers in the eleventh Ode of his second Book, when he says,

——— *incomptam Lacænæ*
More comam religata nodo.

9. *Aureâ.*] This word sometimes signifies pretty, beautiful. Thus, Virgil says, *aurea Venus.* For the word *aurum* is derived from *aura*, which is as much as to say, splendour, brightness.

13. *Me tabulâ sacer votivâ paries.*] The construction must run thus; *Paries sacer indicat tabula votiva me suspendisse vestimenta uvida Deo potenti maris.* Horace, to intimate to us that he had been shipwrecked in a passion he had for Pyrrha, with great propriety applies to his case a certain custom that prevailed among sailors who had been saved from shipwreck, of representing in a picture all that befell them. Some of them made use of this picture to raise the compassion of those whom they met, that, by

ODE VI.

Agrippa had probably upbraided Horace for never making him the subject of his muse. The poet satisfies him on that head by the excuse he makes for not doing it. He even says more than was required of him; for he justifies his silence with respect to other great men who had served in the last wars. His very apologies may be considered as panegyrics. Octavius only is named here, as if, out of respect to him, he dared to do no more. Agrippa's praises

For whom, pray, do you bind up your golden locks*, and dress so neatly? Poor inexperienced youth! how oft will he have cause to complain of your treachery, and lament his own hard fate! How will he stand amazed to see †your smooth temper suddenly ruffled as the sea is with stormy winds? He, who now thinks you so divinely charming, who now thinks you are wholly his, and that you will be always the same, little dreams how soon the wind will change. Thrice-wretched are they, who, strangers to your arts, are allured with your beauty. I, *alas! know them too well; and, as a memorial of my narrow escape from shipwreck*, have, according to my vow, hung up my tablet and dripping clothes on the ‡ wall of Neptune's temple, *in testimony of my gratitude* to the powerful god of the sea.

* Plain in your neatness. † Those seas ruffled. ‡ Holy wall.

NOTES.

their charity, they might recover what losses they sustained at sea. Thus Juvenal, in his fourteenth satire, says,

——*Mersa rate naufragus assem*
Dum rogat, et picta se tempestate tuetur.

"While the shipwrecked man begs a far-"thing, and pleads for aid, by showing a "painted storm." With this design they hung those pictures round their necks, and explained the subject of them by songs accommodated to their case, resembling our modern pilgrims. Thus Persius, in his first satire, observes,

——*Cantet si naufragus, assem*
Protulerim? cantas cum fracta te trabe pictum,
Ex humero portes?

"Though the shipwrecked sailor should sing "his song, shall I give him charity? What! "do you sing, when you carry on your shoul-"der the sad picture of your being cast away "at sea?" Others dedicated this tablet or representation to the temple of that god whom they in their distress invoked, and to whom they, as they imagined, owed their preservation. This custom even went farther: for the very lawyers used to wear things of this nature at the bar, to affect the judges with the hardships of their clients and the cruelty of their prosecutors; as Quintilian informs us in the first chapter of his sixth book.

ODE VI.

are no more than the outlines of his character, which would be a fit subject for an epic poem, and require a second Homer to do him justice. The other generals are represented as it were in a groupe, under allegorical persons chosen from the most famous heroes of the Trojan war. All this is expressed in a few words, but ennobled with the embellishments of the most sublime poetry.

I shall in the remarks unriddle the allegory that runs through this ode, to show that my conjecture is far from being groundless. When I call it a conjecture, I do not say too much: it wants no probability in it. The whole piece seems to prove it by forcing its conviction on the mind. Let one read it from one end to the other, he shall find no beauty or connexion in it but in the sense I take it; and unless this be done, he will find it to be no other than a confused medley of encomiums. Agrippa's eulogium is followed by that of Ulysses and Achilles. Afterwards he presents us with

AD AGRIPPAM.

Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis alite,
Quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
    Miles te duce gesserit.
Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere, nec gravem
Pelidæ stomachum cedere nescii,
Nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulyssei,
    Nec sævam Pelopis domum
Conamur, tenues grandia; dum pudor,
Imbellisque lyræ Musa potens vetat
Laudes egregii Cæsaris, et tuas,
    Culpâ deterere ingenî.
Quis Martem tunicâ tectum adamantinâ

ORDO.

O Agrippa, *tu* scriberis fortis et victor hostium *a* Vario alite carminis Mæonii, quamcunque rem miles ferox gesserit navibus aut equis te duce. Nos tenues *non* conamur grandia, neque dicere hæc, nec gravem stomachum Pelidæ nescii cedere, nec cursus Ulyssei duplicis per mare, nec sævam domum Pelopis; dum pudor, musaque potens imbellis lyræ, vetat deterere laudes egregii Cæsaris, et tuas, culpa ingenii. Quis digne scripserit Martem tectum tunica adamantina? aut

NOTES.

1. *Scriberis Vario.*] Varius was a great poet; he had surprising success in tragic and epic compositions; but nothing of his has come down to us except some fragments. He was in great esteem at Augustus's court: and one may judge of the great character he had acquired, by the manner in which Horace writes of him here, and Virgil in his ninth Eclogue:

—— me quoque dicunt
Vatem pastores; sed non ego credulus illis:
Nam neque adhuc Vario videor, nec dicere Cinnâ.
Digna.

"The shepherds call me a poet; but I am "far from believing them in this, since I "have done nothing hitherto worthy of "Varius or Cinna."

Horace, Virgil, Quintilian, and Martial, agree in making Varius one of the first and greatest poets of his age. He was of great service to our author in procuring him the interest and friendship of Mæcenas; and after Virgil's death he was ordered by Augustus to revise the Æneid.

2. *Mæonii carminis alite.*] This, ren-

the destruction of Pelops' family. Agrippa advances a second time. Octavius then makes his appearance, and last of all Mars, Merion, and Diomede, close the procession and finish the ode. Nothing but allegory could bring so many distinct personages into one point of view. The subject of this ode being once established, it is no difficult matter to find almost the year in which it was composed. I believe it was that of Rome 725, the year in which Octavius shut the temple of Janus, triumphed for three days, and received divine honours by a decree of the senate.

TO AGRIPPA.

ILLUSTRIOUS Agrippa, your valour, your victories, and the gallant actions which our soldiers have done both on sea and land, under your command, will be celebrated by Varius, the prince of epic poets. Alas! my genius is unequal to so great a work; neither can I describe the destructive anger of the inexorable Achilles, the long voyage of the crafty Ulysses, nor the tragical actions of Pelops' house. My muse, accustomed to softer airs, is afraid of soaring beyond her strength, afraid to celebrate Cæsar's triumphs, or to sing your praises, lest she should lessen or debase them.

Who can give a just and lively description of Mars in his *impenetrable* armour of adamant, or *paint* Merion covered over with

NOTES.

dered word or word, is The swan of the Mæonian verse. Horace makes Varius to rival Homer, the most ancient epic poet that we have. He was the son of Mæon. Hence Horace calls him in another place Mæonides.

6. *Gravem Pelidæ stomachum.*] Here he begins the recital of his generals. It is not possible to make an exact and precise application of all these allegories. History is too dark to satisfy our curiosity in this particular. It is well if we can resolve some of them, so as to carry a high degree of probability with them. The first then that offers to be unmasked is the inexorable Achilles, whose resentment against Agamemnon kept the fortune of the Greeks and Trojans a long time in suspense. In the ode *Pastor cum traheret* we see Pollio disguised under the name of Achilles, and with the same name and for the same reasons he re-appears here. His disaffection to Octavius was the occasion of his dissatisfaction and uneasiness: his inaction during the battles of Actium and Alexandria, and his inflexible obstinacy to the pressing solicitations of that prince, were the pure effects of it. By this conduct he rendered himself formidable, and forced his very enemies to court him. This account tolerably explains the expressions *gravis stomachus* and *cedere nescius*, which answer to the term *iracundus* in the ode *Pastor cum traheret*. But some will say, Why is Pollio included among so many great captains who had signalised themselves in the last two wars, when he had no share in them? To which I answer, that the allegory turns only on his inaction during those wars. His neutrality, with reason suspected, buoyed up Antony's hopes, while it must create uneasiness to Octavius. Besides, from the ode *Motum ex Metello* one may see he was in great esteem in Rome, and that Horace courted his friendship, as did all the great wits of that age.

7. *Ulyssei.*] Ulysses was king of Ithaca, and very serviceable to the Greeks at the siege of Troy, by his good counsel. After the destruction of that city, he wandered for the space of ten years through strange countries, and by his wisdom and dissimulation escaped many dangers, and at last returned safe into his own country.

Dignè scripserit? aut pulvere Troico
Nigrùm Merionen? aut ope Palladis
Tydiden Superis parem?
Nos convivia, nos prælia virginum,
Sectis in juvenes unguibus acrium,
Cantamus, vacui, sive quid urimur,
Non præter solitum leves.

ORDO.

Merionen nigrùm pulvere Troico, aut Tydiden parem Superis ope Palladis? *Sive* vacui, sive quid urimur, leves non præter solitum, nos cantamus convivia, nos *cantamus* prælia virginum acrium in juvenes unguibus sectis.

NOTES.

15. *Nigrum Merionen.*] Meriones was so famous among the Greeks for his noble achievements in war, that they scrupled not to boast he was no way inferior to Mars himself.

15. *Aut ope Palladis Tydiden.*] Diomede was the son of Tydeus and Deiphyle, daughter to Adrastus, and was one of the bravest among the Greeks. Homer sounds his praise in several places of his poem. But I find Virgil has left nothing to be said or thought of him after what himself has written of him, when speaking of the Trojans:

ODE VII.

In this ode, the verses of which are very fine, and not less excellent than any of the former odes, Horace, after a long and pompous enumeration of the finest cities, and most agreeable countries of Greece, prefers his seat at Tivoli to all of them. Then he advises Plancus to drown his cares in wine, after the example of Teucer, who cheered both himself and his companions with a hearty glass, the very night before he left his

AD * MUNATIUM PLANCUM.

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mitylenen,
Aut Ephesum, bimarisve Corinthi
Mœnia, vel Baccho Thebas, vel Apolline Delphos
Insignes, aut Thessala Tempe.

ORDO.

Alii laudabunt claram Rhodon, aut Mitylenen, aut Ephesum mœniave Corinthi bimaris, vel Thebas *insignes* Baccho, vel Delphos insignes Apolline, aut Tempe Thessala.

NOTES.

* *Munatium Plancum.*] This is the same person who wrote those admirable letters to Cicero, which we have. He was engaged in Mark Antony's party, but left it, and

dust in the Trojan fields? Who can represent *Diomede, *the valiant Diomede*, who by Pallas' favour was made equal to the gods? For me, in whatever state I am, free or amorous, and always given to change, I think of nothing but singing love-feasts, and the mock-fights of our young ladies, who cut their nails close, lest they should scratch their lovers.

* The son of Tydeus.

NOTES.

Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles, Non anni domuere decem.

" A people whom neither Diomede, nor " Achilles, nor a siege of ten years, could " vanquish."

18. *Sectis in juvenes unguibus acrium.*] Horace intimates, that young ladies would willingly be on the defensive, but not in such a manner as to offer violence to their opponents by a passionate and rude resistance; and for this reason they take care to have their nails well pared. From this play and contrariety in the terms, *acrium sectis unguibus*, arises the chief beauty of the expression. Besides, it admirably expresses the natural temper of the young fair, who only make a soft resistance, and never fight but with a view to yield. It is this natural turn of mind which Horace so curiously describes in the ninth Ode of this Book:

Pignusque dereptum lacertis, Aut digito male pertinaci.

And in the twelfth Ode of the second Book:

—— Aut facili sævitia neganti, Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi, Interdum rapere occupet.

ODE VII.

country, whence he was banished by his father for not revenging the affront put on his brother Ajax by the Grecian princes in giving Achilles' armour to Ulysses; a decision which so incensed Ajax, that he destroyed himself. Much more reason had Plancus to be cheerful, who had left Mark Antony's party, and had come over to Augustus, under whom he needed fear nothing. It would seem that Horace composed this ode a little after Mæcenas had made him a present of a country-seat.

TO MUNATIUS PLANCUS.

Some will praise famous Rhodes or Mitylene, Ephesus, or Corinth situate between two seas, Thebes noted for *Bacchus' birth, or Delphos so renowned for † Apollo's oracle; or, *in fine*, the sacred valley of Tempe, *the ornament* of Thessaly. Others employ

* Bacchus. † Apollo.

NOTES.

went over to Cæsar's, which was called afterwards by the name of his successor Augustus. Besides several honourable places he had enjoyed, he was twice consul.

1. *Claram Rhodon.*] Rhodes was an island of Asia the Less, and in great repute even before the Trojan war.

Sunt quibus unum opus est, intactæ Palladis urbem
Carmine perpetuo celebrare, et
Undique decerptæ frondi præponere olivam.
Plurimus, in Junonis honorem,
Aptum dicit equis Argos, ditesque Mycenas.
Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon,
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.
Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila cœlo
Sæpe Notus, neque parturit imbres
Perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitæque labores
Molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer, Salamina patremque
Cùm fugeret, tamen uda Lyæo
Tempora populeâ fertur vinxisse coronâ,
Sic tristes affatus amicos:
Quò nos cunque ferat melior fortuna parente,

ORDO.

Sunt *poetæ* quibus est opus unum celebrare urbem intactæ Palladis carmine perpetuo, et præponere olivam frondi undique decerptæ.

Plurimus, in honorem Junonis, dicit Argos aptum equis, ditesque Mycenas.

Nec patiens Lacedæmon, nec campus Larissæ opimæ, tam percussit me, quam domus Albuneæ resonantis, et Anio præceps, et lucus Tiburni, et pomaria uda rivis mobilibus.

Ut albus Notus sæpe deterget nubila cœlo obscuro, neque parturit imbres perpetuos, sic, O Plance, tu sapiens memento finire tristitiam laboresque vitæ molli mero, seu castra fulgentia signis tenent te, seu densa umbra Tiburis tui tenebit *te*.

Cum Teucer fugeret Salamina patremque, fertur tamen vinxisse tempora *sua* uda Lyæo, corona populea, sic affatus tristes amicos:

" O socii, comitesque, ibimus quocunque
" fortuna melior parente feret nos.

NOTES.

1. *Mitylenen.*] The isle of Lesbos, one of the chief in the Archipelago, and towards the western coast of Natolia, has for its capital the city of Mitylene, which has given to the island the name it bears even at this day.

2. *Ephesum.*] Ephesus, once a famous city of Asia Minor in Ionia, now only a miserable village, on the coast of the Archipelago.

2. *Bimarisve Corinthi.*] Corinth, now Coranto, a city of Peloponnesus, situated in the middle of the isthmus between the Ionian and Ægean seas, whence Horace calls it *Bimaris*. Some derive its name from one Corinthus, the son of Sisyphus.

3. *Baccho Thebas.*] Thebes, a city in Bœotia, built by Cadmus. It was famous on account of Bacchus, who was born there of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus.

3. *Apolline Delphos.*] Delphos was built upon mount Parnassus, by a grandson of Lycorus, on the ruins of a village named Parnassus, which had been destroyed in the flood of Deucalion. It was chiefly remarkable for the temple and oracles of Apollo in it.

4. *Tempe.*] A very pleasant place in Thessaly, enriched with a variety of mountains,

themselves wholly in composing an entire poem in praise of the city of chaste Pallas, and in giving the preference to the sacred olive before all other trees. Many, in honour of Juno, sing of Argos as a fine place for breeding horses, and of the opulent *city* Mycene. As for me, I am not so much charmed with Lacedemon, whose inhabitants are so renowned for their patience, or with the fertile fields of Larissa, as with my house and my fountain of Albunea, whose current makes a pleasant noise, or with Anio that falls like a cascade upon the rocks; or with my sacred grove of Tiburnus, and orchards that are watered with *a thousand* ductile springs.

As the south wind brings not always rain, but often dissipates the clouds, that darken the air, do you also, sage Plancus, banish your cares with a cheerful glass, whether you are in the camp that is brilliant with standards, or in the thick shade of your Tivoli.

Teucer, *in greater distress than you*, being forced to leave his father and his country, * yet crowned himself with poplar; and, with his glass in his hand, thus addressed himself to his dejected friends: "My fellow-sufferers and companions, to whatever

* Is said to have bound with a poplar crown his temples moistened with wine.

NOTES.

rivers, valleys; insomuch, that in giving a description of any fine country, it was said to be as beautiful as Tempe.

5. *Palladis urbem.*] Athens, the seat of learning, where arts and sciences flourished in their utmost perfection. No wonder then, if it be spoken of as belonging properly to Pallas, she being the goddess of wisdom, and patroness of learning and arts.

9. *Aptum dicit equis Argos.*] Argos was a city of Peloponnesus, situated in a fertile soil, not far from the rivers Phrixus and Inachus, being surrounded with plains that produced fine pasturage for horses.

9. *Ditesque Mycenas.*] Mycene was a city of Peloponnesus, famous for the history of Agamemnon. Horace calls it rich, after Homer and Sophocles, who have given it the same epithet.

10. *Patiens Lacedæmon.*] Lacedæmon, otherwise Sparta, was situated in Laconia, a province of Peloponnesus, on the river Eurotas. Horace styles it patient, because it was the constant practice of the Lacedemonians to accustom their children to all manner of hardships, that so they might be inured to fatigue and labour, and trained up in a contempt of the greatest dangers.

11. *Larissæ campus opimæ.*] There have been many cities of this name; but that which Horace hints at here, was in Thessaly, situated in an airy fruitful soil.

12. *Albuneæ.*] This was a fountain in the mountains of Tibur, not far from a wood of the same name. They were both so called from the Sibyl *Albunea*, although Servius derives the name from the clearness of the water.

13. *Et præceps Anio.*] This river takes its rise also in the same mountains; its current is very strong, until it empties itself into the Tiber, a little above Rome, with great rapidity.

13. *Tiburni lucus.*] The wood Albunea; so called from the neighbouring city Tibur, built by one Tiburnus. In this place, Horace had a small country-seat.

19. *Plance.*] Plancus was a person of distinction in the Roman republic. He governed Gaul about the time that Julius Cæsar was slain. He had the honour of a triumph, and was afterwards consul and censor.

21. *Teucer.*] Teucer and Ajax were the sons of Telamon, born of different mothers. They went together to the siege of

Ibimus, ô socii, comitesque.
Nil desperandum, Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro :
Certus enim promisit Apollo
Ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina futuram.
O fortes, pejoraque passi
Mecum sæpe viri, nunc vino pellite curas :
Cras ingens iterabimus æquor.

ORDO.

" Nil est desperandum Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro; Apollo enim certus promisit Salamina ambiguam futuram in tellure nova. O viri fortes, passique sæpe pejora mecum, nunc pellite curas vino. Cras iterabimus æquor ingens."

NOTES.

Troy, when Ajax having slain himself, because the arms of Achilles were given to Ulysses rather than to him, Teucer returned to Salamis. But being driven thence by Telamon, who was offended to see him return without his brother, he landed in Cyprus, and built a city, which he named Salamis, from that which existed in his own country.

25. *Melior fortuna parente.*] It is true, that Teucer received worse treatment from his

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ODE VIII.

The real design of Horace, in this ode, is to reproach Lydia for suffering Sybaris, who had distinguished himself in manly exercises, to live with her in softness and effeminacy, disguised in woman's apparel; and this he does in a very beautiful manner. We cannot precisely tell at what time

AD LYDIAM.

Lydia, dic, per omnes
Te Deos oro, Sybarin cur properas amando
Perdere? cur apricum
Oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis?
Cur neque militaris
Inter æquales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frænis?

ORDO.

O Lydia, oro te per omnes Deos, dic cur properas perdere Sybarin amando? cur *ille* oderit campum apricum, patiens pulveris atque solis? cur neque militaris equitat inter æquales, nec temperat ora Gallica frænis lupatis?

NOTES.

3, 4. *Apricum campum.*] After the expulsion of Tarquin, his estate and his whole property being confiscated, the field which he possessed betwixt Rome and the Tiber, was consecrated to Mars, and called the *Campus Martius.* It was so large, as not only to be sufficient for training up the youth in all warlike exercises, but also for holding the public assemblies of the people.

" place fortune, much kinder than my father, shall think proper to " conduct us, we will follow her. Ye need despair of nothing " under the conduct and auspices of Teucer; for Apollo, *whose* " *oracles are* infallible, hath promised that we shall be *settled* in " a new and better country, and build another Salamis scarcely " to be distinguished *from that out of which we have all been ex-* " *pelled.* Come then, my friends, ye who have *given so many* " *proofs of your courage, and* often gone through greater hard- " ships with me than these, drown all your cares in wine to-day; " to-morrow we shall put to sea again."

NOTES.

father than from fortune, who was so kind as to conduct him to Cyprus, where he built the celebrated Salamis, and where his posterity flourished on the throne for above 700 years, till the days of that Evagoras, of whom we have a panegyric in Isocrates.

29. *Ambiguam.*] That is to say, that it should so far resemble his native Salamis, that one would be at a loss to distinguish between them.

ODE VIII.

this ode was composed. It is certain that the 13th, 23d, 25th of this Book, and the 9th of the third Book, were written a considerable time afterwards; and that he composed the 25th, which was the last of those that he wrote, before he reached the advanced part of his age.

TO LYDIA.

In the name of all the gods, tell me, *dear* Lydia, I conjure you *tell me,* why do you take so much pains to ruin *young* Sybaris by captivating his affections? Why does he hate the * Campus Martius, he who *was bred to arms, and* is so much accustomed to sun and dust? Why does not he appear *in our tournaments* among the youth of his age in shining armour, managing the swift courser?

* Sunny field.

NOTES.

5. *Cur neque militaris.*] This passage has not been thoroughly understood: *Militaris equitat,* is here put for *militat in equis.* For Horace is speaking of that noble exercise which Ascanius introduced into Italy, under its native name *Ludus Trojæ,* of which we have a most beautiful description in the 5th Book of the Æneid. See the prose translation of Virgil. This game was used at Rome, till the days of Claudius Cæsar, but never was in such vogue as it was in Augustus' age, as Suetonius informs us: *Trojæ ludum edidit frequentissime, majorum minorumve puerorum delectu, prisci decorique moris existimans claræ stirpis indolem sic notescere.* " He often celebrated the Trojan game " with the chiefs of the eldest and youngest " of the youth, thinking that, from so an- " cient and laudable a custom, the minds " of the youth might be inspired with " glory." And for this reason Horace speaks of it in this ode.

Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautiùs vitat? neque jam livida gestat armis
Brachia, sæpe disco,
Sæpe trans finem jaculo nobilis expedito?
Quid latet, ut marinæ
Filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrymosa Trojæ
Funera, ne virilis
Cultus in cædem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

ORDO.

Cur timet tangere Tiberim flavum? Cur vitat olivum cautius sanguine viperino? neque jam gestat brachia livida armis; nobilis sæpe disco, sæpe jaculo expedito trans finem.

Quid *Sybaris* latet, ut dicunt filium Thetidis marinæ *latuisse* sub lacrymosa funera Trojæ; ne cultus virilis proriperet *eum* in cædem et catervas Lycias?

NOTES.

8. *Tiberim tangere.*] It was likewise customary with the Romans, after their exercise in the Campus Martius, to throw themselves into the Tiber, though in a state of perspiration.

11. *Disco.*] The *discus*, or quoit, was made of stone, iron, or copper, five or six fingers broad, and more than a foot long, inclining to an oval figure. They threw this to a vast distance, by the help of a leathern

ODE IX.

Horace, in this ode, shows us, that all the seasons have their charms and allurements to induce us to pleasure and mirth; the Winter, because it is cold; the Summer, because it is hot; and the Spring and Autumn, because they are agreeable; and he advises Thaliarchus to live cheerfully, and leave every thing else to the gods. Of this you will see more in Ode 17th, Ode 19th of the third Book, and the 12th of the fourth Book,

AD THALIARCHUM.

Vides, ut altâ stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam sustineant onus
Silvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto?
Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco

ORDO.

O Thaliarche, *vides ne* ut Soracte stet candidum altâ nive; nec jam silvæ laborantes sustineant onus: fluminaque constiterint gelu acuto?

Tu vero dissolve frigus, large reponens ligna super foco,

why is he afraid to * swim in the yellow Tiber? Why does he shun, with so much care, the oil *of wrestlers*, as if it were the blood of a viper? Why are his arms now so seldom discoloured with wielding the lance and quoit,—*the arms of* him who acquired so much reputation, by the force wherewith he threw both the one and the other beyond the mark? In fine, why does he conceal himself, as they say † Achilles did some time before the fatal catastrophe of Troy, that the habit of a man might not oblige him to go and attack the Lycian troops?

* Touch. † The son of Thetis.

NOTES.

thong tied round the hand.

8. *Olivum.*] He speaks here of wrestlers, who fought naked, and used to rub themselves over with oil, that their antagonists might catch the less hold of them.

14. *Filium dicunt Thetidis.*] Thetis, a goddess of the sea, espoused Peleus, by whom she had Achilles. She disguised her son under the habit of a woman, among the daughters of Lycomedes, calling him by the name of Pyrrha, lest he should be led to the Trojan war; it being foretold that he should be slain there. But it being also predicted, that Troy could not be taken unless he should be present, Ulysses artfully discovered him by the fondness he showed for warlike instruments.

16. *Lycias.*] The Lycians here are put instead of the Trojans. They came to the assistance of king Priam, under the conduct of Glaucus and Sarpedon.

ODE IX.

The poet borrowed the subject of this ode from Alcæus, who says, "You see "the rivers are bound: banish then the winter by making a large fire, and "in not sparing your wine." This ode is very pretty, and well conducted, and the expressions are very proper. As to its date, that is uncertain; but it seems to have been composed at Thaliarchus' villa near Soracte.

TO THALIARCHUS.

Do not you see how mount Soracte is all white with snow, that the over-loaded forests are not able to bear so great a weight, and that the rivers are also stopped by the severe frost? Expel then, dear

NOTES.

2. *Soracte.*] This mountain, now Montetristo, is in Tuscany, in the country of the Falisci, and not far from Rome.

5. *Dissolve frigus.*] The proper effect of cold is to contract and consolidate the body, *contrahere, astringere.* Hence the Latins said, *dissolvere frigus*, to soften or banish the cold. See the fourth Ode of this Book.

Largè reponens; atque benigniùs
Deprome quadrimum Sabinâ,
O Thaliarche, merum diotâ.
Permitte Divis cætera; qui simul
Stravere ventos æquore fervido
Deprœliantes, nec cupressi,
Nec veteres agitantur orni.
Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere; et
Quem fors dierum cunque dabit, lucro
Appone; nec dulces amores
Sperne, puer, neque tu choreas,
Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa. Nunc et Campus, et areæ,
Lenesque sub noctem susurri,
Compositâ repetantur horâ;
Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellæ risus ab angulo,
Pignusque dereptum lacertis,
Aut digito malè pertinaci.

ORDO.

atque benignius deprome merum quadrimum diota Sabinâ. Permitte cætera Divis; qui simul stravere ventos deprœliantes æquore fervido, nec cupressi, nec veteres orni agitantur.

Fuge quærere, quid sit futurum cras, et appone luero quemcunque dierum fors dabit; nec tu, puer, sperne dulces amores, neque choreas, donec canities morosa abest *tibi* virenti.

Nunc et Campus *Martius*, et areæ, lenesque susurri, sub noctem repetantur horâ compositâ. Nunc et *repetatur* gratus risus ab angulo intimo, proditor puellæ latentis; pignusque dereptum lacertis, aut digito male pertinaci.

NOTES.

7. *Sabinâ diotâ.*] *Diota* was a vessel for holding wine, with two handles, from which it borrowed its name.

9. *Permitte Divis cætera.*] The Stoics attributed the most minute incidents in life to the providence of the gods. The Epicureans, on the other hand, made all events depend on chance and fortune. Horace exposes both their sentiments in the two following stanzas.

18. *Campus.*] Horace uses here a general word, applicable to all that ground lying

Thaliarchus, the cold, by piling faggots on your hearth; and be not sparing of your wine kept for four years in Sabine casks.

Leave the rest to the gods, who have no sooner appeased the winds wrestling against the foaming waves of the sea, than the cypresses and * ash-trees *of the highest mountains* are in profound rest. Inquire not what may happen to-morrow; but reckon what days fortune may farther allow you, as so many gained. Indulge yourself in love and pleasure while young, and peevish old age is yet at a distance. Appear in the Campus *Martius*, and in the public places; and repair at the appointed hour to those agreeable meetings in the dusk of the evening, where lovers impart their secrets to each other in gentle whispers; and *lose not the opportunity of* those assemblies where the wanton young ladies hide themselves in a corner; then discover by their tittering where they are, and with an affected resistance part with a bracelet from their arm, or a ring from their finger.

* Old ash-trees are not tossed.

NOTES.

between the Tiber, Collis Hortulorum, Mount Quirinal, and Mount Capitoline. This plot of ground was divided into two parts. One was named the Great Field, or Campus Martius, running all along the river. The other part was called the Little Field: it lay nearer the town; in it were Apollo's Circus and the Flaminian Meadows. Both parts were used as the public walking-places of the city.

19. *Susurri.*] This word has been formed in imitation of the soft murmuring sound produced by speaking low. There is almost in all languages a correspondence between the thing signified and the word used to express it, as ψιθυρίζειν with the Greeks, *bisbiglio* among the Italians, *chucheter* among the French, and our own English word *whisper.* This is the ordinary language of lovers. Nor has Ovid forgotten that it was so, when writing of Pyramus and Thisbe,

In solitum coiere locum cum murmure parvo
Multa prius questi.

"They met at their usual place, and first "uttered piteous plaints to one another in "low murmurs."

21. *Nunc et latentis proditor.*] Virgil has said of a young girl something like this;

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit antè videri.

"And she flies behind the willows, but "wishes to be discovered before she does so."

ODE X.

This ode has nothing in it very remarkable. It is an eulogium on Mercury, in which the poet describes to us some choice attributes of that god. The style rises above an ordinary strain, the expression is simple and elegant, and

HYMNUS IN MERCURIUM.

Mercuri facunde, nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formâsti catus, et decoræ
More palæstræ!
Te canam, magni Jovis et Deorum
Nuncium, curvæque lyræ parentem,
Callidum, quidquid placuit, jocoso
Condere furto.
Te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ
Risit Apollo.
Quin et Atridas, duce te, superbos,
Ilio dives Priamus relicto,
Thessalosque ignes, et iniqua Trojæ
Castra fefellit.
Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgâque levem coërces
Aureâ turbam, superis Deorum
Gratus, et imis.

ORDO.

Facunde Mercuri, nepos Atlantis, qui catus formasti feros cultus hominum recentum voce et more decoræ palæstræ, canam te, nuncium magni Jovis et Deorum, parentemque curvæ lyræ, *nec non* callidum condere jocoso furto quidquid placuit.

Olim dum Apollo terret te puerum minaci voce, nisi reddidisses boves amotas per dolum, *ipse* viduus pharetrâ risit.

Quin et Priamus dives relicto Ilio, te duce, fefellit superbos Atridas, Thessalosque ignes, et iniqua castra Trojæ. Tu reponis pias animas lætis sedibus, coërcesque levem turbam virgâ aureâ, *æque* gratus superis et imis Deorum.

NOTES.

1. *Atlantis.*] Mercury was son of Jupiter and Maia, and grandson to Atlas, by his mother. This Atlas was king of Mauritania in Africa.

6. *Lyræ parentem.*] It may seem strange, that Horace here ascribes the invention of the harp to Mercury, when it is more generally attributed to Apollo. The story is this: Mercury having stolen away some of Apollo's cattle, and being discovered, was obliged, in order to obtain his pardon, to allow that Apollo should be esteemed the inventor of that musical instrument.

7. *Callidum condere.*] Here we have an-

ODE X

the versification is smooth and harmonious. There is no certainty on what occasion this ode or hymn was composed; but there is reason to believe, that it was sung at one of the feasts of Mercury.

A HYMN TO MERCURY.

GRANDSON of Atlas, eloquent Mercury, who by your precepts, and by the order of your exercises, have curiously softened the savage customs of the first men! *of* you I now sing, you who are the *interpreter and* ambassador of the gods, the inventor of the harp, and so dexterous at pilfering for your diversion whatever you please. One day when you were but a boy, and Apollo threatened in an angry tone, that if you did not bring back the cows you had slyly carried off from him, he would——*the god* laughed heartily to find himself stripped of his quiver. *But you have done what is of greater consequence than this;* for it was under your conduct that Priam, loaded with rich presents, left Troy, escaped the haughty sons of Atreus, passed through the middle of the Greek sentinels, and, without being observed, crossed the enemy's camp. *In fine,* you put pious souls in possession of eternal bliss, and with your golden rod assemble that fluttering company, and make your ministry equally agreeable to all the heavenly and infernal deities.

NOTES.

other branch of his business, which proceeded purely from diversion and game; and even this had its advantages, in teaching men to be vigilant and circumspect.

13. *Quin et Atridas, &c.*] Priam, attended with a chariot loaded with rich presents, passed through the Grecian army, in order to beg the body of his son Hector from Achilles. Mercury, to favour the piety and affection of a father in distress, facilitates his passage, by escorting him through the midst of the hostile camp. It is observable, that the poet elevates his style in proportion to the sublimity of the subject. This stanza is indisputably one of the most beautiful in the whole piece. Those sons of Atreus were Agamemnon and Menelaus; and the Thessalians were Achilles' troops.

17. *Tu pias lætis, &c.*] This ode could not conclude better, than in assigning to Mercury a religious employment. This god seems to have been contrived particularly for the good of mankind; for he cultivated their minds, formed their bodies, led them to the knowledge of the gods, supplied them with innocent pastimes, and succoured them in their misfortunes: in short, he made them feel his goodness and benevolence after death itself. For Mercury was one of the infernal deities, and for that reason his name is to be found in some ancient epitaphs.

18. *Virgâ aureâ.*] Apollo, they say, made a present of this rod to his brother Mercury. They add, that travelling to Thessaly, he met in his way two serpents encountering one another; but that, when he touched them with his rod, their fury ceased, and they immediately separated. Hence the *caduceus,* which they make Mercury bear in his hand, is a symbol of peace.

ODE XI.

Men in all ages have been the dupes of superstition; but one of the most foolish and ridiculous kinds of it is, to consult judicial astrologers and fortune-tellers with regard to the period of our lives, and what occurrences are to befall us. Leuconoë had this weakness in common with many others. Horace, according to the principles of his philosophy, ridicules this practice,

AD LEUCONOEN.

Tu ne quæsieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi,
Finem Dî dederint, Leuconoe; nec Babylonios
Tentâris numeros. Ut melius, quidquid erit, pati!
Seu plures hiemes, seu tribuit Jupiter ultimam,
Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum. Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces: dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Ætas: carpe diem, quàm minimùm credula postero.

ORDO.

Leuconoe, tu ne quæsieris (scire nefas *est*) quem finem Dii dederint mihi, quem tibi; nec tentâris Babylonios numeros. Ut melius *est* pati quicquid erit, seu Jupiter tribuit plures hiemes, seu *hanc* ultimam, quæ nunc debilitat mare Tyrrhenum oppositis pumicibus!

Sapias, liques vina, et reseces spem longam spatio brevi: invida ætas fugerit, dum loquimur: carpe diem *hodiernum*, quam minimum credula postero.

NOTES.

2. *Babylonios tentâris numeros.*] Babylon, was a great city of Asia, upon the borders of the Euphrates, and metropolis of the province of Babylonia. The people of that country had a great inclination to astrology. Horace, here, calls the astronomical calculations used by them in their reckonings, *Numeri Babylonici.*

5. *Mare Tyrrhenum.*] The Tuscan sea. It lies betwixt Italy and the isles of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.

5. *Pumicibus.*] *Pumex* properly signifies a pumice-stone. Here it is taken for those rocks on the sea-shore which the waves gradually excavate. Lucretius too, in his first book, *v.* 329, has said, with a force of expression peculiar to himself,

Vesco sale saxa peresa.

ODE XI.

in showing this pretended art to be no more than a downright imposture, and that true wisdom consists rather in enjoying the delights and pleasures of life, than in knowing the hour of our death. The whole piece is extremely good, and contains a fund of good sense within the compass of a few verses. It was composed in the winter; but in what year we know not.

TO LEUCONOE.

SEEK not, Leuconoe, to inform yourself *of the day and hour of your death or mine, (this curiosity is forbidden,) and consult not the calculations of the Babylonians. How much more wisely you will act, *in disposing your mind* to bear whatever happens *with patience and contentment*, whether Jupiter grants you †a longer course of years, or has resolved that this shall be the last of your winters, in which the contending rocks break the violence of the Tuscan waves. Live contented, take your glass freely, and entertain no hopes of things too distant for so short a life: envious time retires from us the very moment we are speaking: enjoy therefore the present hour, and do not depend upon the morrow.

* What end the gods have given me or you. † More winters.

NOTES

6. *Vina liques.*] The ancients used to strain their wines: and for that purpose, had bags like our modern straining-cloths, for most wines. In the summer-time they put ice and snow into them, to cool the wine that they strained.

8. *Carpe diem.*] Horace has happily explained the καρπιζειν of Epicurus. This word not only imports our enjoying some pleasures, but likewise our exhausting them of what is valuable in them; in allusion to the bees, who suck from flowers and herbs their finest juices.

Carpere, is applied to the action of gathering fruits or flowers as one goes along, without stopping. Every day is as a delicate flower, that flourishes but a short time, and that decays and wastes while one delays to take it up. Horace concludes with advice which he could wish that all men would follow.

ODE XII.

All the learned have bestowed magnificent praises on this ode, and have justly considered it as one of the finest odes of Horace, as the ideas are grand, the expressions noble, and the versification chaste and well supported. Horace, in this curious ode, undertakes to sing of gods, heroes, and men. The gods are Jupiter and his offspring. After this pompous beginning, he comes to the heroes, whom he places in due order, and confines himself to those of the Roman nation: he mentions the kings first, after them the great men of the republic, each distinguished by particular strokes; then a panegyric on the living heroes closes the piece. We see here two things that we seldom meet with together, an exact method and a great variety. This is only a plain enumeration; but the execution of it is so well set off, that it has nothing tedious in it. Apostrophes, interrogations, metaphors, comparisons, suspensions, descriptions, images, in fine, all the rich ornaments of eloquence and poetry, are intermixed with so much art, that the methodical connexion of persons and of facts disappears under these fine ornaments with which it is clothed. But that which shows particularly the great skill of the poet, and gives the greatest beauty to his poem, is the manner in which he has conducted the whole to answer his design, which is to praise a young prince, who is the darling of the emperor, and hope of the whole empire. He could not find in him, as yet, either those warlike achievements that surprise by their magnitude, or those shining actions the brightness whereof dazzles the eyes; indeed the fine qualities with which he was adorned, gave ground to hope all this; but are conjectures sufficient of themselves to furnish out handsomely an heroic ode? What does Horace then? He borrows, from fable and from history, shining strokes to embellish his subject, and

HYMNUS DE LAUDIBUS DEORUM ET HOMINUM.

Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ vel acri
Tibiâ sumes celebrare, Clio?
Quem Deum? cujus recinet jocosa
Nomen imago,
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris,
Aut super Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo?

ORDO.

O Clio, quem virum aut heroa, quem Deum, sumes celebrare lyrâ, vel acri tibiâ? Cujus nomen imago jocosa recinet aut in umbrosis oris Heliconis, aut super Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo?

NOTES.

1. *Quem virum, &c.*] The first three stanzas contain the invocation and division; and these serve as an exordium to the whole piece: and the gradation observed in it makes a noble introduction. The poet alters the order, i executing the de-

ODE XII.

raise it to the majesty of lyric poetry. He does more: he is obliged at the same time to flatter Augustus, and not offend his nice taste; and, to do this, he takes a method he knew would give Augustus the utmost pleasure, which was, praising young Marcellus; but that this might come naturally in, he makes Marcellus the Great appear in the number of his heroes, and him he brings in last: this name gives rise to the eulogium of the young prince, and this eulogium leads naturally to that of Augustus, in the last three stanzas. Virgil found this word have so good an effect, that some months after he made use of it to enrich his Æneid, and it is well known how much Augustus and Octavia were affected therewith: nor can one to this day read that passage, which is at the end of the sixth Book of the Æneid, without being moved.

Some will perhaps say, that the panegyric on the gods is far-fetched, and takes up too great a part of the ode. Not at all, as it contains the counsel he gives to two princes in a noble method, and the more ingenious the more it is concealed, consisting of a model of all the virtues, which he sets before their eyes. Prudence in governing, courage, resolution, temperance, and love of our country, are there enforced by the examples of the gods, and the great men of the republic. In fine, to omit nothing that can enhance the value of this ode, Horace hath joined to the panegyric on the gods, and the heroes already dead, two persons living, Marcellus and Augustus. The former, in an age yet tender, had already trodden in the footsteps of heroes; the second had merited divine honours even in this life. Thus, nothing is here foreign to his subject, and the whole ode hath a perfect harmony. Considering it in this view, we may justly say it is worthy of its author, and highly deserves our admiration.

This ode is thought to have been composed in the year of Rome 731. Fixing it here makes it later than the battle of Actium, and prior to the death of young Marcellus, and Augustus' expedition for the reduction of the Parthians and Indians. This is the most exact account that can be given on this point, with this farther addition, that it was composed in one or other of the first six months of that year; that is, before Augustus' sickness, which happened in the month of August.

A HYMN IN PRAISE OF GODS AND MEN.

WHAT man, * my muse, what hero, or what god, will you choose to praise on the harp, or shrill flute? Whose name shall mimic Echo resound, *and on what mountain?* Shall it be on the shady tops of Helicon, on Pindus, or cold Hæmus, whence the woods in

* Clio.

NOTES.

sign he proposed. He begins with what is most striking, I mean, with an eulogium of the gods, and has reserved that of Augustus to the conclusion. A regard to every particular would have escaped, and would, indeed, have embarrassed, an ordinary poet.

2. *Clio.*] One of the nine Muses. See the ode *Vile potabis.*

5. *Heliconis.*] Helicon is a mountain sacred to the Muses, in Bœotia, near Parnassus.

6. *Pindo, Hæmo.*] Hæmus and Pindus are in like manner two mountains sacred to Apollo and the Muses; the first in Thrace,

Unde vocalem temere insecutæ
Orphea silvæ,
Arte maternâ rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus, celeresque ventos,
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.
Quid priùs dicam solitis Parentis
Laudibus; qui res hominum ac Deorum,
Qui mare et terras, variisque mundum
Temperat horis?
Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquam simile, aut secundum:
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores.
Præliis audax, neque te silebo,
Liber, et sævis inimica virgo
Belluis; nec te, metuende certâ
Phœbe sagittâ.
Dicam et Alciden, puerosque Ledæ,
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitatus humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
Et minax (quòd sic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit.
Romulum post hos priùs, an quietum
Pompilî regnum memorem, an superbos
Tarquinî fasces, dubito, an Catonis
Nobile lethum.

ORDO.

Unde silvæ temerè insecutæ *sunt* vocalem Orphea, arte maternâ morantem rapidos lapsus fluminum, celeresque ventos, et blandum ducere quercus auritas fidibus canoris.

Quid *vero* prius dicam solitis laudibus parentis *Jovis*, qui temperat res hominum ac Deorum, qui *temperat* mare et terras, mundumque variis horis? unde nil generatur majus ipso; nec quidquam simile aut secundum vigct: tamen Pallas occupavit honores proximos illi.

O Liber, audax præliis, neque silebo te, *neque te*, o virgo inimica belluis sævis; nec te, o Phœbe, metuende sagittâ certâ.

Dicam et Alciden, puerosque Ledæ; hunc nobilem superare equis, illum pugnis; quorum alba stella simul refulsit nautis, *statim* agitatus humor defluit saxis, venti concidunt, nubesque fugiunt, et minax unda (quod sic voluere) recumbit ponto.

Dubito an post hos prius memorem Romulum, an quietum regnum Pompilii, an superbos fasces Tarquinii, an nobile lethum Catonis.

NOTES.

and the other in Thessaly. The mention of Hæmus brings to the poet's mind the story of Orpheus, which he prosecutes in the six verses that follow.

8. *Orphea.*] The story of Orpheus is abundantly well known; he was of Thrace, and so well skilled in music and poetry, that he passed for the son of Apollo and Calli-

a crowd followed the melodious voice of Orpheus, who, instructed by his mother Calliopè, touched his lute with such inexpressible sweetness, that he stopped the rapid course of the rivers, stilled the violent winds, and led the trees *wherever he pleased*, listening with admiration to his harmony? But what can I begin with better than the * praises of Jupiter, who *by his providence* governs the affairs of men and gods, land and sea, and rules the world by different seasons? Of his issue there is no one so great as he, nothing that resembles him, nothing that comes near him: yet Pallas enjoys honours *and privileges*, though inferior to his. Nor shall I forget thee, Bacchus, courageous in battle, nor thee, † chaste Diana, *ever* an enemy to savage beasts; nor thee, Apollo, so formidable for thy unerring arrows. I will also sing of Hercules, and the sons of Leda, the one famous for his victories on horseback, the other for his in wrestling, whose bright star no sooner appears to sailors, than the foamy billow runs down from the rocks, the winds are hushed, the clouds are scattered; and by whose order, the wave that seemed to threaten *heaven*, falls back into the sea. Shall I next sing of Romulus, or the peaceful reign of Numa, the proud reign of Tarquin, or the noble death of Cato? My muse shall take

* Usual praises of our parent. † Virgin.

NOTES.

ope. It is reported of him, that his music was so enchanting, as to tame even the most savage beasts, and set the woods and rocks in motion.

22. *Liber.*] Bacchus, so called, *quod curis liberat animum*, because he frees the mind from cares; or because, having vanquished all his enemies, he vindicated his own liberty, as also that of his followers. His actions are related at large by Diodorus Siculus.

22. *Inimica virgo belluis.*] Diana, who was remarkably fond of hunting. She was born at the same time with Apollo, being the daughter of Jupiter and Latona, and goddess of the woods and groves. She employed herself much in destroying wild beasts with her bow and arrows.

23. *Certâ Phœbe sagittâ.*] Phœbus, so called, *quasi φῶς βίυ, lux vitæ*, was the same with Apollo, and the Sun. He excelled very much in the management of the bow and arrow.

25. *Alciden.*] Hercules, so called from Alceus, the father of Amphitryon, who was the husband of Alcmena, the mother of Hercules.

25. *Puerosque Ledæ.*] Castor and Pollux, who were the sons of Jupiter, by Leda the wife of Tyndarus. The one excelled in the combat on horseback, the other in that on foot. The star which went by their names, if it appeared single to the mariners, always portended an approaching storm; but, if double, presaged a calm.

33. *Romulum post hos, &c.*] The three following stanzas include a history of those great men, who by their achievements had done the greatest honour to the state. The poet is at a loss to whom he ought to give the precedency, first with respect to Romulus and Numa Pompilius, and then with regard to Junius Brutus and Cato of Utica. He draws a kind of contrast between the two first founders of the Roman monarchy, and two of the most zealous partisans of the republican government. Brutus, (so to speak) in expelling the kings, opened the gates of Rome, that liberty might enter; and Cato, who lived 473 years afterwards, chose to die, rather than to survive the dismal scene of seeing her either expiring in their streets, or excluded out of their gates.

33. *Quietum Pompili regnum.*] Numa's reign was as peaceable, as that of his predecessor was full of the toil, noise, and hurry, of war. In Numa's life, Janus' temple continued shut for 43 years. What a happiness was this to prince and people!

34. *Superbos Tarquinî fasces.*] Horace undoubtedly speaks of Tarquin the elder, the

Regulum, et Scauros, animæque magnæ
Prodigum Paulum, superante Pœno,
Gratus insigni referam camenâ,
Fabriciumque.
Hunc, et incomtis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit, et Camillum
Sæva paupertas, et avitus apto
Cum lare fundus.
Crescit, occulto velut arbor ævo,
Fama Marcelli : micat inter omnes
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores.
Gentis humanæ pater atque custos,
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni
Cæsaris fatis data : tu secundo
Cæsare regnes.
Ille seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit justo domitos triumpho,
Sive subjectos orientis oræ
Seras et Indos,
Te minor latum reget æquus orbem :

ORDO.

Gratus referam insigni camenâ Regulum, et Scauros, Paulumque prodigum animæ magnæ, superante Pœno, Fabriciumque. Sæva paupertas, et avitus fundus cum apto lare, tulit hunc, et Curium incomptis capillis utilem bello, et Camillum.

Fama Marcelli crescit, velut arbor occulto ævo : Julium sidus micat inter omnes *ignes*, velut luna inter ignes minores.

O pater atque custos gentis humanæ, orte Saturno, cura magni Cæsaris data *est* tibi a fatis : tu regnes, Cæsare secundo. Seu ille egerit Parthos imminentes Latio domitos justo triumpho, sive Seras et Indos subjectos *in* oris orientis, minor *quidem* te æquus reget *hunc* latum orbem :

NOTES.

fifth king of Rome, who conquered the Tuscans, and who first, in imitation of that people, introduced into Rome the use of the fasces, rings, ivory chairs, the purple robes, and several other usages, borrowed from the same people, which added to the splendour, dignity, and majesty, of their government. And it is for this reason that Horace speaks of these fasces, because in his time they were the badges of the sovereign power.

35. *Catonis.*] He means Cato of Utica, who, hearing that Cæsar had defeated the rest of Pompey's party, after having embraced his children and friends, chose rather to die, than see the kingly government take place again.

37. *Regulum.*] Marcus Attilius Regulus, who, being taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent to Rome upon his parole, to persuade the Romans to exchange prisoners, was the first that hindered them, and so returned to Africa, where the Carthaginians put him to a most cruel death.

37. *Scauros.*] He puts *Scauros* in the plural number, because there were two families of this name, viz. one of the Valerii, another of the Æmilii; Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, and Marcus Valerius Scaurus.

38. *Prodigum.*] He chooses this epithet, because, when he could have escaped as his colleague did, he could not bear the thought of surviving the death of his troops.

38. *Paulum.*] He speaks of Paulus Æmilius, who was consul with Varro, and fought

particular pleasure to make Regulus famous, the Scauri, and Paulus *Emilius*, who was too lavish of his * blood *at the battle of Cannæ*, when the Carthaginian defeated us; she will also sing of Fabricius, of Curius with his shaggy hair, and of Camillus, *those three great men*, whom, for the safety of the state in *time of* war, pinching poverty took care to train up in a little house proportioned to a small estate which they held of their ancestors.

The fame of *old* Marcellus, far from being obscured by time, grows *and spreads* insensibly like a tree: but, *the young Marcellus*, the star of Cæsar, out-shines all the rest as much as the moon does the smaller lights of the night. Father and preserver of men, son of Saturn, it is to thee the fates have committed the care of great Augustus. Reign, but allow Augustus to reign under thee. For whether he shall drive in triumph before his chariot the Parthians that threaten Italy, or the people of the eastern coast, the Indians and Seres, he will still acknowledge thee above him, and be satisfied with the government of the spacious world, while with the

* Great soul.

NOTES,

against Hannibal near Cannæ, a town in Apulia, where forty thousand Romans fell.

40. *Fabriciumque.*] Fabricius being sent against Pyrrhus, he could not bribe him even with the fourth part of his kingdom, nor would he give ear to Pyrrhus' physician, who offered to poison him, but sent him back to Pyrrhus in chains; which made that prince say, it would be more difficult to make Fabricius do any thing dishonourable, than to make the sun change his course.

41. *Incomtis capillis.*] By the ancient statues it appears, that the primitive Romans did not cut their hair. Therefore Ovid calls those that were shaved *intonsos*. No such thing as a barber was known at Rome before the time of Curius.

43. *Paupertas.*] Horace represents poverty as descriptive of the personages of Fabricius, Curius, and Camillus, who were poor. Yet the first rejected all the proffers made by Pyrrhus; the second despised all the silver offered to him by the Samnites; and the last consecrated to Jupiter's temple all the gold he had taken from the Gauls.

45. *Crescat, occulto velut arbor ævo.*] This is a noble comparison. A tree, when first it sprouts, is but a tender plant, but insensibly it extends its roots, spreads its branches, and gathers firmness and strength, &c. The same may be said of Marcellus' glory. Horace has, in this allusion, imitated Pindar, in his 8th Nemean ode, who expresses himself thus: "As the trees "watered by the dew of heaven grow in-"sensibly, so does virtue when watered, "*i. e.* cherished by the applause of the "wise."

46. *Marcelli.*] The great Marcellus, who was five times consul. He defeated the Gauls and Germans, took Syracuse, and killed Hannibal the terror of the Romans, whose ashes he sent to his son in a silver urn, embellished with a golden coronet.

47. *Julium sidus.*] This new constellation was Marcellus, the son of Octavius; he died the same year, and a few months after this piece was composed. Seneca speaks of him as a young prince endowed with every virtue. Augustus was extremely affected with his immature death, as were the Romans in general, whose darling he was. See the Prose Translation of Virgil, at the end of the sixth Book of the Æneid.

50. *Orte Saturno.*] This ode concludes with what it had begun, that is, the praises of Jupiter. This conclusion is possibly one of the best-laboured turns in the whole piece. The poet divides the government of the world between Jupiter and Augustus, without making the authority of the prince to encroach upon the sovereignty of the king of the gods. Here let it be remembered, that the senate granted Augustus divine honours

Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum;
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis. 60

ORDO.

Tu *vero* quaties Olympum gravi curru, tu mittes fulmina inimica lucis parum castis.

NOTES.

in the year 725, as has been more than once observed already.

51. *Tu secundo Cæsare regnes.*] Horace has in the beginning of this ode said, that there is nothing equal to Jupiter; or so like him, as to claim the next place to

ODE XIII.

It appears, by the conclusion of this ode, that Horace had some difference with Lydia, who, out of revenge, spoke continually of Telephus, to show the respect she had for him. Horace, at the same time, being very jealous, endeavours to recover her favour, by giving her an aversion to the

AD LYDIAM.

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, væ, meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.
Tunc nec mens mihi, nec color, 5
Certâ sede manent; humor et in genas
Furtim labitur, arguens
Quàm lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
Uror, seu tibi candidos
Turpârunt humeros immodicæ mero 10
Rixæ, sive puer furens
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.

ORDO.

Lydia, cum tu laudas cervicem roseam Telephi, *et* cerea brachia Telephi, væ, meum jecur tumet fervens difficili bile.

Tunc nec mens nec color manent mihi certâ sede; et humor furtim labitur in genas, arguens quàm penitus macerer ignibus lentis.

Uror, seu rixæ immodicæ *ex* mero turpârunt tibi candidos humeros, sive puer furens dente impressit *tuis* labris notam memorem.

NOTES.

1. *Telephi.*] Some think that this Telephus was the nomenclator of Livia, the wife of Augustus; but the most judicious commentators reject this as a conjecture without any foundation, and rather think he was a person of quality.

2. *Cervicem roseam.*] The younger Scaliger had no reason to censure Horace for the

weight of thy chariot thou shalt shake Olympus, and discharge thy destructive thunderbolts on our *sacred* groves that have been profaned.

NOTES.

him. And yet he here begs of Jupiter, that Augustus may be ranked next to him. I have only two words to offer to solve this difficulty. Horace, in the beginning, speaks of the very nature of the god, but here of his authority and power.

Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.

"Cæsar rules in concert with great Jove."

ODE XIII.

whole behaviour of his rival; but all his efforts are fruitless, till, by a new engagement with Chloe, he, in his turn, makes Lydia jealous, and by this stratagem effects a reconciliation with her.

TO LYDIA.

LYDIA, when *I hear* you praise *with such transport* Telephus' rosy neck and *your* Telephus' * taper arms, ah! my bosom burns *with rage*, and swells with rankest spleen. My mind knows then no quiet; my colour comes and goes; and the tears, that *in spite of me* steal down my cheeks, betray with what slow fires I am inwardly consumed. I burn when the rake quarrels with you through excess of wine, and stains your snowy shoulders, or when the fiercely-fond boy impresses with his teeth a mark on your lips, that will not soon wear off. Believe me, *Lydia*, you have

* waxen.

NOTES.

application of *rosea* to *cervix*, since *rosea* does not import the colour of roses here, so much as it does beautiful. Virgil uses the same expression, when speaking of Venus,

—— *Et avertens roseâ cervice refulsit.*

"And turning round, a lustre shone from "her beauteous neck.

2. *Cerea brachia.*] Servius making mention of this passage, explains it, "waxen "arms, i. e. as delicate and white as "wax." But I cannot admit this explanation. Surely Horace meant well made, well turned, well wrought arms, like those of wax.

2. *Telephi.*] This repetition has a good deal of gracefulness; and Horace by it insinuates, that Telephus was Lydia's eternal topic.

5. *Tunc nec mens mihi.*] Horace here unites the three characteristics of love and spite; namely, distraction, change of colour, and weeping.

12. *Memorem notam.*] This is a bold and beautiful expression; a mindful mark, i. e. an impression that she would remember for a long time. Virgil, in imitation of Æschylus, has said the same:

Memorem Junonis ob iram:

"Through the lasting wrath of Juno."

Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbarè
Lædentem oscula, quæ Venus
Quintâ parte sui nectaris imbuit.
Felices ter, et ampliùs,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec, malis
Divulsus querimoniis,
Supremâ citiùs solvet amor die.

ORDO.

Si satis audias me, non speres *eum fore* perpetuum, barbarè lædentem oscula dulcia, quæ Venus imbuit quintâ parte sui nectaris. Ter et amplius felices *sunt illi*, quos irrupta copula tenet; *quos* nec amor divulsus malis querimoniis solvet citiùs die supremâ.

ODE XIV.

For more than 1500 years it was generally thought that this ode was allegorical, and that Horace addressed himself to the republic, under the figurative name of a ship. Quintilian was the first author of this opinion. But, uninfluenced by so great an authority, Mr. Le Fevre maintains, that Horace never intended any such thing; and this is his principal reason: If it had been an allegory, says that learned man, it would have been too scrupulously pursued, and artfully wrought up to an impertinence. For when one takes a ship for the republic, the waves and storms for the warlike motions, and an harbour for peace and tranquillity, this, I must own, is no uncommon thing; but to force an allegory so far as the most minute things can reach, and to drive it to that length which makes it either trifling or dark, is what one cannot think that Horace or any other author, except a bad or a silly writer, would do. For one does not only see here a vessel, but likewise her sides, sail-yards, keel, mast, poop, paintings, the wood she was built of, and the place where it grew, &c. The rest of this may be seen in the 54th Epistle of his first Book. A piece all over allegory is shocking, and still more so if it descends into a particular enumeration of things that can never correspond to what they would represent. Mr. Le Fevre, (whom Dacier joins) has solidly proved that this ode is purely historical, and that the poet addresses himself to

AD NAVEM QUA REVEHEBANTUR AMICI IN MARE ÆGÆUM.

O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus. O quid agis? fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides, ut

ORDO.

O navis, novi fluctus referent te in mare. O quid agis? fortiter occupa portum. Nonne

no reason to expect that he will prove constant, who could so brutally wound a mouth which Venus hath perfumed with the quintessence of her nectar. Thrice-happy they, who are united by ties that nothing can break, and whose love continues to the last day *of life*, without being interrupted *or cooled* with reproaches and complaints.

NOTES.

16. *Quintâ parte sui nectaris.*] Horace has said the fifth part of nectar, as we say the quintessence of a thing, instead of that which is the finest and purest of it. This is the true meaning of the passage; by which he signifies the sweet smell that Lydia breathed; as, upon another occasion, he says, *fragrantia oscula*, a perfumed mouth.

ODE XIV.

the vessel which brought him to Italy from Philippi, after the defeat of Brutus, and which returned by the same course with those on board of her, who accompanied him on his voyage home. These not having that interest at court that Horace had, were afterwards obliged to look out for a retreat and asylum to screen them from the resentment of Augustus. Horace therefore accompanies with his vows and prayers the departure of that vessel, as he had done that of Virgil, Ode 3d, with this difference, that in this, for fear of offending Augustus, he names no person, but addresses himself solely to the vessel. Horace was twenty-four years of age when he wrote this ode.—However, for the satisfaction of my readers, I shall here show the sentiments of those who take this ode in an allegorical sense. By the ship, say they, Horace means the commonwealth; by the waves, civil discords and tumults; by the harbour, peace; by its side wanting a bank of oars, Cassius' defeat with the left wing which he commanded; by its being much broken with the wind, Pompey the Great unjustly beheaded by Ptolemy king of Egypt; by sail-yards cracking, the senators and generals of Pompey lamenting their fate; by a ship without ropes, a treasury without money; by sails rent, the legions dispersed, and their standards shattered; by the seas that flow between the shining Cyclades, the secret ambition of some great men, and the envy of others.

TO THE VESSEL THAT CARRIED HIS FRIENDS BACK TO THE ÆGEAN SEA.

UNHAPPY ship! new storms will force you back into the sea. What are you doing? Resolutely continue in port, *and endeavour to ride safe at anchor:* do not you see yourself destitute of oars, your

NOTES.

1. *O Navis.*] Virgil and Catullus address themselves in like manner to a ship as Homer and Callimachus do. There is nothing more common with orators than addresses to walls, and every other kind of inanimate objects.

Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo,
Antennæque gemant; ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinæ
Possint imperiosius
Æquor? non tibi sunt integra lintea;
Non Dî, quos iterum pressa voces malo.
Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Sylvæ filia nobilis,
Jactes et genus, et nomen inutile:
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
Fidit. Tu, nisi ventis
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper solicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc desiderium, curaque non levis,
Interfusa nitentes
Vites æquora Cycladas.

ORDO.

vides, ut latus nudum remigio, et malus saucius celeri Africo, antennæque gemant; ac carinæ sine funibus vix possint durare æquor imperiosius?

Lintea non sunt tibi integra; non *sunt tibi* Dii, quos voces iterum pressa malo. *Quamvis sis* Pontica pinus, filia nobilis sylvæ, jactes et genus et nomen inutile: timidus navita nil fidit pictis puppibus.

Tu cave, nisi debes ludibrium ventis. *Tu* quæ nuper *eras* mihi solicitum tædium, nunc desiderium, curaque non levis, vites æquora fusa inter Cycladas nitentes.

NOTES.

1. *Referent in mare te novi.*] Among those who returned in the same vessel with Horace, there was one Pompeius Varus, his intimate, to whom he writes afterwards on the like occasion in the seventh ode of his second Book, thus:

Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit æstuosis.

As for myself, says Horace, I have procured my pardon by the interest of my patron. But, "you are still kept on the raging sea, "going in quest of the rest of our party." Every body may see the congruity between these passages.

6. *Gemant.*] This word nobly expresses the whizzing and crackling of the sail-yards, during a storm, and whilst the violent winds tear and rend the sails.

10. *Non Di.*] The reason was, because the poop, on which the statues of the gods were placed, was broken off by a storm. Thus Ovid says,

Accipit et pictos puppis adunca Deos.

"The bending poop sustains the painted "gods." Hence the poop was called *utela*.

11. *Pontica pinus.*] From ancient geographers, and the accounts of travellers,

masts broken down by the tempest, your sail-yards miserably shattered, and that your keel must give way to the fury of a raging sea when all your tackle is thus gone to ruin? You have no sails entire to carry you through, nor any gods whose aid you may invoke in a new distress. * Nor will it avail you that you are built of the finest wood *from one of the forests* of Pontus. In vain will you boast of your name and origin: the frightened sailor places no confidence in new-painted sterns. Take care *then*, dear vessel, that you make not yourself the sport of the winds. It is but lately that the care I had for you made me very uneasy, and now I am no less concerned for your safety. Pray *therefore* avoid those seas which run between † the Cyclades, how beautiful soever these islands may appear.

* Though *once* a Pontic pine, the daughter of a noble wood.

† The shining Cyclades.

NOTES.

it appears, that Pontus abounded with timber fit for ship-building: vide Catullus' 4th Book. Mr. Le Fevre has justly observed, that if Horace had meant the republic by a vessel, instead of saying that she was built out of the forests of Pontus, he would have said, that she was made of the wood that grew on the top of Mount Ida. For from Ida, i. e. Troy, the Romans by Æneas had their original; and, besides, it was a noble and renowned place; whereas Pontus was but a barbarous and wild country.

14. *Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus fidit.*] I humbly differ from M. Dacier in his commentary on these words, whereby he contradicts all he has said against the ode being an allegory, and rather think that when Horace wrote this ode they were going to refit and new-paint the ship: and indeed how could she go to sea without such reparation, according to the description Horace gives of her? This makes no opposition between *non Di* and this sentence: Horace speaking there of what she was before she was repaired, while here he supposes her to be refitted, and her stern new-painted.

17. *Nuper solicitum.*] These two verses might suffice to prove what I have advanced in the preface to this ode. For they cannot be meant of the republic, without making Horace speak after a strange manner. Certainly in his own sense this *nuper* and *nunc*, this *tædium* and *desiderium*, are opposite terms; but all their opposition is lost if they are to be allegorically explained. What Horace means is this, as Mr. Le Fevre has very well observed: O ship, who not long ago gavest me so much pain, while I was on board, when tossed in the storm and in danger of being taken; and who also now makest me so uneasy for the departure of my affectionate companions, and fillest my soul with anxiety and fear, through the risk of being either shipwrecked or taken by enemies.

20. *Cycladas.*] The Cyclades are a numerous crowd of islands in the Ægean Sea, being reckoned almost fifty. The banks of sand, and rocks which are scattered up and down among them, make that sea very dangerous to sail through; nor can it be done without many windings and turnings, whence arose the name of Cyclades.

ODE XV.

Mark Antony, after he had divorced Octavia, the sister of Augustus, married Cleopatra queen of Egypt, and aspiring at nothing less than the sovereignty of the civilised world, declared war against Augustus. Supported by the whole power of the East, he fitted out a numerous fleet, and continued himself with Cleopatra in Peloponnesus, where his army increased every day. Thence he made a descent in the following spring upon Italy, which

NEREI VATICINIUM DE RUINA TROJÆ.

Pastor cùm traheret per freta navibus
Idæis Helenam perfidus hospitam,
Ingrato celeres obruit otio
Ventos, ut caneret fera
Nereus fata. Malâ ducis avi domum,
Quam multo repetet Græcia milite,
Conjurata tuas rumpere nuptias,
Et regnum Priami vetus.
Eheu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris
Sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanæ
Genti! jam galeam Pallas et ægida
Currusque et rabiem parat.
Nequicquam, Veneris præsidio ferox,

ORDO.

Cum pastor perfidus traheret per freta Helenam hospitam navibus Idæis, Nereus obruit ventos celeres ingrato otio, ut caneret fata fera.

" *O Pari, tu* mala avi ducis *eam* domum,
" quam Græcia conjurata rumpere tuas nup-
" tias, et vetus regnum Priami, repetet
" multo milite. Eheu, quantus sudor adest
" equis, quantus *etiam* viris! Quanta funera
" moves Dardanæ genti! Jam Pallas parat
" galeam et ægida, currusque, et rabiem.
" Nequicquam *tu*, ferox præsidio Veneris,

NOTES.

1. *Pastor.*] Paris, otherwise called Alexander; who being exposed on Mount Ida, because it had been foretold that he should occasion the ruin of his country, was educated by a shepherd, and followed that employment himself for some time, though he was the son of Priam king of Troy. He sailed some time after into Greece, and stole thence Helen the wife of Menelaus, which was the occasion of the ten-years' war against Troy, and final destruction of that flourishing city.

2. *Idæis*] Trojan vessels, being built of timber taken from Mount Ida, belonging to Troy.

2. *Helenam.*] Helena, the wife of Menelaus, by whom Paris being hospitably entertained, perfidiously defiled his bed, being therein assisted by Venus, who had promised to bestow upon him the most beau-

ODE XV.

was to be the theatre of the most bloody war that had ever been in the Roman empire. Horace, under a noble and poetic allegory, makes Antony sensible of his foolish and base conduct. He sets before him the example of Paris, and leaves it to him to make the application, which is very manifest.

Every thing in this ode is excellent, the invention and execution, &c. the subject also allows nothing of the mean.

NEREUS'S PROPHECY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY.

WHILE the perfidious shepherd was carrying Helen, his *fair* hostess, over the seas in Trojan ships, Nereus suddenly imposed an ungrateful calm on the violent winds, that he might foretell the dreadful miseries *which would assuredly befall both him and his country.*

"*Unhappy youth,* you carry home your prize in an unlucky "hour; the princes of Greece will demand her with a powerful "army; they have already sworn to dissolve your *impious* marriage, "and overturn the ancient kingdom of *your father* Priam. What "fatigue, what toil, are the troops like to undergo! what a dreadful "catastrophe do you bring on the Trojan state! Pallas prepares "her chariot; *she is arming herself with* her shield and helmet, "and *is determined to pour forth all* her rage. In vain, trusting "to the protection of Venus, you amuse yourself in combing

NOTES.

tiful woman in the world, in reward of that determination by which he had preferred her to Juno and Pallas, in giving her the golden apple.

5. *Nereus.*] The son of Oceanus and Thetis, husband to Doris, and father of the Nereides. Some think it should be read Proteus; but Horace seems rather to have chosen Nereus, as being an ancient and known deity, whose predictions were all certain, and of very great authority.

5. *Malâ ducis avi.*] This is a metaphor taken from the common practice of the Greeks and Romans, who used to draw conclusions respecting the good and bad success of any enterprise, from the flight of birds.

7. *Conjurata.*] After Helen was violently taken away by Paris, the Grecian princes met at Aulis, and there bound themselves by an oath, to revenge the injury done to Menelaus.

10. *Dardanæ genti.*] Dardanus was the son of Jupiter and Electra, who, coming into Asia, built the city of Dardania, which was afterwards called Troy, from Tros, the third king of Phrygia.

11. *Pallas.*] Juno and Pallas, both favoured the Grecians; Juno, because she resented the affront offered her by Paris, in preferring Venus; Pallas, upon the same account, and because she was also offended at Paris for his criminal behaviour.

13. *Veneris præsidio.*] Venus here represents Cleopatra. That queen's court was the seat of effeminacy and voluptuousness; and Antony, while he remained there, plunged himself into the most infamous debaucheries. Horace, without forcing the

Pectes cæsariem, grataque feminis
Imbelli citharâ carmina divides.
Nequicquam thalamo graves
Hastas, et calami spicula Gnossii,
Vitabis, strepitumque, et celerem sequi
Ajacem. Tamen, heu, serus adulteros
Crines pulvere collines.
Non Laertiaden, exitium tuæ
Gentis, non Pylium Nestora respicis?
Urgent impavidi te Salaminius
Teucerque, et Sthenelus sciens
Pugnæ, sive opus est imperitare equis,
Non auriga piger. Merionen quoque
Nosces. Ecce furit te reperire atrox
Tydides melior patre;
Quem tu, cervus utì vallis in alterâ
Visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
Non hoc pollicitus tuæ!
Iracunda diem proferet Ilio,
Matronisque Phrygum, classis Achilleï:
Post certas hiemes uret Achaïcus
Ignis Iliacas domos.

ORDO.

" pectes cæsariem, dividesque cithara im- " belli carmina grata feminis. *Tu* nequic- " quam thalamo vitabis hastas graves, et " spicula calami Gnossii, strepitumque, et " Ajacem celerem sequi. Tamen, heu, serus " collines pulvere crines adulteros. Non re- " spicis Laertiaden exitium tuæ gentis, non " Pylium Nestora? Teucerque Salaminius, " et Sthenelus sciens pugnæ, sive opus est " imperitare equis, auriga non piger, im- " pavidi urgent te. Nosces quoque Merio- " nen. Ecce, Tydides melior patre furit " atrox reperire te, quem tu mollis fugies " sublimi anhelitu, uti cervus *fugit* lupum " visum in alterâ parte vallis, immemor " graminis, non pollicitus hoc tuæ *conjugi!* " Iracunda classis Achilleï proferet diem Ilio, " matronisque Phrygum: *at*, post certas " hiemes, ignis Achaicus uret Iliacas do- " mos."

NOTES.

history, has art enough to find out just and natural allusions. Pallas favoured Menelaus as Venus did Paris.

Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.

Thus Octavia favoured the young Cæsar's interest; but Cleopatra adhered to Antony's.

17. *Gnossii.*] Gnossus was a city of Crete, the inhabitants whereof were famous for their dexterity in the management of the bow and arrow.

19. *Ajacem celerem sequi.*] Ajax, the son of Telamon, who is reported to have been so swift of foot, that none could escape when he pursued. He is said to have overtaken and killed Paris, when he was flying.

21. *Laertiaden.*] Ulysses, son of Laertes, and king of Ithaca, famous for his prudence and subtilty. It was he that discovered Achilles, and brought him to the Trojan war, without whom that city could not have been overthrown.

"your hair, or take pleasure in entertaining the ladies with "your harp, so fit for tender and amorous airs. In vain you "think, that, by lying on your couch, you can shun the spears and "darts of the skilful Cretans, the noise of war, and the hot pursuit "of swift Ajax. Perish you shall, infamous adulterer, though, "alas! too late to prevent the ruin of your country; and those "beautiful locks of yours shall be stained with dust. Do not you "see *Ulysses*, the son of Laertes, who is doomed to be the destroyer "of your father's kingdom, or the sage and experienced Nestor? "The intrepid Teucer, the son of Telamon, pursues thee hard, as "does Sthenelus, equally skilled either to fight or manage the "chariot; and who with uncommon dexterity can tame the fury "of the most ungovernable coursers. You shall also * feel the rage "of Merion. Behold! the son of Tydeus, *the valiant Diomede*, in "war even superior to his father, burns with a desire to engage you; "from him you will flee like a coward, and run off panting like a "*timorous* stag that leaves his pasture at the sight of a prowling "wolf on the other side of the valley: that, *alas!* was not the "object of thy promise to thy mistress. And though † the resent-"ment of Achilles, restraining his fleet from action, will for some "time defer the ruin of Troy, and *suspend* the alarms of the Phry-"gian matrons; yet, after ‡ a certain term of years, the Grecian "torches shall put Troy's palaces in a flame, *and reduce them to a* "*heap of ashes*."

* Know. † The angry fleet of Achilles. ‡ Certain winters.

NOTES.

22. *Pylium Nestora.*] Nestor was remarkable for his prudence and great age. He was educated at Pylos, a city of Peloponnesus; and though, at that time, of a very advanced age, accompanied the other Grecian generals in their expedition to Troy. Of him Agamemnon said, that had he but ten Nestors in his army, it was impossible Troy could hold out long.

23. *Salaminius Teucer.*] This Teucer was the brother of Ajax. See Ode 7th, ver. 27, of this book.

24. *Sthenelus sciens pugnæ.*] Sthenelus, the son of Campaneus, was a great warrior, and the particular friend of Diomede, who had so great a confidence in him, that one day he is reported to have said, should all the Greeks leave the siege of Troy, he would remain alone with Sthenelus, till that city should fall.

33. *Iracunda classis Achillei.*] Achilles, being offended that Agamemnon had taken Briseis from him, detained his troops from the war; by which means the ruin of Troy was retarded. But hearing that Patroclus, his friend, who had been clad in his armour, was slain by Hector, he immediately resolved to revenge his death, and recover his own armour; nor was his anger appeased till he had slain Hector, the only defender of Troy.

34. *Phrygum.*] Phrygia was a region of Asia Minor, of which Troy was the metropolis.

35. *Post certas hiemes.*] In a determined number of years; for Chalcas, the augur, had predicted, that after the space of ten years Troy should be taken and entirely demolished.

35. *Achaicus.*] Achaia was a part of Greece; whence the Greeks in general are often mentioned under the name of Achaians.

ODE XVI.

Of all the performances of Horace that have come down to us, there is not one that gives us any light upon the occasion of this ode, in which our poet begs pardon for certain verses he had composed when young. But I shall offer a very probable account of it, grounded on the inscription that this ode has in two ancient manuscripts, viz.

Palinodia Gratidiæ ad Tyndaridem amicam.

"A Palinodia for Gratidia, to my mistress Tyndaris."

PALINODIA.

O Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cunque voles modum
Pones iambis, sive flammâ,
Sive mari libet Adriano.
Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
Non Liber æquè ; non acuta
Sic geminant Corybantes æra,
Tristes ut iræ ; quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis, nec mare naufragum,
Nec sævus ignis, nec tremendo
Jupiter ipse ruens tumultu.
Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique

ORDO.

O Filia pulchrior matre pulchrâ, pones quemcunque modum voles *meis* criminosis iambis, sive libet flammâ, sive mari Adriano.

Non Dindymene, non incola Pythius *in*adytis, non Liber æquè quatit mentem sacerdotum ; non Corybantes sic geminant æra acuta, ut tristes iræ; quas neque Noricus ensis, nec mare naufragum, nec sævus ignis, nec Jupiter ipse, ruens tremendo tumultu, deterret. Fertur Prometheus coactus addere principi limo particulam undique

NOTES.

1. *Matre pulchrâ.*] This first address must flatter Gratidia and Tyndaris.

3. *Iambis.*] Horace had written a poem against Gratidia, Tyndaris' mother, in iambic verse, as being the most proper for satire; but that satire is amongst the number of Horace's pieces that are lost.

6. *Pythius.*] Apollo, who rendered his oracles at Delphos; called Pythius, from the serpent Pytho, which he killed.

5. *Dindymene.*] Among others, there were three mountains in Phrygia, sacred to Cybele, viz. Dindymus, Ida, and Berecynthus. Hence that goddess is so often called Dindymene, Idæa, Berecynthia.

ODE XVI.

Horace, in his youth, had composed some iambics against Gratidia. But, a considerable time afterward, falling passionately in love with Tyndaris, the daughter of the same Gratidia, and finding her very sensible of the affront offered to her mother, he wrote this ode to pacify her, assuring her of the suppression of his iambics, and protesting that he would wish to unsay all he had written. His submissions met with a gracious reception, as appears from the following ode.

A RECANTATION.

AMIABLE *Tyndaris*, who are so charming that you excel even your mother, who was a celebrated beauty, take your revenge of my bitter iambics in what manner you please; you are at liberty either to throw them into the Adriatic sea, or condemn them to the flames. But, *I would have you consider to what an extravagant height passion may carry us;* neither Cybele, nor Apollo, nor Bacchus, raise such commotions in the souls of their priests *when they are inspired by them;* nor do the Corybantes themselves in their frantic processions, though they redouble their strokes, beat their cymbals with such violence, as passion, which fears neither storms nor tempests, the keen sword, nor consuming fire, nor Jupiter himself, though armed with his tremendous thunder. Prometheus, after choosing the finest clay, of which he formed his man, is said to have endued him with qualities from all the different kinds of animals, and

NOTES.

8. *Corybantes.*] The priests of Cybele. We meet with them also under the names of Curetes, Idæi, Dactyli, &c. They were all eunuchs, and, by nation, Phrygians. In their solemn processions, they danced in armour, making a confused noise with timbrels, pipes, and cymbals, howling all the while as if mad, and cutting themselves as they went along.

9. *Noricus ensis.*] The most excellent kind of swords, such as were made in Noricum, a province of Assyria, which abounded in iron-mines.

13. *Fertur Prometheus.*] It is probable that Horace founded this piece of fabulous history on what he had read in Plato's Protagoras, who says, that after Prometheus had tried, and used all the properties of nature in the formation of animals, he was at a loss what to impart to man, and borrowed knowledge of Minerva, fire of Vulcan, while Mercury supplied him with shame and justice. But it is still more probable, that Horace had in his eye the story of Simonides, who tells us, that after God had formed all animals, and finished man, nothing being left for women, there were qualities of them borrowed from the several kinds of animals. To some he gave the disposition of a hog, to others those of the fox; to another the stupidity of the ass; the humour of a weasel to a fourth. Others were formed with the qualities of an ape. And those whom he would favour, were blessed with the laudable

Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.
Iræ Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere, et altis urbibus ultimæ
Stetere causæ cur perirent
Funditus, imprimeretque muris
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
Compesce mentem: me quoque pectoris
Tentavit in dulci juventâ
Fervor, et in celeres iambos
Misit furentem: nunc ego mitibus
Mutare quæro tristia, dum mihi
Fias recantatis amica
Opprobriis, animumque reddas.

ORDO.

desectam, et apposuisse vim insani leonis stomacho nostro.

Iræ stravere Thyesten gravi exitio, et stetere ultimæ causæ altis urbibus, cur funditus perirent, exercitusque insolens imprimeret hostile aratrum muris.

Compesce mentem: fervor pectoris me quoque tentavit in dulci juventa, et misit furentem in celeres iambos: nunc ego quæro mutare tristia mitibus, dum recantatis opprobriis *tu* fias amica mihi, reddasque animum.

ODE XVII.

He describes the happiness he enjoys in his retirement at his country-seat; invites Tyndaris to share in the pleasures of it; and tells her, that she will there find the most innocent amusements, and be freed from every thing that might give her any trouble or uneasiness, especially the insults of Cyrus. This ode is composed in such a taste, as must have highly pleased Tyndaris, not only because it is very natural, elegant, and full of easy flowing images and ex-

AD TYNDARIDEM.

Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem
Mutat Lycæo Faunus, et igneam
Defendit æstatem capellis

ORDO.

Velox Faunus sæpe mutat amœnum Lucretilem Lycæo, et usque defendit igneam

NOTES.

1. *Velox Faunus.*] The same with Pan, a rural deity, and expert in running and dancing.

1. *Lucretilem.*] A mountain in the country of the Sabines, on which Horace had a country-seat, very pleasant and agree-

planted in his heart the fury of the lion. It was passion that plunged Thyestes into so dreadful an abyss of miseries. To this it is owing, that so many lofty cities have been overthrown, and that the insolent soldiers have ploughed up the very foundation of their walls. *Let such examples prevail with you to* moderate your resentment; for I likewise, hurried by my youthful heat, gave too much way to passion, venting it in those reviling verses, the occasion of your anger. But now, *dear Tyndaris*, there is nothing I desire more than to change my bitter invectives into soft strains; *and I shall think myself perfectly happy*, if, when I recant my harsh reflections, you restore me to your good graces, and not leave me to despair.

NOTES.

qualifications, that do so much honour to the bees.

17. *Iræ Thyesten.*] Thyestes and Atreus, two brothers, after their father's death, agreed to reign alternately; but when it came to be the turn of Thyestes, Atreus, being accustomed to reign, would not give place to him, which enraged the former so much, that he debauched Atreus' wife, and carried off the fatal ram which had the golden fleece, the badge of sovereignty. Atreus, to revenge those heinous affronts, killed Thyestes' sons, and set them before him to eat, at the horror of which fact the sun went back.

21. *Hostile aratrum.*] It was a custom among the Romans, to drive a plough over the wall of a city which they destroyed, to signify that the ground on which it stood should for ever be employed in agriculture.

ODE XVII.

pressions, but likewise because the lady is praised for her polite and elegant education in so particular a manner, as must distinguish her among her sex. We have observed, that our poet was not young when he composed the ode, *O matre pulchrâ*, and that Gratidia was then alive, and celebrated for her beauty. Here he makes no mention of the mother, who probably was dead. Hence I am induced to think that this is one of the last performances of our author.

TO TYNDARIS.

FAUNUS often quits his Lycæus, to enjoy the sweets of my pleasant Lucretile; all the summer-season he defends my goats from scorch-

NOTES.

able, of which he speaks in the beginning of the 16th Epistle of Book I. He here expresses his fondness for it, by making it the delight even of Pan himself.

2. *Lycæo.*] Lycæus was a mountain of Arcadia sacred to Pan, on which he chiefly resided.

Usque meis, pluviosque ventos.
Impunè tutum per nemus arbutos
Quærunt latentes et thyma deviæ
Olentis uxores mariti;
Nec virides metuunt colubros,
Nec Martiales hœdilia lupos;
Utcunque dulci, Tyndari, fistulâ
Valles, et Usticæ cubantis
Lèvia personuere saxa.
Dî me tuentur; Dîs pietas mea
Et musa cordi est. Hinc tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hìc in reductâ valle Caniculæ
Vitabis æstus, et fide Teïâ
Dices laborantes in uno
Penelopen vitreamque Circen.
Hìc innocentis pocula Lesbii
Duces sub umbrâ: nec Semeleïus
Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
Prœlia, nec metues protervum
Suspecta Cyrum, ne malè dispari
Incontinentes injiciat manus,
Et scindat hærentem coronam
Crinibus, immeritamque vestem.

ORDO.

æstatem pluviosque ventos *a* capellis meis. Deviæ uxores mariti olentis impune quærunt arbutos latentes et thyma per tutum nemus: hœdilia nec metuunt virides colubros, nec martiales lupos; utcunque, *o* Tyndari, valles et levia saxa Usticæ cubantis personuere dulci fistulâ *Fauni*.

Dii tuentur me; pietas mea, et musa cordi est Diis. Hinc copia opulenta honorum ruris manabit tibi ad plenum benigno cornu. Hic, in valle reducta, vitabis æstus Caniculæ; et dices fide Teiâ Penelopen, vitreamque Circen, laborantes in uno *Ulysse*.

Hic duces pocula innocentis Lesbii *vini* sub umbra: nec Semeleius Thyoneus confundet prælia cum Marte, nec suspecta metues Cyrum protervum, ne injiciat manus incontinentes *tibi* male dispari, et scindat coronam hærentem crinibus, immeritamque vestem.

ing heat and rainy winds. Tyndaris, ever since our valleys and steep Ustica's smooth rocks resounded with his sweet pipe, *my she-goats securely wander through the whole wood in quest of thyme and strawberry-leaves; nor are the kids in fear of speckled snakes or ravenous wolves. The gods honour me with their protection, and favourably accept my piety and poetry. Plenty from her store-horn will pour out unto you liberally the riches of the country: here, in a deep vale, you may be shaded from the sultry heat, while with the harp of Anacreon you may amuse yourself, in singing the anxiety that the love *of Ulysses* gave at once to Penelope, and the enchantress Circe. Here, under a shade, you may safely drink my pleasant Lesbian wines; where Bacchus will not put himself in a rage, nor enter into combat with the god of war. In fine, you need not fear the jealousy of Cyrus, nor apprehend, that, taking advantage of your weakness, he will lay his rude hands on you, who are not a match for him, and pull either the garland off your head, or tear your inoffensive gown.

* The wives of my fetid he-goat.

NOTES.

9. *Martiales lupos.*] The wolves were sacred to Mars, the god of war; being rapacious and destructive animals.

11. *Usticæ cul·antis.*] Ustica was a Sabine mountain, probably the same with Lucretilis, on which Horace had his country-seat.

18. *Fide Teiâ.*] On the harp of Anacreon, who was born at Teios, a city of Paphlagonia, a province in Asia Minor. See Book IV. Ode 9th.

20. *Penelopen.*] The wife of Ulysses, and queen of Ithaca, who, during the absence of her husband after the Trojan war, preserved her chastity pure and uncorrupted, amidst a numerous crowd of lovers, and resisted all their solicitations till the return of Ulysses.

20. *Circen.*] Circe, a noted enchantress, the daughter of Sol, and the nymph Perse. By the charms of her voice, she allured mariners, as they passed by the rocks which she inhabited, to turn towards her, and, when she had them in her power, converted them into beasts.

22. *Nec Semeleius cum Marte.*] The meaning of this is, You may indulge yourself moderately in wine, without fear that any harm will ensue, or our drinking-match end in quarrels and dissensions.

25. *Cyrum.*] This Cyrus must have been the rival of Horace, one of Tyndaris' gallants.

25. *Male dispari.*] *Male* is here put for *valde*. We shall find other instances of this. ——It would be savage, and brutal to the last degree, to make reprisals with blows on a lady for her modesty and reservedness, when, by such conduct, she merits our esteem and praise.

ODE XVIII.

The moral is the very soul of this piece. In it the poet recommends the moderate use of wine. But what is most remarkable, is, that when he begins to mention the disorders which excess in drinking occasions, on a sudden his poetic rage fires him, and throws him into a fit of poetic disorder. Hence

AD QUINTILIUM VARUM.

Nullam, Vare, sacrâ vite priùs severis arborem,
Circa mite solum Tiburis et mœnia Catili;
Siccis omnia nam dura Deus proposuit, neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt solicitudines.
Quis, post vina, gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
Quis non te potiùs, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
At ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata; monet Sithoniis non levis Evius;
Cùm fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam, nec variis obsita frondibus

ORDO.

O Vare, severis nullam arborem circa mite solum Tiburis et mœnia Catili, prius vite sacrâ; nam Deus *Bacchus* proposuit omnia dura siccis, neque mordaces solicitudines aliter diffugiunt.

Quis crepat gravem militiam aut pauperiem post vina? O Bacche pater, quis non potius *crepat* te, teque, O decens Venus?

At rixa Centaurea, cum Lapithis debellata super mero, monet ne quis transiliat munera Liberi modici; monet *et* Evius non levis Sithoniis; cum avidi libidinum discernunt fas atque nefas exiguo fine.

O candide Bassareu, ego non quatiam te invitum, nec rapiam sub divum obsita variis frondibus:

NOTES.

1. *Vare.*] This is thought to be Quintilius Varus the poet, whose death Horace laments in Ode 24. of this Book.

1. *Sacrâ vite.*] The vine was sacred to Bacchus, who first cultivated, and taught the use of it.

2. *Mite solum Tiburis.*] A Sabine city, situated in a fine soil; it is now called Tivoli. See what is said of it, Ode 7.

2. *Mœnia Catili.*] This is generally supposed to be the same with the city before mentioned, as being built by the three sons of Amphiaraus, Catilus, Tiburtus, and Coras, taking its name from the eldest brother.

8. *Centaurea.*] The Centauri were a people of Thessaly, inhabiting the neighbourhood of mount Pelion. The reason of their name seems to be this; that they were the first who broke horses for war: other people, who saw them on horseback at a distance, concluded them to be but one creature, which had the upper part of the body like a

ODE XVIII.

flowed those strong ideas, figurative expressions, and incoherent style, which are observable in it. Those two distinct characters which make the piece quite different, are none of the least of its beauties; the transition from the one to the other is natural, and managed with skill.

TO QUINTILIUS VARUS.

DEAR Varus, in planting your trees in the fruitful country of Tivoli, and round the walls of Catilus, neglect not to give the preference to the vine; for they must expect nothing but the hardest treatment from Bacchus, who love not wine, the only remedy against the corroding cares of life. Who, after a hearty glass, ever complains of the fatigues of war, or the hardships of poverty? Who is he, that does not rather take a pleasure to dwell on the praises of Bacchus, and of thee, beautiful Venus? But yet, the contention between the Lapithæ and Centaurs over their bottle, should teach us to take care that we make not a bad use of the gifts of Bacchus. We are farther warned *to guard against this immoderation*, by the resentment Bacchus showed against the people of Thrace; who, plunging themselves in debauchery, broke through all the bounds of right and wrong, and would be governed by no other rule than their own exorbitant passions. Candid Bacchus, I will never offer you any violence, nor expose to view your *sacred* mysteries concealed under various leaves; but keep at a distance from me, I entreat

NOTES.

man, and the other like a horse. Being invited to the wedding of Pirithous, king of the Lapithæ, and having indulged themselves too freely in wine, they began to create a great deal of disturbance; upon this, Theseus and the Lapithæ, taking up arms, routed them, and cut them in pieces.

9. *Sithoniis.*] The Sithonians were a people of Thrace, inhabiting that part of it which went under the name of Sithonia. They are put here for the whole Thracians; among whom it was customary to run voluntarily to excess in the use of wine, and their debaucheries frequently terminated in quarrels and bloodshed.

9. *Evius.*] Bacchus; some derive this name from the clamours made by the Bacchantes, ἐυοῖ. But the more general opinion is, that in the war which Jupiter maintained against the giants, he praised greatly the valour of Bacchus, and frequently animated him to the combat by these words, ἐυ υἱε, that is, *courage, my son.*

11. *Bassareu.*] Another name for Bacchus, of which we have several derivations. Some deduce it from the name of a habit which the Thracians call Bassaris; others from a city of Libya, called *Bassara*; and a third sort from the fierce animals which drew his chariot, called *Bassaria*, according to Herodotus.

Sub divum rapiam : sæva tene cum Berecynthio
Cornu tympana, quæ subsequitur cæcus amor sui,
Et tollens vacuum plùs nimio gloria verticem,
Arcanique fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

ORDO.

tene sæva tympana cum Berecynthio cornu, quæ cæcus amor sui subsequitur, et gloria plus nimio tollens vacuum verticem, fidesque prodiga arcani, perlucidior vitro.

NOTES.

13. *Berecynthio cornu.*] The Berecynthian horn, so called either from a mountain or city in Phrygia of the same name, where this instrument was used in performing the rites of Bacchus and Cybele.

ODE XIX.

In the first Ode of the fourth Book Horace intimates, that he had long since renounced his gallantries; and in this, which is much of the same nature, and the same kind of verse with that, he positively affirms that his amours were all over. Hence we may reasonably conclude, that he was old

DE GLYCERA.

Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Thebanæque jubet me Semeles puer,
Et lasciva licentia,
Finitis animum reddere amoribus.
Urit me Glyceræ nitor,
Splendentis Pario marmore puriùs ;
Urit grata protervitas,
Et vultus nimiùm lubricus aspici.
In me tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit; nec patitur Scythas,
Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere, nec quæ nihil attinent.
Hìc vivum mihi cespitem, hìc

ORDO.

Sæva mater Cupidinum, puerque Semeles Thebanæ, et lasciva licentia jubet me reddere animum finitis amoribus.

Urit me nitor Glyceræ splendentis purius marmore Pario; grata *ejus* protervitas urit *me*, et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.

Venus tota ruens in me deseruit Cyprum; nec patitur *me* dicere Scythas, et Parthum animosum equis versis, nec quæ nihil attinent *ad ipsam*.

O pueri, hic *ponite* mihi cespitem vivum, hic

NOTES.

1. *Mater sæva Cupidinum.*] It is Venus, the goddess of love, whom he addresses in this manner, she being accounted the cause of the mutual inclinations and propensities between the sexes.

2. *Thebanæ Semeles puer.*] Bacchus, who

you, the sound of your tabret and Berecynthian horn, which are so apt to raise in men a blind love of themselves, a vanity that exalts their empty heads above measure, and an indiscretion more transparent than glass, incapable of retaining the least secret.

NOTES.

15. *Et tollens vacuum plus nimio.*] The poet presents to us here a beautiful picture of vanity; glory that raises too high the empty head. The more a man wants brains, the higher he soars; like ears of standing corn, the taller and more straight they are, the poorer they prove. *Gloria* is used indifferently either for praise or dispraise; but here with the latter meaning.

ODE XIX.

when he was enamoured of Glycera; but that his passion for her was of no long duration, and that for some time he had no mistress; that about the age of fifty, when Venus seemed to have no influence over him, he was captivated with the beauty of a Ligurian. This ode, then, was perhaps composed three or four years before that of the fourth book.

OF GLYCERA.

THE cruel queen of love, and *Bacchus*, son of the Theban Semele, assisted by licentious desire, conspire to rekindle in me the passion of love, which I thought had been entirely extinguished. I am ravished with the beauty of Glycera, which far excels the finest Parian marble. I am charmed with her agreeable humour and fine complexion, which cannot be looked on without manifest danger. Venus hath entirely abandoned Cyprus to reign in my heart, and will not permit me to sing either of the *warlike* Scythians, or of the Parthians, who fight so boldly while they are flying; or of any thing but what relates to her. Bring me then, boys, some green

NOTES.

is reported to have been born of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, king of the Thebans.

6. *Pario marmore.*] The whitest marble came from Paros, one of the islands of the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea. To this day it goes under the name of Pario.

10. *Cyprum.*] Cyprus, an island of the Ægean Sea, where Venus was supposed to have the greatest power. See Book I. Ode 3.

10. *Scythas.*] The Scythians were a very warlike nation, in the northern parts of Asia, of whom ancient geographers treat largely. See Strabo.

12. *Parthum.*] The Parthians were also a very valiant people, who had frequent wars with the Romans, and sometimes proved too strong and brave for them. They were remarkable for the dexterity wherewith they fought in flying.

13. *Cespitem.*] Turf, of which they made their altars.

Verbenas, pueri, ponite, thuraque,
Bimi cum paterâ meri.
Mactatâ veniet lenior hostiâ.

ORDO.

ponite verbenas, thuraque, cum paterâ meri bimi. *Dea* veniet lenior, hostiâ mactatâ.

ODE XX.

Horace here invites Mæcenas to such an entertainment as he could afford, which, he tells him, would be far inferior to what he might enjoy at home; but the principal design of this ode, is to remind Mæcenas with what

AD MÆCENATEM.

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græcâ quod ego ipse testâ
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
Cùm tibi plausus,
Care Mæcenas eques; ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago.
Cæcubum, et prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernæ
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.

ORDO.

O care Mæcenas eques, *apud me quidem* potabis vile Sabinum *in* modicis cantharis, quod ego ipse levi conditum Græca testa, cum plausus datus *est* tibi in theatro; *adeo* ut ripæ paterni fluminis, simul et imago jocosa montis Vaticani redderet laudes tibi.

Tu *domi* bibes Cæcubum, et uvam domitam prælo Caleno; *sed* nec Falernæ vites, neque Formiani colles, temperant mea pocula.

NOTES.

3. *Levi.*] The ancients sealed their casks or vessels either with wax or pitch, and called this *Linire dolia*, and the contrary *Relinire*; as Terence has it, *Relevi omnia dolia*, I have unsealed all my casks. Horace says, that he did the same, with a view of signifying to Mæcenas the joy he had in putting on his casks the marks of so happy a day.

5. *Paterni fluminis ripæ.*] Horace denominates it in this manner, to do honour to Mæcenas, who sprang from the Tuscans, in whose country that river had its rise.

turf, vervain, incense, and a cup of wine that is two years old. When my sacrifice is performed, the goddess will be more propitious to me.

ODE XX.

applause and acclamations of joy he was received by the people at his first appearance in the theatre, after a long and dangerous illness.

TO MÆCENAS.

DEAR Mæcenas, thou ornament of the *Roman* knights, condescend to drink with me a moderate glass of my small Sabine wine, that I put into Grecian casks the very day the theatre rang with such loud applause, that the banks of the Tiber *, and all the echoes of the Vatican, resounded your praises. I know you have always the richest Cæcubian and Calenian wines, *which you may drink when you please;* but I have neither *strong* Falernian nor Formian to mix with my *small* wines.

* Your paternal river.

NOTES.

6. *Jocosa imago.*] *Vocis* must be here understood, as Virgil has expressed it; the echo is certainly a resemblance of the voice, since it imitates and represents it. In ancient mythology she was a country nymph, remarkable for loquacity, who, for having often illuded Juno by her prating with a view to favour Jupiter's amours, was punished by that goddess, who left her no other faculty of speaking but that of repeating the last words of what she had heard.

7. *Vaticani montis.*] *Mons Vaticanus* was one of the hills on which Rome was built. It had its name from the god Vaticanus, or Vagilanus, or from the answers of the *vates* or prophets that used to be given here. It still retains the old name, and is celebrated on account of St. Peter's church, and the pope's palace, and one of the noblest libraries in the world.

9. *Cæcubum.*] Cæcubus was a mountain of Latium not far from the Caietan Gulph. Its wine was of great repute.

9. *Caleno.*] Calis or Calenum, a city of Campania, built, say some, by Cala, the Argonaut, son of Boreas. It is placed in the midst of a fertile soil, very fit for producing the best wine.

10. *Falernæ.*] The Falerni were a people of Campania. The wine that came from their country was strong, and holden in the highest esteem.

11. *Formiani.*] This was likewise a very pleasant wine. The vines grew in the territories of the Formiani, a people also of Campania, not far from Caieta.

ODE XXI.

This ode, in which Horace exhorts the Romans to celebrate the praises of Apollo and Diana, and informs them that Apollo, moved by their prayers,

IN DIANAM ET APOLLINEM.

Chorus Puerorum.
Dianam teneræ dicite virgines;
Chorus Puellarum.
Intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium;
Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.
Latonamque supremo
Dilectam penitus Jovi.
Chorus Puerorum.
Vos lætam fluviis, et nemorum comâ,
Quæcunque aut gelido prominet Algido,
Nigris aut Erymanthi
Sylvis, aut viridis Cragi;
Chorus Puellarum.
Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus,
Natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis,
Insignemque pharetrâ
Fraternâque humerum lyrâ.

ORDO.

Chorus Puerorum.
O teneræ virgines, dicite Dianam;
Chorus Puellarum.
Pueri, dicite Cynthium intonsum;
Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.
Latonamque penitus dilectam supremo Jovi.
Chorus Puerorum.
Vos *virgines*, *celebrate Dianam* lætam fluviis, et comâ nemorum, quæcunque aut prominet gelido Algido, aut nigris sylvis Erymanthi, aut viridis Cragi;
Chorus Puellarum.
Vos mares, tollite Tempe totidem laudibus, Delonque natalem Apollinis, humerumque insignem pharetrâ, fraternâque lyrâ.

NOTES.

1. *Dianam.*] Diana, the daughter of Jupiter by Latona, born at the same moment with Apollo. She was remarkable for her chastity. See Ode XII. ver. 22.

2. *Intonsum.*] The ancients always describe Apollo, as well as Bacchus, with long hair. So *intonsus* is not of the same import with *levis* in the sixth Ode of the fourth Book. Both terms point to us Apollo's youth, but in a quite different manner. Ovid says of this god, *tibi inconsumpta juventus, tu puer æternus.*

ODE XXI.

would be prevailed upon to avert the calamities that threatened them, may be reckoned an introduction to the *Carmen Seculare* at the end of the fifth Book.

IN PRAISE OF DIANA AND APOLLO.

The Chorus of Youths.

SING, ye virgins, the praises of Diana;

The Chorus of Virgins.

Celebrate, ye youths, the never-fading beauty * of Apollo;

The Chorus of Youths and Virgins.

Let us unite our voices in honour of Latona, the darling of almighty Jove.

The Chorus of Youths.

Consecrate, ye virgins, your songs to that goddess who takes pleasure in gliding rivers, in the forests of cool Algidus, the black shades of Erymanthus, or of verdant Cragus.

The Chorus of Virgins.

Come, ye boys, raise your voices in praise of delicious Tempe, and Delos *so famed for the birth* of Apollo, who carries his quiver on his beautiful shoulder, and the harp presented to him by his brother *Mercury*.

* See Note 2d.

NOTES.

3. *Latonam.*] The mother of Apollo and Diana. Being impregnated by Jupiter, she was obliged to hide herself, in order to avoid the fury of Juno, whence she was called Latona, from *lateo*.

6. *Algido, &c.*] Algidus was a mountain of Latium, covered with trees, about twelve miles from Rome, and lying on the Appian way. Erymanthus, a mountain of Arcadia, in which country there were also a city and river of the same name. Cragus and Anticragus, are two mountains of Lycia. The Cragus especially is remarkable, on account of eight summits, and a city of the same name.

9. *Tempe.*] See Ode VII. It was here that Apollo retired, after having slain the serpent Python, and purified himself, and was crowned with laurel.

10. *Natalemque Delon Apollinis.*] Delos was not only the birth-place of Apollo, but was also consecrated to him.

12. *Fraterna lyra.*] We have before taken notice, Ode X. that Mercury was the inventor of the harp. He made a present of it to his brother Apollo, who gave him the rod with two serpents twisted round it, in exchange.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.
Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem
Pestemque, à populo et principe Cæsare, in
Persas atque Britannos,
Vestrâ motus aget prece.

ORDO.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum. Hic motus vestra prece aget bellum lacrymosum, hic *aget* miseram famem pestemque a populo et principe Cæsare, in Persas atque Britannos.

ODE XXII.

Fuscus Aristius, to whom this ode is directed, was enamoured of Lalage. Horace, who was in strict friendship with him, and who loved also Lalage rather as a friend of Aristius than as his rival, relates to him a sylvan adventure, and tells him of a great danger from which his Lalage had preserved him, because he sang her praises. He attributes his safety to this

AD ARISTIUM FUSCUM.

Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus,
Non eget Mauris jaculis, neque arcu,
Nec venenatis gravidâ sagittis,
Fusce, pharetrâ,
Sive per Syrtes iter æstuosas,
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum, vel quæ loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.

ORDO.

O Fusce, integer vitæ purusque sceleris non eget jaculis Mauris, neque arcu, nec pharetrâ gravidâ venenatis sagittis, sive facturus iter per Syrtes æstuosas, sive per inhospitalem Caucasum, vel loca quæ fabulosus Hydaspes lambit.

NOTES.

2. *Mauris.*] The Moors were the inhabitants of Mauritania, a region of Africa. They were famous for their dexterity in the management of the bow, and scarcely ever ventured abroad without it, being so liable to attacks from wild beasts, of which there were great numbers in those parts.

4. *Fusce.*] Aristius Fuscus was known in Rome in quality of a grammarian, a poet, and a rhetorician. His good character, more than his wit or learning, recommended him to the esteem of Horace; as appears not only by this ode, but by the Satire, *Ibam forte via sacra;* and the Epistle, *Urbis amatorem.*

The Chorus of Youths and Virgins.

It is he who, moved by your pious addresses, will remove from both prince and people the lamentable war, the raging pestilence, and destructive famine, and pour them upon the heads of our enemies, the Persians and Britons.

NOTES.

14. *In Persas atque Britannos.*] That is, to a great distance from Italy, these two people marking out the bounds of the empire toward the east and toward the west.

ODE XXII.

lady, whom he looks upon as a goddess that had protected him, on account of the great respect he had for her; this is the reason why he begins with a description of his innocence and strict virtue, which does great honour to Lalage, and very much encourages a rival, in preventing his jealousy. This ode is written with such politeness and address, as cannot be too much admired.

TO ARISTIUS FUSCUS.

THE man, *dear* Fuscus, that leads an upright life, and is conscious of no crime wherewith he can reproach himself, has no need of Moorish darts, or bow, or quiver stuffed with poisoned arrows, even though he should travel through the scorching sands of Libya, the uninhabited mountain Caucasus, or the countries washed by the famed Hydaspes. For the other day, amusing myself with a song

NOTES.

5. *Syrtes æstuosas.*] Most interpreters take this to be meant of the deserts of Libya, where Prudentius places the temple of Jupiter Ammon. These, from the excessive heat of the sun and dryness of the land, were intolerably scorching. The way of travelling through them was, by taking observation of the stars. Passengers were in great danger, sometimes of being devoured by fierce and ravenous animals; at other times, of being buried in sand.

6. *Inhospitalem Caucasum.*] A mountain of Asia, betwixt the Caspian and Euxine Seas. It is reported to be so prodigiously high, as to be illuminated with the solar rays when almost three parts of the night have elapsed. It is celebrated for the story of Prometheus, who was said to have been bound here, whilst the eagle preyed upon his liver, which continually grew again, that his torment might be prolonged. It was rendered uninhabitable by perpetual snows, and by the steepness of the rocks.

Namque me sylvâ lupus in Sabinâ,
Dum meam canto Lalagen, et ultra
Terminum curis vagor expeditis,
Fugit inermem;
Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunia in latis alit esculetis,
Nec Jubæ tellus generat, leonum
Arida nutrix.
Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor æstivâ recreatur aurâ;
Quod latus mundi nebulæ malusque
Jupiter urget;
Pone sub curru nimiùm propinqui
Solis, in terrâ domibus negatâ;
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.

ORDO.

Namque *nuper* in sylvâ Sabinâ, dum canto meam Lalagen, et expeditis curis vagor ultra terminum, lupus fugit me inermem; *tale* portentum quale neque militaris Daunia alit in latis esculetis, nec tellus Jubæ, arida nutrix leonum, generat.

Pone me *in* pigris campis, ubi nulla arbor recreatur æstivâ aurâ; quod latus mundi nebulæ, malusque Jupiter urget; pone *me* sub curru solis nimium propinqui, in terra negata domibus; amabo *ubique* Lalagen dulce ridentem, dulce loquentem.

NOTES.

8. *Hydaspes.*] There are two rivers in Asia named Hydaspes: the one waters Media, called hence by Virgil, *Medus Hydaspes*, Georg. 4. But Horace here refers to that which waters India, now called Rauvey; which was the boundary of the conquests of Alexander the Great. It falls into the Indian sea not far from the city of Nysa.

in praise of my Lalage, I strayed too far into the Sabine woods, and met a *ravenous* wolf, which fled before me, though unarmed; a monster so hideous, as was not bred either in the spacious forests of warlike Apulia, or in scorching Numidia,* that gives birth to so many lions. Place me in a country covered with snow, where the trees never feel the influence of the gentle zephyrs, in a corner of the world that is never free from thick fogs, on which angry Jove never bestowed one breath of wholesome air; place me in a land that borders on the chariot of the sun, where never house was built; yet I will still admire my Lalage, whose smiles are so sweet, and whose conversation is so agreeable.†

* Land of Juba.

† Sweetly smiling, sweetly speaking.

NOTES.

9. *Sabina.*] This was a region of Italy, formerly Latium, between Umbria and Etruria. It still retains its ancient name, lying within the territories of the pope.

13. *Militaris Daunia.*] It was so called from Daunus, one of its kings, commonly thought to be the father-in-law of Diomede. It was a region of Italy, in the province of Apulia, now la Capitanata. It borders upon the Adriatic sea, and is a part of the kingdom of Naples. It was formerly famous for producing a great number of warlike men.

15. *Jubæ tellus.*] Mauritania (a part of Africa, here put for the whole), in which Juba reigned. See above, ver. 2.

17. *Pone me pigris, &c.*] Either under the frigid zone, intolerably cold; or, under the torrid zone, where the earth is burned up with excessive heat.

19. *Malusque Jupiter urget.*] This is a very poetical expression; he considers these places as disgraced by Jupiter, who makes them feel the effects of his indignation. Nothing describes to us better the inclemency of a climate.

23. *Dulce ridentem, dulce loquentem.*] Horace has united here two of the most considerable pleasures, that of laughing and that of speaking, and has borrowed this beautiful passage word for word from Sappho.

ODE XXIII.

He complains of Chloe's shyness, and advises her, as she is now fit for marriage,

AD CHLOEN.

Vitas hinnuleo me similis, Chloe,
Quærenti pavidam montibus aviis
Matrem, non sine vano
Aurarum et sylvæ metu.
Nam, seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
Adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertæ,
Et corde et genibus tremit.
Atqui non ego te, tigris ut aspera,
Getulusve leo, frangere persequor.
Tandem desine matrem
Tempestiva sequi viro.

ORDO.

O Chloe, vitas me similis hinnuleo, quærenti pavidam matrem *in* montibus aviis, non sine vano metu aurarum et sylvæ. Nam tremit et corde et genibus, seu adventus veris inhorruit foliis mobilibus, seu virides lacertæ dimovere rubum.

Atqui ego non persequor frangere te, ut tigris aspera Getulusve leo. Tandem tempestiva viro, desine sequi matrem.

NOTES.

8. *Et corde et genibus tremit.*] This verse cannot be fully extolled; one cannot paint

ODE XXIII.

to relinquish the constant society of her mother. This ode was written some time before the ninth of the third Book, when Horace was young.

TO CHLOE.

You fly me, Chloe, like a fawn in search of her timorous dam, through the *wild* pathless mountains, who starts at the noise of the winds, and the rustling of the trees; for, on the arrival of the spring, should the zephyrs shake the leaves, or a lizard, by moving, stir a bush, its heart beats and knees tremble. But, *dear Chloe*, I do not pursue you as a ravenous tiger, or a lion of Getulia, with an intention of tearing you to pieces: cease therefore to hang upon your mother, at an age in which you are fit for a husband.

NOTES.

the timidity of any one more strongly, than by saying, that the very motion of the leaves of trees will frighten him: thus the Scripture has it, Levit. 26th chap. 36th verse, *The noise of the waving leaves shall frighten them.* And thus Lucan speaks of Pompey, when flying, *Pavet ille fragorem motorum ventis nemorum.* "He starts at the rustling "of the forests agitated by the winds."

9. *Tigris aspera.*] The tiger is an animal of so fierce and ravenous a nature, that it is reported of him, he lies in wait for men, whom most beasts shun of their own accord, unless when urged by hunger or rage.

10. *Getulusve leo.*] Getulia is a part of Mauritania, not far from mount Atlas; but as the natives often change their habitation, and never continue long in one place, Getulia is made to stand for all Africa.

ODE XXIV.

There are some persons whose loss cannot be too much regretted. But when that loss is irreparable, we are under a necessity of having recourse to patience. Prudence demands of us with resignation to part with a blessing which we can no longer possess. These are the reflections which Horace

AD VIRGILIUM.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? præcipe lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum citharâ dedit.
Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget? cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit;
Nulli flebilior quàm tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius, heu, non ita creditum
Poscis Quintilium Deos.
Quod si Threïcio blandiùs Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem,
Non vanæ redeat sanguis imagini,
Quam virgâ semel horridâ,

ORDO.

Quis pudor aut modus sit desiderio capitis tam cari? O Melpomene, cui pater dedit liquidam vocem cum cithara, præcipe lugubres cantus.

Perpetuus ergo sopor urget Quintilium? Cui, quando Pudor, et incorrupta Fides soror Justitiæ, Veritasque nuda, invenient ullum parem?

Ille occidit flebilis multis bonis; *at*, O Virgili, flebilior nulli quam tibi. Tu pius frustra, heu, poscis Deos Quintilium non ita creditum.

Quod si moderere fidem auditam arboribus blandius Threicio Orpheo, *tamen* sanguis non

NOTES.

1. *Quis desiderio, &c.*] This introduction is managed with great skill. Horace, designing to wipe off Virgil's tears, first begins to weep with him. He encourages the grief of his friend, before he applies any remedy to it; and strengthens, before he attempts to diminish it. This is seemingly to act a contradictory part; but

ODE XXIV.

makes to Virgil on the death of a common friend. They are both natural and reasonable, and are expressed in such a manner as makes the mind feel them to be the genuine sentiments of the soul. The ode is written in an excellent taste; the style is simple and easy; the poetry is sweet and flowing; the sentiments are lively, soft, and full of variety.

TO VIRGIL.

WHAT shame can there be in lamenting the loss of so dear a friend? what bounds can be set to grief so just? O Melpomene, to whom Jove has given such a fine voice with *the art of playing so sweetly on* the lute, inspire me with mournful strains.

And does an eternal slumber seize the eyes of dear Quintilius? When will modesty, unshaken fidelity the sister of justice, and naked truth, find an equal to him? What a loss will all good men feel in him! But you, my dear Virgil, have greater cause than others to lament his death. In vain, alas! with prayers *and tears* do you beseech the gods to restore Quintilius, whom they did not lend you on such conditions. Even if you could touch your lyre with more sweetness than Orpheus, who commanded the attention of the *very* trees, the blood cannot return to animate a spectre

NOTES.

it agrees to admiration with the effect for which the comforter wishes. It is an infallible method to cure those who are under any anguish of soul. One must fall in at once with the sentiments of others, in order to bring them into ours.

3. *Melpomene.*] Horace here invokes the aid of this muse instead of all the rest, because she was the inventress of tragedy; and it was assigned to her, as her peculiar province, to preside over all funeral songs. She derives her name from the sweetness of her voice, *μέλπομαι, cano liquidam, suavem, dulciter fluentem.*

5. *Quintilium.*] Commentators differ with regard to this Quintilius. Some take him to be the Quintilius of Cremona, the friend of Horace and Virgil, of whom Eusebius makes mention in his chronicle. Others will have him to be Publius Quintilius Varus, who slew himself in Germany after the defeat of his troops. But the most probable conjecture is, that it is the same Quintilius whom Horace celebrates in his Art of Poetry, as a faithful friend, and an excellent critic.

13. *Threicio blandius Orpheo.*] The story of Orpheus, and his great skill in music, have been several times mentioned before. See Ode xii. ver. 8.

16. *Virga horrida.*] This rod, Mercury received from Apollo, upon granting him the harp. See Ode x.

Non lenis precibus fata recludere,
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.
Durum; sed levius fit patientiâ,
Quidquid corrigere est nefas. 20

ORDO.

redeat vanæ imagini, quam Mercurius, non lenis recludere fata precibus, semel nigro gregi compulerit virgâ horridâ.

Durum *quidem illud est:* sed quicquid est nefas corrigere, fit levius patientiâ.

NOTES.

18. *Compulerit.*] This term is borrowed from the shepherds. It signifies to drive or collect into one place flocks of the same or different kinds. Thus Virgil, in his 7th

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ODE XXV.

Lydia being now old, and forsaken by her lovers, he takes occasion to insult her for her former rude and haughty behaviour to him; and tells her, that

AD LYDIAM.

Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras
Ictibus crebris juvenes protervi,
Nec tibi somnos adimunt; amatque
Janua limen,
Quæ priùs multùm faciles movebat 5
Cardines. Audis minùs et minùs jam,
"Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
"Lydia, dormis?"
Invicem mœchos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu, 10
Thracio bacchante magìs sub interlunia vento;

ORDO.

Juvenes protervi parciùs quatiunt junctas fenestras ictibus crebris, nec adimunt somnos tibi; januaque quæ prius movebat cardines multum faciles, *nunc* amat limen.

Minus et minus jam audis: "O Lydia, "dormis, me tuo pereunte longas noctes?"
Jam anus invicem flebis mœchos arrogantes, levis in angiportu solo, vento Thracio

NOTES.

1. *Parciùs junctas quatiunt fenestras.*] Among the ancients in Greece and Italy their youths, in their nocturnal visits to their mistresses, carried flambeaux, batons, bows and axes, to set fire to their windows and gates, or to pull them to pieces, in case of a refusal of admittance. This train of artillery which the young gallants made use of to

which inexorable Mercury, who never breaks the decrees of fate, has once ranged, with his dreadful rod, among the black subjects of Pluto*.—This is hard indeed; but patience makes supportable what we can neither remedy *nor prevent.*

* In the black company.

NOTES.

Eclogue, says,

Compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum.

19. *Levius fit patientia.*] Patience, says Publius Syrus, is the asylum of the afflicted: *Miserorum portus est patientia.*

ODE XXV.

whatever art she might use to gain a crowd of admirers, all would be to no purpose.

TO LYDIA.

THE rude young rakes are not *now* so frequently battering your windows† with redoubled strokes; nor do they *now* disturb your rest; and your gate, which formerly opened so easily and so often, is now almost continually shut‡. From day to day you are more rarely addressed after this manner, *once so familiar to you: "Ah! cruel* " Lydia, while I your lover languish at your gate the live-long night, " can you enjoy your soft repose?" *The time shall come when,* in an advanced age, you shall in your turn lament the insolence of your gallants, and in loose attire wander in some solitary alley, exposing yourself to the fury of the Thracian winds, which rage with the greatest violence about the time of the new-moon, while burning

† Shut windows. ‡ Loves its threshold.

NOTES.

storm the lodgings of their mistresses, is what Horace calls the lover's arms. For after our author had told us in Ode 23 of his third Book, that he renounced his amours, and that the walls of the temple of Venus should have his arms and lyre, he addresses his companions thus:

—— *Hic ponite lucida*
Funalia, et vectes, et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.

7. *Me tuo.*] This is the beginning of the song which the admirers of Lydia sang at her gate while they were refused admittance. The Greeks affixed the term παραϰλαυσιθυρα to it, because it was sung before a shut gate. We have a complete copy of such a song in Theocritus's 3d Idyllium, and in the 13th Ode of Horace's 3d Book.

11. *Thracio vento.*] Thrace was a very cold country, lying to the north of Greece, whence the north-wind was said to reign

Cùm tibi flagrans amor, et libido
Quæ solet matres furiare equorum,
Sæviet circa jecur ulcerosum;
Non sine questu,
Læta quòd pubes ederâ virenti
Gaudeat, pullâ magìs atque myrto;
Aridas frondes hyemis sodali
Dedicet Hebro.

ORDO.

bacchante magis sub interlunia: cum flagrans amor, et libido quæ solet furiare matres equorum, sæviet tibi circa jecur ulcerosum, non sine questu; quod pubes læta hederâ virenti atque myrto pullâ magis gaudeat; dedicet *verò* frondes aridas Hebro sodali hyemis.

NOTES.

in it; and therefore the Thracian wind always signifies the north among the Grecian

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ODE XXVI.

Being free from all fears and apprehensions, which were removed at a great distance from him, he invites his Muse to celebrate the praises of Lamias, as his attempts, unless seconded by her, would be of no effect. Tiridates

DE ÆLIO LAMIA.

Musis amicus, tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis; quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ,
Quid Tiridatem terreat, unicè
Securus. O quæ fontibus integris

ORDO.

Ego amicus musis, tradam tristitiam et metus protervis ventis portare in mare Creticum; unice securus quis rex metuatur sub Arcto gelidæ oræ, quidve terreat Tiridatem.

NOTES.

1. *Musis amicus.*] What a charming amusement is poetry! I mean, properly considered; when it neither retards our duties in life, nor is set up as a trade. To be able to regulate so valuable a talent, is to enjoy in one's self a source of the most innocent pleasures. Hence it is, that all those who have been great poets have boasted of the great sweetness they have tasted from their intercourse with the Muses. But one must be a poet, before he finds their expressions to be true.

love and brutal lust * shall seize your wounded heart. *In fine*, you shall observe, to your sorrow, that the youth take pleasure only in the verdant ivy, and the growing myrtle, but consecrate the withered and decayed leaves to Hebrus, the companion of winter.

* Lust, which uses to infuriate the dams of horses, shall rage around your ulcerated liver.

NOTES.

poets, though improperly; for the north wind does not at all blow into Italy from Thrace.

11. *Bacchante magis sub interlunia.*] During the time that intercedes betwixt the old and new moon, or while the sun and moon are in conjunction, tempests are frequent, and the winds cold, and very violent.

19. *Hyemis sodali Hebro.*] This was a river that, taking its rise on mount Hemus, watered Thrace, and emptied itself into the Adriatic sea. He denominates it the companion of winter, from the coldness of the region through which it took its course.

ODE XXVI.

rebelled against Phraates, and made himself master of the kingdom of the Parthians, in the year of Rome 723, in Augustus' fourth consulate, whilst he laid siege to Alexandria. And here we must fix the date of this ode, according to Mr. Le Fevre, Horace being then 36 years of age.

OF ÆLIUS LAMIAS.

WHILE the Muses vouchsafe to smile upon me, I will give care and fears to the wanton winds to transport them to the sea †, indifferent what king of the cold northern regions may make himself the terror of all the nations round him, or why Tiridates especially is so greatly alarmed. O thou, my Muse, my

† Cretan sea.

NOTES.

2. *Mare Creticum.*] Crete, now Candia, was one of the greatest islands in the Ægean sea, lying south, towards Africa. It was famous of old for its hundred cities, and because there was situated the celebrated mount Ida, where Jupiter received his education.

3. *Arcto.*] *Arctos*, from the Greek word ἄρκτος, which signifies a bear. This name is applied to two constellations in the northern hemisphere, called by the Latins, Bears; the one the greater, the other the smaller; whence the word is here made to stand for the north in general.

5. *Tiridaten.*] This Tiridates having banished Phraates, king of the Parthians, was, by the unanimous consent of the nobility, chosen in his place. But hearing that Phraates approached with a great body of Scythians to recover his kingdom, he was so overcome with fear, that, forsaking Parthia, he fled to Augustus; to whom

Gaudes, apricos nècte flores,
Necte meo Lamiæ coronam,
Pimplea dulcis: nil sine te mei
Prosunt honores. Hunc fidibus novis,
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro,
Teque tuasque decet sorores.

ORDO.

O Pimplea dulcis, quæ gaudes fontibus integris, necte apricos flores, necte coronam meo Lamiæ. Mei honores nil prosunt sine te. Decet teque tuasque sorores sacrare hunc novis fidibus, *sacrare* hunc plectro Lesbio.

NOTES.

Phraates sent ambassadors, demanding that he should be delivered up into his hands. See Justin, lib. 42.

8. *Lamiæ.*] The noble family of the Lamiæ took their name and rise from one Lamus, the son of Neptune, and king of the Lestrigons; he reigned in the maritime

ODE XXVII.

Horace was at an entertainment, where a dispute began to warm the guests, who were already heated by the fumes of wine. The reflecting part of the company had doubtless employed the most reasonable remarks to make up the difference. The poet at last gave it an artful turn, by a merry, tart, and unexpected proposition. This occurrence appeared to him as a proper occasion for an ode, which he probably composed after supper, without giving time to his imagination to cool. The character of it is singular. Vivacity shines through the whole; but the sallies are different; sometimes sudden, sometimes witty and humorous, sometimes moral, but still so skilfully managed, that the natural turn makes them appear quite destitute of art. The whole concludes with a little sketch of satire, which falls upon two persons. They laugh at the expense of what is obvious and plain, and endeavour to guess at what they cannot see or understand. Thus the quar-

AD SODALES.

Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
Pugnare, Thracum est. Tollite barbarum

ORDO.

Thracum est pugnare scyphis natis in usum lætitiæ. Tollite barbarum

only darling, who takest such a pleasure in *pure and* untouched fountains, collect the choicest flowers, and make a coronet to adorn the head of my dear Lamias: my noblest productions cannot do *him sufficient honour*, unless you contribute your assistance. It belongs to you and your sacred sisters, to make him immortal by some new strains after the manner of Sappho and Alcæus.

NOTES.

parts of Italy, where he built the city of Formiæ.

9. *Pimplea.*] Pimpla was a mountain of Macedonia, at the foot of which there was a fountain of the same name, sacred to the Muses; whence they often obtain the name of *Pimpleæ* and *Pimpleides* among the poets.

11. *Lesbio.*] Lesbos was an island of the Ægean sea; see Ode I. ver. 34. It was famous for the birth of Alcæus and Sappho, who excelled in lyric poetry.

11. *Plectro.*] The *plectrum* is an instrument for touching the strings of the harp, and may be said to resemble the bow wherewith we strike the violin.

ODE XXVII.

rel vanishes by an agreeable diversion, and good humour succeeds wrangling. When I say that this ode is an extemporary one, composed at table, I am under no apprehension of being contradicted. The case of Bernardin Perfetti, a gentleman of Sienna, and who lately resided at Rome, makes this very probable. They tell us, that he composed extempore, and upon whatever subject was proposed to him, the most beautiful Italian verses, and with such rapidity that the hand of the readiest writer could not follow him. And they add, that he was not the first whom they have seen *improvisare*, as Italians call this practice. It is to no purpose to inquire into the date of this ode, or to whom it was addressed, since there is nothing handed down to us that can supply us with any conjectures on these two points.

TO HIS COMPANIONS.

It is the custom of the Thracians, to quarrel at entertainments, which were designed for the indulging of innocent mirth and

NOTES.

2. *Thracum.*] The Thracians, who inhabited Thrace, now Romania, a country near the Ægean sea, lying to the north of Macedonia, were not only infamous for their excess in drinking, but also for the animosities and contentions that prevailed among them at their entertainments.

Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis.
Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
Immane quantum discrepat! impium
Lenite clamorem, sodales,
Et cubito remanete presso.
Vultis severi me quoque sumere
Partem Falerni? dicat Opuntiæ
Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
Vulnere, quâ pereat sagittâ.
Cessat voluntas? non aliâ bibam
Mercede. Quæ te cunque domat Venus,
Non erubescendis adurit
Ignibus, ingenuoque semper
Amore peccas: quidquid habes, age,
Depone tutis auribus.—Ah miser,
Quantâ laboras in Charybdi,
Digne puer meliore flammâ!
Quæ saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit Deus?
Vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimærâ.

ORDO.

morem, prohibeteque verecundum Bacchum sanguineis rixis. Quantum immane Medus acinaces discrepat vino et lucernis!

O sodales, lenite clamorem impium, et remanete cubito presso. Vultis me quoque sumere partem Falerni *vini* severi? Frater Opuntiæ Megillæ dicat, quo vulnere, quâ sagittâ beatus pereat.—Voluntas cessat? *At* ego non bibam aliâ mercede.

Quæcunque Venus domat te, adurit ignibus non erubescendis, semperque peccas amore ingenuo: age, quicquid habes, depone tutis auribus.—

Ah miser, in quanta Charybdi laboras, O puer digne meliore flammâ! Quæ saga, quis magus venenis Thessalis, quis Deus, poterit solvere te? Pegasus vix expediet te illigatum triformi Chimærâ.

NOTES.

3. *Verecundum.*] Bacchus was usually painted in the form of a young man, of whom modesty ought to be the distinguishing ornament. The poet also seems to intimate to us, that we ought to observe moderation in drinking.

8. *Cubito remanete presso.*] It is well known that the Romans of that age used to eat stretched on couches round their tables, the left hand supporting the head.

10. *Dicat Opuntiæ frater.*] These verses furnish us with a remarkable instance of a custom practised at their carousals, namely, of obliging every one to tell the name of his mistress. The person who demanded it bound himself to drink as many bumpers as there were letters in her name; accordingly he who would have his mistress honoured, contented himself with saying, that he had taken as many bumpers as there were letters in her name; and, by the number of the former compared with the latter, they guessed the name. To prove this, Martial says, in his first book of Epigrams,

pleasure. Banish, my friends, this barbarous practice, and abstain from such bloody contentions, while you partake of the blessings of peaceable Bacchus. Swords and scymeters have no affinity with feasts, or with the illuminations used on these occasions. Put an end to such a shameful noise, and let every one take his place again at the table. Are you desirous that I should drink my share of your strong Falernian wine? let the brother of Megilla inform me, by what arrow he has been so happily wounded.—Do you refuse to name her? I assure you, I will drink on no other terms. Whoever she may be, who has made you her captive, it is an honourable captivity. Your mistress is worthy of the passion you have for her. But come, who is she? you may safely trust your secret with one who will faithfully keep it.—Ah, unhappy youth! *what do you tell me?* Into what an abyss of misery are you plunged! Surely you deserved a better fate! What enchantress, what magician with all the power of his charms, or what deity, can give you assistance *in this unhappy situation?* Scarcely is it in the power of Pegasus himself to rescue you from this frightful chimæra, who keeps you in her chains.

NOTES.

Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina libatur,
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus;
Omnis ab infuso numeretur amica Falerno.

19. *Charybdi.*] Charybdis is a dreadful whirlpool in the streights of Sicily, which drew in with a vast force the water for a great way round it, and swallowed up such ships as came within its reach. Opposite to it, on the same streights, there was another vortex named Scylla; and mariners, while they endeavoured to avoid one, were often in danger of being devoured by the other.

21. *Thessalis.*] Thessaly was a region of Greece, lying eastward, and bounded by Macedonia, Albania, Achaia, and the Ægean sea. It afforded great plenty of poisonous herbs, fit for the purpose here spoken of.

24. *Pegasus.*] This was a horse with wings who sprang from the blood of Medusa, when her head was cut off by Perseus. He was called Pegasus, from πηγὴ, *fons*, because he came into life near a fountain, in the place inhabited by the Gorgons. This horse, as soon as he came into being, flew to mount Helicon; where striking a stone with his hoof, he opened a fountain, which thence was called *Hippocrene*, that is, The horse's fountain, *quasi ἵππου κρήνη*. Afterwards he was found by Bellerophon, who, at that time, was preparing for an expedition against the Chimæra. Last of all, he was translated into heaven, and there became a constellation.

24. *Chimæra.*] The Chimæra, according to mythologists, was a monster that had the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and a serpent's tail. Bellerophon, the son of Glaucus king of Corinth, had the task of delivering the country from her. The enterprise was dangerous and above his strength. Nevertheless he subdued this monster, by the aid of Neptune, who gave him Pegasus, the winged horse. Horace mentions here only Pegasus, who was no more than the instrument of this achievement; but both the god and the hero must be considered, who were the performers, without which the rea-

ODE XXVIII.

The poet in this ode uses the form of a dialogue, in which he ridicules Pythagoras' doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and recommends the care of burying the dead. He introduces a mariner observing, that Archytas, notwithstanding his extraordinary progress in natural knowledge, was yet cut off by death, and his body destitute of the honour of sepulture. Ar-

Inter Nautam et Umbram Archytæ DIALOGUS.

Te maris et terræ, numeroque carentis arenæ
Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
Munera; nec quidquam tibi prodest
Aërias tentâsse domos, animoque rotundum
Percurrisse polum, morituro.
Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva Deorum,
Tithonusque remotus in auras,
Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus; habentque
Tartara Panthoïden, iterum Orco

ORDO.

O Archyta, parva munera exigui pulveris prope litus Matinum, cohibent te mensorem maris et terræ, arenæque carentis numero; nec quidquam prodest tibi morituro tentasse domos aerias, animoque percurrisse polum rotundum.

ARCHYTAS.

Sic et occidit *Tantalus* genitor Pelopis, conviva Deorum, Tithonusque remotus in auras, et Minos admissus arcanis Jovis; Tartaraque habent Panthoiden iterum

NOTES.

soning must appear defective. When Horace wrote, these fables were so well known, that one circumstance only brought to view all the rest.

2. *Archyta.*] He was born at Tarentum, a city of Italy, being an excellent philosopher and geometer. There is still extant an epistle of the celebrated Plato directed to him.

3. *Matinum.*] The Matini were a people of Apulia, in the confines of Lucania, whose country abounded with flowers fit for bees to feed upon.

7. *Pelopis genitor.*]] Tantalus, king of Phrygia, who, entertaining the gods at a

ODE XXVIII.

chytas answers, that the stroke of death is what none can avoid; even the greatest have been conquered by it, and all must submit to it one time or other. He therefore recommends to him the care of his interment, acquaints him with the blessings Jupiter will bestow upon him for so pious an action, and the evils that will overtake him if he should neglect it.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A MARINER AND THE GHOST OF ARCHYTAS.

Mariner. ARCHYTAS, thou who didst once measure the earth and the sea, and could'st reckon the grains of sand that are infinite in number, now liest extended near the Matinian shore, covered only with a small quantity of earth; nor is it of any service to thee, who wast soon to die, that thou didst penetrate into the heavenly mansions, and by a vast and comprehensive genius extend thy views from one pole to the other.

Archytas. What then? did not the father of Pelops die, notwithstanding his admission to the table of the gods? Even Tithon was translated into the aërial mansions, and Minos also, who had been privy to the secret designs of Jupiter:

NOTES.

banquet, that he might make experiment of their divinity, placed before them the body of his son Pelops, not doubting that they would recall him to life, were they really gods. All the other gods disdaining to partake of this horrid banquet, Ceres only ate his right shoulder; wherefore Jupiter, when he restored him to life, gave him a shoulder of ivory in the place of it, and thrust his father, the author of so barbarous an action, into hell, where being placed up to the chin in water, and having apples hung before his lips, he was yet tortured with perpetual thirst and hunger; the waters subsiding as soon as he attempted to drink, and the apples flying off when he endeavoured to catch them.

8. *Tithonusque.*] The son of Laomedon, king of the Trojans; whom the enamoured Aurora carried away by force, and conveyed in her chariot into Æthiopia. Having demanded of Aurora a very long life, he is feigned, by some, to have been transformed into a grasshopper; and by others, to have worn away by continual old age, till at last he vanished as smoke.

10. *Panthoiden.*] Pythagoras, a philosopher of Samos, and son to Minesarchus; who, having traveled through several countries from a desire of knowledge, and, upon his return, finding the government of Samos usurped by the tyrant Polycrates, departed into Italy, and taught philosophy there, about the time that Tullus Hostilius

Demissum, quamvis, clypeo Trojana refixo
Tempora testatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atræ;
Judice te, non sordidus auctor
Naturæ verique. Sed omnes una manet nox,
Et calcanda semel via lethi.
Dant alios Furiæ torvo spectacula Marti:
Exitio est avidum mare nautis:
Mista senum ac juvenum densantur funera: nullum
Sæva caput Proserpina fugit.
Me quoque, devexi rapidus comes Orionis,
Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
At tu, nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ
Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare: sic, quodcunque minabitur Eurus
Fluctibus Hesperiis, Venusinæ
Plectantur sylvæ, te sospite; multaque merces,
Unde potest, tibi defluat æquo
Ab Jove, Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
Negligis, immeritis nocituram
Postmodo te natis, fraudem committere forsan:
Debita jura vicesque superbæ
Te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis,
Teque piacula nulla resolvent.
Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa; licebit
Injecto ter pulvere curras.

ORDO.

demissum Orco, quamvis, testatus tempora Trojana *ex* clypeo refixo, concesserat atræ morti nihil ultra nervos atque cutem; te judice, auctor non sordidus naturæ verique. Sed una nox manet omnes, et via lethi semel calcanda *est*.

Furiæ dant alios spectacula torvo Marti: mare est exitio avidis nautis: mista funera senum ac juvenum densantur: sæva Proserpina fugit nullum caput. Notus, rapidus comes devexi Orionis, obruit me quoque Illyricis undis. At tu, O nauta, ne malignus parce dare particulam vagæ arenæ ossibus et capiti *meo* inhumato: sic, quodcunque Eurus minabitur fluctibus Hesperiis, sylvæ Venusinæ plectantur, te sospite: multaque merces, unde potest, defluat tibi ab Jove æquo, Neptunoque custode sacri Tarenti.

Forsan *tu* negligis committere fraudem nocituram postmodo te natis immeritis: debita jura vicesque superbæ mancant te ipsum. Non linquar precibus inultis, piaculaque nulla resolvent te. Quanquam festinas, mora non est longa; licebit *ut* curras pulvere ter *in me* injecto.

NOTES.

reigned in Rome. He was the first who taught the transmigration of souls; and, to persuade his followers of the truth of it, affirmed that he remembered himself to have inhabited several human bodies, as that of Æthalies, Hermotimus, and Euphorbus, the son of Panthous.

10. *Iterum Orco Demissum.*] First, when he was Euphorbus, and afterward when he was Pythagoras, which are the only two that Horace mentions here.

20. *Proserpina.*] The daughter of Ju-

Pythagoras is also in the infernal regions, into which he has again been precipitated, though by his shield, taken from the temple, he proved himself to be Euphorbus, who served at the siege of Troy, and that he had yielded nothing to death but his nerves and skin: *even this Pythagoras is no more,* who, even in your judgement, was no mean proficient in the knowledge of nature and morality. In fine, one eternal night awaits us all, and we must once tread the path of death. The Furies make use of some to give diversion to the stern god of war: the insatiable sea proves the destruction of mariners; neither old nor young are exempt from the grave, whose funerals increase every day; nor shall so much as one escape falling into the hands of inexorable Proserpine. *No wonder then that I have fallen as well as others;* the rapid south-wind, that accompanies the setting of Orion, hath buried me in the Illyrian waves. But you, mariner, be not so cruel as to refuse to cover, with a small quantity of earth, my bones and head, which lie thus exposed without burial. On this condition may the east-wind, which threatens such destruction to the Hesperian waves, discharge all its fury on the Venusian forests without doing you any harm; and may great riches from all quarters flow in upon you by the favour of Jupiter, and of Neptune the guardian of Tarentum. *But* if you think lightly of the commission of such a crime, and presume that the punishment of your impiety will only reach your innocent children; may due vengeance and the same disdainful treatment come home upon yourself! Nor shall my imprecations be in vain: no sacrifices will save you *from the fury of the avenging gods. Once more,* whatever haste you are in, *consider* it will not detain you long to throw three handfuls of earth upon me; and then you may proceed on your voyage.

NOTES.

piter and Ceres, and wife of Pluto, whom he stole, and carried away with him out of Sicily. She was thought to cut the hair from off those who were about to die; till that was done, the soul could not be separated from the body.

21. *Orionis.*] He was a famous hunter, and, being wounded by Diana, was at last translated into heaven, and placed not far from the constellation Taurus. Its rising and setting are attended with dangerous tempests, whence it is called by Virgil, *nimbosus Orion;* and here it is given for a companion to the south, a stormy and boisterous wind.

26. *Venusinæ.*] Venusium was a city of Apulia, where Horace was born, not far from the territories of Lucania in Italy.

29. *Custode Tarenti.*] Tarentum was built by Neptune's son, when he was regarded as the tutelar deity of that city, and was religiously worshiped in it.

36. *Injecto ter pulvere.*] Among the Romans, passengers were obliged to throw three handfuls of earth upon any corpse they saw unburied; and all who neglected this religious act, were obliged to expiate their crime, by offering a sow every year to Ceres.

ODE XXIX.

Horace here speaks of an expedition of Ælius Largus, who, in the tenth consulate of Augustus, in the year of the city 729, headed an army against the Arabs. Hence we see, that this ode was composed about the end of the forty-first or beginning of the forty-second year of our poet's age, some months before the 24th ode. The expedition here mentioned, was far from being successful; for no sooner was it undertaken, than abandoned. Largus at first met with no great opposition. But the heats and dews produced an

AD ICCIUM.

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis, et acrem militiam paras
Non antè devictis Sabææ
Regibus; horribilique Medo
Nectis catenas. Quæ tibi virginum,
Sponso necato, barbara serviet?
Puer quis ex aulâ capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,
Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno? quis neget arduis
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus, et Tiberim reverti,
Cùm tu coëmtos undique nobiles

ORDO.

O Icci, nunc invides beatis gazis Arabum; et paras acrem militiam regibus Sabææ non ante devictis, nectisque catenas Medo horribili. Quæ barbara virginum, sponso *suo* necato, serviet tibi? Quis puer ex aula *regia* unctis capillis statuetur ad *ministrandum tibi* cyathum, doctus tendere sagittas Sericas arcu paterno? Quis neget rivos pronos posse relabi arduis montibus, et Tiberim *posse* reverti, cum tu pollicitus meliora tendis mutare nobiles

NOTES.

1. *Icci.*] This Iccius was a philosopher, and the friend of Horace. He went in the army sent by Augustus against the Arabians, under the conduct of Ælius Largus.

1. *Arabum.*] Arabia is a region of a very large extent in Asia. It is bounded on the west by Ægypt and the Red-sea, on the east by Persia; to the south it has the Ocean,

ODE XXIX.

extraordinary malady which seized the men in the head, and dried it up to such a degree, that in a little time most of them died of it. And in those whose constitutions were strongest, the malady fell down from the head to the thighs, for which there was no remedy but drinking of wine and oil, and then rubbing with each the parts affected. But as the country afforded neither the one nor the other, and the troops were in want of provisions, the distemper swept off vast numbers of them. The enemy, attacking them in this distress, soon repulsed them.

TO ICCIUS.

My dear Iccius, you seem desirous of possessing the riches of the *happy* Arabia, and are preparing to carry on a bloody war against the kings of the Sabæans, who have never yet been conquered; you are even projecting nothing less than to reduce the formidable Medes to a state of slavery. What young lady of that barbarous nation will you retain as your slave, after having put her husband to death? What youth of quality, with his perfumed hair, and instructed in the dexterous management of the bow, will wait on you at table*? Who will henceforth deny that the rivers, descending from the highest mountains, may rise up thither again, and the Tiber run back towards his source, when *he hears that* you intend to change for arms the fine works of the learned Panætius, which you had collected from all quarters with so much care

* Will be appointed to the cup.

NOTES.

and to the north Judæa. It is divided into three parts, called Arabia Deserta, Petræa, and Felix.

2. *Gazis.*] *Gaza* was a Persian word signifying a treasure, properly a great one.

3. *Sabææ.*] The Sabeans were a people of Arabia Felix. Although several other parts of Arabia had been conquered by the Romans, yet they had never penetrated so far as Sabæa, it being a very remote region.

9. *Sericas.*] The Seres were a people of India, whose chief weapon was the bow.

14. *Panæti.*] Panætius was a Stoic philosopher, born in the isle of Rhodes. He wrote several books *de Officiis*, which were imitated by Cicero. He had a very great share of the esteem of Scipio Africanus.

14. *Socraticam domum.*] The philosophers who were educated in the school of Socrates. This great man was the son of a statuary at Athens, and applied himself chiefly to the study of moral philosophy. Being accused of want of regard to the gods, he was condemned to drink a cup of poison; which, conscious of his own innocence, he did with the greatest intrepidity and reso-

Libros Panætî, Socraticam et domum,
Mutare loricis Iberis,
Pollicitus meliora, tendis?

ORDO.

libros Panæti undique coemptos, et Socraticam domum, loricis Iberis?

ODE XXX.

This ode, notwithstanding its brevity, has merit. The second stanza has a great flow of images and poetry: nor is it possible to give to Venus finer or more modest attendants than the poet has here assigned to her. It is con-

AD VENEREM.

O VENUS, regina Cnidi Paphique,
Sperne dilectam Cypron, et vocantis
Thure te multo Glyceræ decoram
Transfer in ædem.
Fervidus tecum puer, et solutis
Gratiæ zonis, properentque Nymphæ,
Et parum comis sine te Juventas,
Mercuriusque.

ORDO.

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, sperne dilectam Cypron, et transfer *te* in decoram ædem Glyceræ vocantis te multo thure. Fervidus puer, et Gratiæ zonis solutis, Nymphæque properent tecum, et Juventas parum comis sine te, Mercuriusque.

NOTES.

1. *Cnidi.*] Cnidus is a city of Asia Minor, sacred to Venus, in that region which goes under the name of Caria.

1. *Paphique.*] Paphos was a city of the island Cyprus, lying between Cilicia and Syria. In this city, Venus had the greatest honours paid to her, and was in a manner queen of it.

and cost, and to quit the school of Socrates for that of Mars *? How contrary is this to your promises, and our hopes of you †!

* Change the house of Socrates for Spanish coats of mail.

† Having promised better things.

NOTES.

lution.

15. *Iberis.*] The Spaniards are called Iberi, from the river Iberus, now Ebro; which, taking its rise in Old Castile, and running through Catalonia, empties itself into the Mediterranean sea. The Spaniards in those days were very dexterous in tempering metal and polishing armour.

ODE XXX.

jectured, with some probability, that this ode was composed in the year of the city 734, or in 735. We have already spoken of Paphos and Cyprus. Who this Glycera was, is uncertain.

TO VENUS.

VENUS, queen of Cnidus and Paphos, abandon for a moment your beloved Cyprus, and transport yourself into the chapel of Glycera, which she has adorned for the celebration of your solemnities, and where she invokes you by a sacrifice of incense; come attended with the wanton god of love, and the Graces with their zones untied; let the Nymphs and Mercury make a part of your train, with Youth, who is seldom agreeable but when in your company.

NOTES.

7. *Juventas.*] The goddess of youth. Hebe was likewise named by the Greeks ἥβη, *pubertas:* she is feigned to have been the wife of Hercules.

6. *Gratiæ.*] To moderate the passionate and quick sallies of the little winged god, they associate the Graces with him, and must have him make his appearance even in their dress: that is, the festival must be kept with a great deal of decorum and modesty. *Solutis Gratiæ zonis*, must then be of the same import with *Gratiæ decentes*, in the ode *Solvitur acris hyems.* In representing the Graces dressed, they described them neither with belts nor clasps, but left their dress to flow at the pleasure of the winds. I have spoken of these deities in annotating upon the ode *Quantum distet ab Inacho.*

8. *Mercuriusque.*] He who first taught mankind the use of speech. He is here added as one of the companions of Venus, because love usually inspires us with eloquence.

ODE XXXI.

This ode would appear somewhat considerable from the nature and importance of the subject. In the year 726, Octavius dedicated to Apollo the temple and library which he had built in his palace on Mount Palatine. The same year he concluded the lustrum, or survey of the Roman citizens, and received the honourable title of Prince of the Senate. These three events afforded a noble theme for a poem. I know not if Horace composed on that occasion any other piece besides those which are handed down to us. Be that as it will, he restricts himself in this ode to prayers and wishes con-

AD APOLLINEM.

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vates? quid orat, de paterâ novum
Fundens liquorem? non opimas
Sardiniæ segetes feracis;
Non æstuosæ grata Calabriæ
Armenta; non aurum, aut ebur Indicum;
Non rura, quæ Liris quietâ
Mordet aquâ, taciturnus amnis.
Premant Calenâ falce, quibus dedit
Fortuna vitem: dives et aureis
Mercator exsiccet cullullis
Vina Syrâ reparata merce,
Dîs carus ipsis; quippe ter et quater
Anno revisens æquor Atlanticum
Impunè. Me pascunt olivæ,
Me cichorea, levesque malvæ.

ORDO.

Quid vates poscit dedicatum Apollinem? quid orat, fundens novum liquorem de patera? Non *poscit* segetes opimas Sardiniæ feracis; non grata armenta æstuosæ Calabriæ; non aurum, aut ebur Indicum; non rura, quæ Liris tacitùrnus amnis mordet aquâ quietâ.

Ii quibus fortuna dedit vitem, premant *eam* Calena falce; et dives mercator, carus Diis ipsis, quippe ter et quater anno impune revisens æquor Atlanticum, exsiccet vina reparata Syra merce cullullis aureis.

Olivæ pascunt me, cichorea *quoque*, levesque malvæ *pascunt* me.

NOTES.

1. *Dedicatum.*] In the year of the city 726, Augustus Cæsar, having overcome Antony and Cleopatra, chiefly, as he thought, by the assistance of Apollo, erected and dedicated a temple to him on Mount Palatine.

4. *Sardiniæ.*] Sardinia is an island on

ODE XXXI.

nected with his particular interest; and one may venture to say, that when the ode is considered in this view, it is far from being unworthy of our esteem. In it we find abundance of morality and criticism, serving to discover to us the vanity of our wishes, and the unprofitableness of our hurry and bustle in business. The avaricious and the ambitious cannot satisfy themselves with that which our poet here prays for; but reason and nature have few wants, whereas avarice never ceases creating new ones.

TO APOLLO.

WHAT does the poet ask of Apollo on the day of the dedication of his temple? What does he expect from his libation of new wine on this extraordinary occasion? *He does* not *covet* either the corn of Sardinia, so justly famous for plentiful crops, or the fine cattle *which feed on the plains* of the scorching Calabria. He has no desire to possess the gold or ivory of India; nor has he set his heart upon the fields which Liris, a silent *gentle* river, saps with its waters, that glide insensibly along. Let those on whom fortune has bestowed the vines that grow round the city of Cales, take care to cultivate them *. Let the rich merchant, who by heaven's indulgence makes every year three or four voyages to the Atlantic sea, and returns in safety, drink out of his golden cups the wine which he has received in exchange for the goods he brings from Syria. As for me, I can live with pleasure upon olives, cichory, † and wholesome

* Prune them with a Calenian hook. † Called also succory.

NOTES.

the coast of Italy, separated from Corsica by a narrow streight. The soil of it is very fertile.

5. *Calabriæ.*] This is a region situated near the extremity of Italy, and part of the present kingdom of Naples. It abounds in pasture.

6. *Indicum.*] India was a kingdom of very large extent in Asia, lying about the rivers Indus and Ganges. It was rich in gold, ivory, gems, and spices.

7. *Liris.*] A river in Italy remarkable for its smooth and gentle current. It separated Latium from Campania, and the country of the Samnites. At this day it obtains the name of Garigliano.

9. *Calenâ.*] From Calés, a town in Campania, now Calvi.

14. *Æquor Atlanticum.*] The African sea along the coast of Mauritania, where Mount Atlas stands.

Frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoe, dones, et, precor, integrâ
Cum mente; nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec citharâ carentem.

ORDO.

O Latoe, precor *ut* dones mihi valido, et frui paratis cum integra mente, et degere senectam nec turpem, nec carentem citharâ.

NOTES.

17. *Frui paratis.*] Most men are so insatiable as to make it their great business to be hoarding. Horace, who knew how to be contented with a little, was only concerned

ODE XXXII.

Augustus does Horace the honour to cast his eyes on him to make the secular hymn; this was in some sort declaring him the best lyric poet of the age. Horace, very sensible of the great honour conferred upon

AD LYRAM.

Poscimus; si quid vacui sub umbrâ
Lusimus tecum; quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et plures, age, dic Latinum
Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primùm modulate civi;
Qui ferox bello, tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam religârat udo
Litore navim,
Liberum, et Musas, Veneremque, et illi
Semper hærentem puerum canebat,
Et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
Crine decorum.

ORDO.

O barbite, poscimus; si vacui lusimus quid tecum sub umbra, age, dic Latinum carmen, quod vivat et in hunc annum, et plures; *barbite, inquam*, primum modulate Lesbio civi, qui ferox bello, tamen inter arma, sive religârat navim jactatam *in* udo litore, canebat Liberum, et Musas, Veneremque, et puerum semper hærentem illi; et Lycum decorum nigris oculis, nigroque crine.

NOTES.

2. *Quod hunc in annum.*] This with *lusimus* makes a pretty contrast. Horace looks

mallows. All *therefore* that I ask of thee, Apollo, is, that I may enjoy *the little* that I have in perfect health; let me be sound in body, and in mind; let me live with honour when old, and enjoy the innocent pleasures of *poetry and* music as long as I live.

NOTES.

how to enjoy it; he immediately grasped at the present happiness, and allowed others to run all their life after an imaginary bliss. Nothing is more rational than this which our poet here demands. Every man who knows not to be happy with a competency, is not to be pitied; as he has happiness in his hands, but will not enjoy it.

20. *Nec citharâ carentem.* To preserve in old age a taste and inclination for music and poetry, is a very great, but rare blessing.

ODE XXXII.

him, and that he might the better answer the choice of so great a prince, addresses himself here to his harp, and desires the assistance he wanted on this occasion.

TO HIS HARP.

If ever, at my leisure hours, under a sweet delightful shade I have sung any odes in concert with you, I pray, my harp, you will now assist me in composing one in Latin, that may be worthy of immortality. You first *had the honour of being* tuned and touched by the Lesbian citizen, renowned for arms; who, whether he was in the camp, or at his moorings on the briny shore, never ceased after a storm to sing of Bacchus, the Muses, Venus, and Cupid her inseparable companion, and Lycus with his charming black eyes, and lovely

NOTES.

on what he has already done, as nothing in comparison to what Augustus demands of him. Hitherto, says he, we have produced nothing but some merry songs, which are attended with little or no other effect, than that of amusing us for a short time: now we must set about some more important performance, that will deserve to be transmitted to latest posterity.—*Quod* refers to *carmen*, and not to *quid*, as some great commentators would have it; for, in the latter case, it has not the beauty or force of the former.

5. *Lesbio.*] Alcæus was a Greek poet, and said to be the first inventor of lyric poetry, which from him was called Alcaic. He was born at Mitylene, the metropolis of the isle of Lesbos, in the Ægean sea. He carried on a very considerable war with the Athenians; and expelled Pittacus, the tyrant of Mitylene; excelling no less in military discipline than in poetry.

O decus Phœbi, et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Jovis, ô laborum
Dulce lenimen, mihi cunque salve
Rite vocanti.

ORDO.

O testudo, decus Phœbi, et grata dapibus supremi Jovis, O dulce lenimen laborum, salve mihi *quando* cunque *te* rite vocanti.

NOTES.

14. *Testudo.*] A kind of fish that derives its name from the large shell with which it is

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ODE XXXIII.

He comforts Albius, who, being in love with Glycera, had no reciprocal regard shown him by her; he shows him that this was not his fate alone, but

AD ALBIUM TIBULLUM.

Albi, ne doleas plùs nimio, memor
Immitis Glyceræ; neu miserabiles
Decantes elegos, cur tibi junior
Læsâ præniteat fide.
Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor: Cyrus in asperam
Declinat Pholöen: sed priùs Appulis
Jungentur capreæ lupis,
Quàm turpi Pholöe peccet adultero.
Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub juga aheneа
Sævo mittere cum joco.
Ipsum me, melior cum peteret Venus,

ORDO.

O Albi, ne doleas plus nimio, memor immitis Glyceræ; neu decantes miserabiles elegos, cur junior, læsa *illius* fide, præniteat tibi. Amor Cyri torret Lycorida insignem fronte tenui: Cyrus *autem* declinat in asperam Pholöen: sed capreæ jungentur lupis Appulis, priusquam Pholöe peccet turpi adultero. Sic visum *est* Veneri, cui placet mittere impares formas atque animos sub juga aheneа cum sævo joco.

NOTES.

1. *Albi.*] This is the same with the poet Tibullus, of whom we have four books of Elegies still remaining, which are of an exquisite taste. He died much about the same

black hair. O thou, *my dear lyre*, who art the ornament of Apollo, and so acceptable at the table of Jove, who so agreeably sweetenest the most painful toils, be propitious to me whenever I invoke your kind assistance, *but especially on this great and solemn occasion.*

NOTES.

covered; in Latin, *testa*. Of the shell of the tortoise, Mercury is reported to have made a harp, having added strings to it, which, by reason of the concavity of the shell, when struck, sent forth a very pleasant sound.

15. *Salve.*] *i. e.* Fave mihi te vocanti quotiescunque te ritè vocabo.

ODE XXXIII.

that of many others; Venus taking a pleasure sometimes to inspire us with the love of those who already have their hearts otherwise engaged.

TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS.

BE not too much dejected with grief, Albius, when you reflect upon *the harsh treatment you meet with from* cruel Glycera; nor repeat mournful elegies, because that treacherous woman has broken her promise, and preferred the addresses of a younger lover. The charming Lycoris, so distinguished for her lovely forehead, is passionately in love with Cyrus, while Cyrus burns for the inexorable Pholoe; but sooner shall the goats join with the ravenous wolves of Apulia, than Pholoe yield to so vile an adulterer. Such is the will of Venus, who sometimes takes a cruel pleasure in bringing, under her brazen yoke, persons and hearts of different inclinations. I myself, though beloved by a kinder mistress, yet could not shake off

NOTES.

time with the poet Virgil.

2. *Immitis Glyceræ.*] This was no doubt the same Glycera who was beloved by Horace, who, however, was no rival to Tibullus, he being in love with some other person when Horace was engaged in that amour. From this we may learn, that many of Tibullus' works must be lost, as, in the pieces of his that still remain, he makes no mention of Glycera, or of the strict amity that subsisted between him and the poet Horace.

7. *Pholŏen.*] By an elegy which we have of Tibullus to this Pholoe, we may understand, that she was of a humour not at all agreeable to her gallants: for, in speaking of her to one of his friends, whom she had treated with such rigour and disdain as occasioned his death, he tells her,

Oderunt, Pholoe, moneo fastidia divi;
Nec prodest sanctis thura dedisse focis.

'Pholoe, I warn you, that the disdain wherewith you treat your lovers displeases the gods; and so long as you continue to be cruel, it is vain for you to offer incense.'

Gratâ detinuit compede Myrtale
Libertina, fretis acrior Adriæ
Curvantis Calabros sinus.

ORDO.

Myrtale libertina, acrior fretis Adriæ curvantis sinus Calabros, detinuit meipsum compede, cum melior Venus *me* peteret.

ODE XXXIV.

He accuses himself, that, led aside by the Epicurean philosophy, he had neglected the worship of the deity; takes notice of those amazing instances of power that evidence his superintendence of the universe; and acknowledges

AD SEIPSUM.

Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens,
Insanientis dum sapientiæ
Consultus erro; nunc retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictos: namque Diespiter,
Igni corusco nubila dividens,
Plerumque per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum;
Quo bruta tellus, et vaga flumina,
Quo Styx, et invisi horrida Tænari
Sedes, Atlanteusque finis
Concutitur. Valet ima summis

ORDO.

Parcus *equidem* et infrequens *fui* cultor Deorum, cum consultus insanientis sapientiæ erro; nunc *vero* cogor retrorsum dare vela, atque iterare cursus relictos. Namque Diespiter dividens nubila igni corusco, plerumque egit equos tonantes volucremque currum per purum: quo bruta tellus, et vaga flumina, quo Styx et horrida sedes invisi Tænari, Atlanteusque finis concutitur. Deus valet

NOTES.

1. *Parcus et infrequens.*] The Epicureans denied the existence of the gods, and only conformed externally and with grimace to religion, which, as they pretended, the credulity of the people only had established. This is what gave occasion to the words *Parcus et infrequens.* Whatever one does contrary to his sentiments, or what is purely ceremony, is done but superficially, *parce*, or at least rarely, that is, *infrequenter.*

2. *Insanientis sapientiæ.*] The Stoics pronounced the sentiments of Epicurus madness, while the Epicureans thought them wise. Horace hath very facetiously joined both the terms, which seemingly destroy one another. Let me observe one thing more, which at the same time serves for an equivocation and ambiguity; it is this, that

the pleasing chains of that freed slave Myrtale, whose temper is more stormy than the Adriatic sea, where it winds itself into gulfs on the coast of Calabria.

ODE XXXIV.

that he is possessed of an absolute and uncontrolled dominion, to exalt or depress whomsoever he will. When this ode was composed is uncertain; some have thought of the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, but that is doubtful.

TO HIMSELF.

WHILE I gave myself up to the errors of a frantic philosophy, I neglected to render to the gods the worship due to them: *but* now I am obliged to turn my sails, and pursue the course I lately forsook; for Jupiter, dividing the clouds with his rapid lightning, drove his thundering coursers and impetuous chariot through a clear and serene air; at which this sluggish mass of earth shook; at which the flowing rivers were troubled; even hell itself was astonished; and Atlas trembling from one end to the other *confessed his omnipotence.* God, *at his pleasure*, can make high what is low; can depress the

NOTES.

sapientiæ signifies both wisdom and philosophy: the Epicureans might have taken it in the former sense, and the Stoics in the latter. Thus both might find their account in it.

5. *Diespiter.*] Jupiter, *quasi, diei pater.*

10. *Styx.*] A celebrated river in hell. An oath by this was counted so sacred, that the gods themselves would not violate it; and when they intended to make any of their determinations irrevocable, they usually swore by this river.

10. *Tænari.*] Tænarus was a promontory of Laconia in Peloponnesus, where was to be seen a spacious cave, through which Hercules is supposed to have returned from hell, and to have brought Cerberus bound to the upper regions of light. This was commonly thought to be the jaws and entrance of hell, and therefore it is often made by the poets to stand for hell itself.

11. *Atlanteus finis.*] The ancients were of opinion, that the world did not extend westward beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

12. *Valet ima summis*, &c.] Here begins the unriddling of the whole piece. The poet, after he had for some time performed the actor, quits the mask of Stoicism, and shows himself in his native colours, *i. e.* an orthodox Epicurean. He acknowledges the gods; he had no mind to speak otherwise; he allows them a power of doing every thing, provided they did not disturb their own tranquillity, and left all events to fortune. It deserves to be further observed, that there is a palpable ambiguity in the word *Deus*, here used. The Stoics must naturally refer this to *Diespiter;* but the only god capable of action in the Epicurean poet's idea of such a being, is nature herself, who, by her fortuitous motion of atoms, produces all the oc-

Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens: hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
Sustulit; hic posuisse gaudet.

ORDO.

mutare ima summis, et attenuat insignem, promens obscura. Rapax fortuna hinc sustulit apicem stridore acuto; hic *vero* gaudet posuisse.

NOTES.

currences in the universe. This expression *Ima summis mutare*, admits a *double entendre*, since it contains this meaning, *mutare imis summa*. See the remarks on ode *Ibis*

ODE XXXV.

He acknowledges the great power of Fortune, and that she is deservedly had in the highest veneration by all nations; prays to her for the preservation of Cæsar, who at that time was forming a design of making an expedition against the Britons. He then breaks forth into a lamentation, on account

AD FORTUNAM.

O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus, vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos!
Te pauper ambit solicitâ prece
Ruris colonus: te dominam æquoris,
Quicunque Bithynâ lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carinâ.
Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,

ORDO.

O Diva, quæ regis gratum Antium, præsens vel tollere mortale corpus de imo gradu, vel vertere superbos triumphos funeribus! pauper colonus ruris ambit te solicita prece: quicumque lacessit pelagus Carpathium carinâ Bithynâ, *ambit* te dominam æquoris. Asper

NOTES.

1. *O Diva.*] Fortune is a great divinity for an Epicurean. Paganism never forged so fantastical, so absolute, and so universal a deity. She is the spring of all events. She unites all men at her altar; the happy by fear, and the unhappy by hope.

1. *Antium.*] Antium was a city belonging to the Volsci, situated on the sea-coast, in the same place where is now the city of Nettunio. It was sacred to Fortune, who had a famous temple in it.

great, and bring the meanest out of their obscurity; but fortune, guided by caprice, removes with a mighty pother the crown from the head of one king, and puts it on the head of another.

NOTES.

Libumis. Ausonius has explained both these thoughts in the following verse of his 103d epigram:

Et summa in imum vertit, et versa erigit.

16. *Gaudet.*] The whole design and force of the ode are included in this one word; and it gives the last blow to Stoicism. Fortune sovereignly determines all things, and her pleasure is the sole director of all the actions in the universe.

ODE XXXV.

of the miseries occasioned by the late civil war, and again addresses Fortune that she would extinguish all the remaining seeds of it, and stir up the Romans to employ their swords no longer against each other, but only against their common enemies.

TO FORTUNE.

O GODDESS! thou who takest such a pleasure to reign in the agreeable city of Antium; who canst either raise a man from the lowest station to the highest honours, or change the most splendid triumphs *of the greatest princes* into a *mournful* funeral! the poor country swain, with repeated prayers, courts your favour *and assistance;* and *the sailor,* who cuts the Carpathian sea with a Bithynian keel, acknowledges thee mistress of the main. The stern Dacians, the wandering Scythians, all cities and nations, the warlike Latins, and

NOTES.

6. *Te dominam æquoris.*] Horace makes Fortune here sovereign of the sea, as Pindar does in one of his odes; this is the reason they give her a helm, to show her power over navigation and commerce.

7. *Bithyna.*] Bithynia was a part of Asia Minor, and almost answers to that part of Natolia which borders on the canal of the Black Sea. The forests of Bithynia and Pontus furnished excellent wood for building ships.

8. *Carpathium.*] An island of the Mediterranean sea, at the extremity of the Archipelago, lying between Rhodes and Crete.

9. *Dacus.*] The Daci inhabited those places which now go b the names of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia. They were a fierce and barbarous people.

9. *Scythæ.*] A people inhabiting the north of Asia, now called Tartarians.

Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni.
Injurioso ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam; neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.
Te semper anteit sæva Necessitas,
Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
Gestans ahenâ; nec severus
Uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum.
Te Spes, et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno, nec comitem abnegat,
Utcunque mutatâ potentes
Veste domos inimica linquis.
At vulgus infidum, et meretrix retro
Perjura cedit; diffugiunt cadis
Cum fæce siccatis amici,
Ferre jugum pariter dolosi.
Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens
Examen Eöis timendum
Partibus, oceanoque rubro.
Eheu, cicatricum et sceleris pudet,
Fratrumque! Quid nos dura refugimus
Ætas? quid intactum nefasti
Liquimus? unde manum juventus

ORDO.

Dacus *metuit* te; profugi Scythæ, urbesque gentesque, et Latium ferox, matresque regum barbarorum, et tyranni purpurei metuunt te.

Ne proruas pede injurioso columnam stantem; neu populus frequens concitet cessantes ad arma, ad arma, frangatque imperium. Sæva Necessitas, gestans clavos trabales et cuneos manu ahenâ, semper anteit te; nec severus uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum. Spes *colit* te, *et* rara Fides velata albo panno colit *te*, nec abnegat comitem, utcunque inimica linquis domos potentes veste *tua* mutata. At vulgus infidum, et meretrix perjura retro cedit; amici diffugiunt, cadis siccatis cum fæce, dolosi ferre jugum pariter.

O Fortuna, serves Cæsarem iturum in Britannos ultimos terrarum; et *serves* recens examen juvenum timendum Eois partibus oceanoque rubro.

Eheu, pudet cicatricum et sceleris, fratrumque. Quid nos, dura ætas, refugimus? Quid *nos* nefasti liquimus intactum? unde juventus

NOTES.

14. *Stantem columnam.*] This column naturally represents the republic raised by Augustus' victories; and, as it establishment was recent, Horace here insinuates to Augustus that it was the more liable to be shaken in his absence.

17. *Te semper anteit.*] This is a description of a picture of Fortune which was at Antium, or perhaps a picture of her drawn by Horace's own hand, than whom I question

mothers of barbarian kings, and even the most exalted monarchs clothed in purple, are in fear of thee.

Do not in thy wrath overturn the *Roman* empire, which is now so firmly established; nor suffer a set of factious men to stir up the people to arms, who are now quiet *and peaceable*, and thereby ruin the empire. Cruel Necessity goes always before thee, carrying in her brazen hands great nails and wedges, the tormenting hook and plummet*. Hope and fidelity, so seldom to be met with *in this corrupt age*, clothed in a robe of white, make a part of thy retinue, nor refuse to appear as your companions, even though you change your gaudy robe, and in wrath abandon the habitations of the great. But the perfidious people and the faithless courtezans retire. No sooner are our casks empty, than our false † friends disappear, without giving themselves the least trouble to assist us to bear the weight of the disgraces that oppress us. I pray, *O goddess*, that thou would'st take Cæsar into thy protection, who is designing an expedition against the Britons, who inhabit the utmost corners of the earth. Take care also of our new-levied troops, consisting of the flower of our youth, which are to carry the terror of the Roman name as far as the extremities of the east, and all along the borders of the Red Sea. Alas! we are ashamed of our crimes, and that we should have shed the blood of our fellow-citizens. Unhappy age of iron that we are! what cruelties have we forborne? What wickedness have we not committed? In what instance has the fear of the gods restrained

* Melted lead. † See Note 27.

NOTES.

whether there was a better painter in his day. Nothing can be more ingenious, and at the same time more judicious. In this picture you see Necessity marching before Fortune, as the lictors march before the consuls, carrying in her hands great spikes, wedges, hooks, and a plummet, of which Fortune makes the same use as the consuls do of their rods that are carried before them, to enforce the execution of their orders. Fortune makes the same use of Necessity; for all her sentences are irrevocable, nor can any thing ward off her blows. Fidelity and Hope follow her, and accompany her every where, even where she changes her gay apparel into mourning robes.

25. *At vulgus infidum, et meretrix.*] These are they who forsake Fortune when she is adverse, the vulgar, the courtezans, and the false friends; for such persons love only for interest, and follow only the favour of Fortune, but pay no respect to Sincerity and Virtue. How natural is this picture!

27. *Amici, ferre jugum pariter dolosi.*] All friends do not draw back, only the false. The friends who will not bear the yoke equally, is the literal meaning of the words; a metaphor taken from oxen tilling the ground under the same yoke.

29. *In ultimos orbis Britannos.*] In the year of Rome 727, the British ambassa-

Metu Deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? ô utinam novâ
Incude diffingas retusum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum. 40

ORDO.

continuit manum metu Deorum? Quibus aris pepercit? O *Fortuna*, utinam diffingas novâ incude ferrum retusum in Massagetas Arabasque.

NOTES.

dors met Augustus at Rimini on his march against them, and received such conditions of peace as he thought fit to impose.

38. *O utinam.*] Horace prays Fortune that

ODE XXXVI.

Horace appears in all his works to be a true friend, as well as a good poet, and the former quality makes him as valuable as the second. With what transports of joy is he affected on the return of Numida, who, in the year

AD POMPONIUM NUMIDAM.

Et thure et fidibus juvat
Placare, et vituli sanguine debito,
Custodes Numidæ Deos;
Qui nunc Hesperiâ sospes ab ultimâ,
Caris multa sodalibus, 5
Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula,
Quàm dulci Lamiæ, memor
Actæ non alio rege puertiæ,
Mutatæque simul togæ.
Cressâ ne careat pulchra dies notâ: 10
Neu promptæ modus amphoræ,

ORDO.

Juvat placare, et thure et fidibus, et debito sanguine vituli, Deos custodes Numidæ; qui, nunc sospes *reversus* ab ultimâ Hesperiâ, dividit multa oscula caris sodalibus, plura tamen nulli quam dulci Lamiæ, memor pueritiæ actæ non alio rege, togæque simul mutatæ,

Ne pulchra dies careat Cressâ notâ: neu modus *sit* promptæ amphoræ,

NOTES.

3. *Numidæ.*] This surname belonged to the families of Plotius and Emilius. It was probably given them on account of some noble achievements, the knowledge of which

our youth *from sacrilege?* What altars have they spared? Do thou, *O goddess*, new-temper our blunted swords, *that we may use them with success* against the Massagetes and Arabians, *our cruel and implacable enemies.*

NOTES.

she would new-forge those swords which had been stained with the blood of the Romans in the civil war, that they might be of use against the commonwealth; for while they were polluted, they must be thought the aversion of the gods.

40. *Massagetas.*] The Massagetæ were a Scythian nation, of which we have made mention before.

ODE XXXVI.

of Rome 730, returned from Spain, after an absence of three years! Sacrifices, songs, and dances, are all introduced at an entertainment in which friendship presides.

TO POMPONIUS NUMIDA.

I WILL now with pleasure sacrifice the victim which I lately vowed, with incense and music, to the tutelar gods of Numida, who, having returned in safety from Spain, shares his embraces among his dear friends, but shows a greater respect * to none than to his dearest friend Lamias, with whom he remembers he passed his younger years under the same tutor, and that both assumed the *toga virilis* † on the same day. Let us reckon this one

* Gives more kisses. † Manly gown.

NOTES.

has escaped us.

4. *Hesperia ab ultima.*] The name of Hesperia was given to all the western part of Europe; and seems to be derived from the star Hesperus, which always accompanies the setting sun; or from a certain person of that name, the son of Atlas, who reigned in those parts. The simple name *Hesperia*, or *Hesperia proxima*, seems to have been appropriated to Italy; and *Hesperia ultima*, to Spain, as lying more to the west.

9. *Mutatæ togæ.*] The Romans were not admitted to the *toga virilis*, or manly gown, in our poet's time, before they were fifteen years of age. Under the emperors, it was customary to dispense with one year of this period. The ordinary *toga*, according to Dionysius, was a great cloak of woollen stuff in the form of a semicircle, worn over the tunic. There were different kinds of them for length, colour, and other ornaments, to distinguish the several ranks and professions of men.

10. *Cressa.*] The Cretans were the first who distinguished their unlucky days by black marks, and their fortunate by white.

Neu morem in Saliûm sit requies pedum :
Neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threïciâ vincat amystide :
Neu desint epulis rosæ,
Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium.
Omnes in Damalin putres
Deponent oculos ; nec Damalis novo
Divelletur adultero,
Lascivis ederis ambitiosior.

ORDO.

neu sit requies pedum in morem Saliûm: neu Damalis *bilax* multi meri vincat Bassum amystide Threiciâ: neu rosæ desint epulis, neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium. Omnes deponent oculos putres in Damalin ; nec Damalis divelletur novo adultero, ambitiosior lascivis ederis.

NOTES.

The Grecians imitated this custom; whence arose the proverb, to mark a day with white,

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ODE XXXVII.

The death of Cleopatra put an end to the war between Augustus and Mark Antony. Of six odes which Horace composed on this subject, this is the last, but not the less beautiful on that account. His genius is not weakened by its productions, but maintains its force to the very last. The great success of Augustus gives him new strength and vigour ; the poet and hero triumph equally. The character of the queen of Egypt is a finished piece, and her tragical death is here represented in the most lively and natural colours.

In the month of August, from the building of the city 724, Octavius made himself master of Alexandria, subdued all Egypt, and drove Antony and Cleopatra to the sad necessity of laying violent hands on themselves. This catastrophe was not known at Rome before the middle of September ; and this is the nearest date at which the ode can be put. Horace was then in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Here we have a palpable proof of what I have asserted in a preceding ode—I mean our poet's constant regard for the person of Antony. It was he that put Egypt and all the East under arms against Octavius ; and his death delivered this prince from a dangerous rival, and put an end to the civil wars which for several years had convulsed the republic. All our poet's indignation then should in all probability have fallen on Antony,

of our happy days; let us take a hearty glass, dance, and be merry. Let not that toper Damalis triumph over Bassus, by drinking more large bumpers than he. Let us neither want roses, parsley, nor lilies, *to make us garlands* at this agreeable entertainment. The whole company shall show they have a great affection for Damalis; but none shall be able to prevail with her to forsake her new lover *Numida*, to whom she will be as constant as the ivy to the oak.

NOTES.

the same as to testify some great cause of rejoicing.

12. *Morem in Salium.*] The Salii were the priests of Mars, who made their processions by singing and dancing.

14. *Threicia amystide.*] The term here used is Greek, and denotes a manner of drinking usual with the Thracians in their debauches; which was, to drink off a large full cup at one draught.

ODE XXXVII.

who was no longer to be regarded, since he was in no capacity of resenting it; yet he does not speak a syllable of him. The death of Cleopatra wholly engrosses the poet; this is the only object that he proposes for the public joy. What could be the motive of such a procedure? That which naturally offers itself to the reader in perusing this ode, but what none of the commentators have thoroughly examined. To canvass the reasons of our poet, we must show the circumstances of that period in which he wrote. I have already hinted at some of them, which agree as well to this piece as they do to others. Besides, Julius Antonius, son of the triumvir, had obtained his pardon of Octavius, who endeavoured to win him over, and afterwards conferred on him several favours. And possibly Octavius was very glad of having the treacherous Antony's memory tenderly dealt with, that all the odium might be turned on Cleopatra his rival. What induces me to think thus, is, that Octavius being on the point of undertaking a war against Antony, that princess, having more of the Roman in her sentiments than what her birth entitled her to, begged her brother to forget the ill-treatment which he had received from her unworthy husband. In short, the senate, as I have observed elsewhere, had given Horace the precedent for the moderation which he has observed, and the glory of Octavius could suffer nothing by it. Propertius, in the sixth elegy of his fourth book, has treated the same subject nearly in the same manner.

AD SODALES.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus: nunc Saliaribus
Ornare pulvinar Deorum
Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.
Antehac nefas depromere Cæcubum
Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunâque dulci
Ebria: sed minuit furorem
Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus;
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
Redegit in veros timores
Cæsar, ab Italiâ volantem
Remis adurgens (accipiter velut
Molles columbas, aut leporem citus
Venator in campis nivalis
Æmoniæ), daret ut catenis

ORDO.

O sodales, nunc est bibendun, nunc tellus *est* pulsanda pede libero: nunc tempus erat ornare pulvinar Deorum dapibus Saliaribus.

Antehac nefas *erat* depromere Cæcubum *vinum* cellis avitis; dum regina, cum grege virorum turpium contaminato morbo, parabat dementes ruinas Capitolio, et funus imperio; impotens sperare quidlibet, ebriaque fortuna dulci.

Sed una navis vix sospes ab ignibus minuit furorem *ejus*; Cæsarque redegit mentem *ejus*, lymphatam *vino* Mareotico, in veros timores, adurgens remis *illam* volantem ab Italiâ (velut accipiter *adurget* molles columbas, aut citus venator leporem in campis Æ-

NOTES.

1. *Nunc est bibendum.*] This introduction is truly triumphant. The poet, in few words, expresses the transporting joy which so happy an event ought to raise in the breast of every citizen, as all were interested in it. An ordinary poet could not fail of giving us a minute relation of the effects of so general a joy. But Horace, far from entertaining us with puerile descriptions, that were now thread-bare, proceeds at once to the causes of this public joy. Cleopatra's horrible schemes, the dread and apprehensions she caused throughout the empire, the ruin of her fortune, her tragic end, are striking objects which enliven the scene, and fix the attention of every individual. Thus, what would have been as mere drapery with some, becomes, in the hands of an able master of his pencil, a source of exquisite beauty.

2. *Saliaribus.*] We have in the former ode mentioned who these Salii were; we have only to add, that their feasts, on occasion of the solemn processions which they made, were so magnificent, that *Dapes Saliares* became a proverb for sumptuous and grand entertainments.

3. *Ornare pulvinar Deorum.*] Whenever the state obtained any considerable advantage, a public festival was ordained as a day of thanksgiving to the gods; whose statues they placed on little couches, fitted up in

TO HIS FRIENDS.

Now, my dear friends, we may drink heartily, and indulge ourselves in *mirth and* dancing: now is the time, *were it in our power*, to make our feasts equal in magnificence and delicacy to the repasts that were served up to the priests of Mars in their solemn processions *. Till now it was a crime, *even* to bring out of our vaults our most delicious wine, while, with an infamous troop of vile miscreants, a *furious* queen, flushed with her good fortune, and blindly promising herself success in all her attempts, was threatening the ruin of the Capitol, and utter subversion of our empire. But her whole fleet being burned, except a single vessel, that with great difficulty escaped the flames, her fury began to abate; and her mind, already disordered by the fumes of Mareotic wine, was put into a real consternation, when she in her flight from Italy heard, that she was closely pursued by Augustus, who, burning with desire to put this monster in chains, *that was* so fatal *to the Roman empire*, followed her as a hawk does the timorous doves, or a swift huntsman runs down a hare in the plains of Æmonia †. She, in the mean time, desiring nothing more than to

* See Notes 2 and 3. † Snowy Æmonia.

NOTES.

their temples, and offered to them the most exquisite repasts. The expression *ornare* is most correct and just; for the gods had no more than the show of this rich repast, while the priests had all the substance.

6. *Capitolio.*] The capitol was the temple of Jupiter, built upon the Tarpeian rock. It was so called, because, while they were digging the foundations of it, they found the head of a man.

7. *Regina.*] Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, with whom Antony was violently in love, and divorced Cæsar's sister Octavia; which Cæsar resenting, declared war against him, and defeated him in a sea-fight at Actium. Antony upon this killed himself, whose example Cleopatra following, ended her life by applying two poisonous asps to her breast, choosing death rather than to be taken prisoner, and made to adorn the triumphs of Augustus.

13. *Ab ignibus.*] After Antony had fled, Augustus, tired with the obstinate resistance of his enemies, ordered fire to be brought from his camp on shore. This soon changed the face of affairs: in a moment they poured into the hostile fleet red-hot darts and torches, and, by the help of machines, drove earthen vessels, full of boiling pitch and burning coals, which soon set the ships on fire. But Augustus's men endeavoured to extinguish the flames, to save the riches they expected to find on board.

14. *Mareotico.*] Wine, so called because it grew near a marsh in Ægypt, called Mareotis. Horace would here insinuate, that Cleopatra had so disordered her mind, as to entertain such foolish and vain hopes as those do who are intoxicated.

16. *Ab Italiâ volantem.*] The ambitious queen had left Egypt with a numerous and formidable fleet, to invade Italy as a secure and unavoidable prey. This prey which was the object of her views, soon became the object of her dread; in disorder she quits her course for Italy, and crowds all the sails possible, and plies all her oars to make good her retreat into Egypt. What a reverse of fortune!

20. *Æmoniæ.*] This is by some interpreted of Thrace, so called from mount Hæmus. But it seems rather to be a region of

Fatale monstrum; quæ generosiùs
Perire quærens, nec muliebriter
Expavit ensem, nec latentes
Classe citâ reparavit oras;
Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum;
Deliberatâ morte ferocior;
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

ORDO.

moniæ nivalis) ut daret fatale monstrum catenis; quæ quærens generosius perire, nec muliebriter expavit ensem, nec reparavit latentes oras citâ classe; et ausa *est* sereno vultu visere regiam jacentem, et fortis *erat* tractare asperas serpentes, ut combiberet atrum venenum corpore; ferocior morte deliberatâ; invidens deduci triumpho superbo *ut* privata *in* Liburnis sævis, non humilis scilicet mulier.

NOTES.

Thessaly, bordering upon Macedonia, and so called from one of the sons of Deucalion named Æmon.

23. *Expavit ensem.*] Cleopatra, of all things, dreaded most the falling into the hands of Octavius. For that reason she always wore a dagger, with which she was going to stab herself, as soon as she saw Proculeius coming up to her. But Proculeius soon stopped her intention, by snatching it out of her hands.

die gloriously, was not, like other women, at all terrified at the point of a spear, nor attempted with her fleet to make all the sail she could for a country unknown *to the enemy;* on the contrary, becoming more haughty after she was fully resolved to die, she had the courage to behold with a serene countenance her palace all in ashes, and to take hissing snakes into her hands, and make them pour all their poison into her veins, disdaining to be carried in *Augustus'* fleet as an ordinary captive, to be an ornament to his triumph; she, whose greatness of soul was equal to her birth.*

* Being not a mean woman.

NOTES.

26. *Asperas.*] This word bears the same meaning here with *asperatas, exacerbatas,* i. e. exasperated; which gives us a beautiful idea, and in every respect corresponds to the history. Cleopatra, unable to execute the design of murdering herself by her dagger, got a snake to bite her in the arm; and to make the wound more incurable, she exasperated the noxious animal (with a golden spindle, as Plutarch tells us: *Aspidem perhibent, aureo fuso ipsam lacessentis et stimulantis adripuisse Cleopatræ brachium.)* Thus died one of the most beautiful and ambitious princesses in the universe, at the age of thirty-eight years, of which she had reigned seventeen. With her fell the Egyptian monarchy, after it had subsisted 294 years under the government of thirteen of the family of the Lagidæ.

30. *Liburnis.*] A sort of vessel of great use to Augustus in the sea-fight at Actium, built by the Liburni, a people of Illyricum. They were very light, easily managed, and remarkable for their celerity.

32. *Non humilis mulier.*] Our author probably used this term in imitation of the conversation that passed between this princess and Augustus, who addressed Cleopatra with no other compliment than *Mulier,* woman. Woman, says Augustus to her, take courage, you have nothing to fear: *Bono animo esto,* as Dio has it in his 51st Book.

ODE XXXVIII.

There is nothing remarkable in this ode, either for its subject or composition. It is more like an extemporary roundelay than an ode. However, a great connoisseur will discover himself in his meanest performances. For here are to be found an easy and natural expression, a smooth verse, and fine cadency, with a little air of gaiety, with which the ode agreeably concludes.

AD PUERUM.

PERSICOS odi, puer, apparatus;
Displicent nexæ philyrâ coronæ:
Mitte sectari, rosa quò locorum
Sera moretur.
Simplici myrto nihil allabores
Sedulus curo: neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus, neque me sub arctâ
Vite bibentem.

ORDO.

Puer, odi Persicos apparatus; coronæ nexæ philyra displicent *mihi*: mitte sectari, quo locorum sera rosa moretur. Sedulus curo, *ut* allabores nihil simplici myrto: neque *vero* myrtus dedecet te ministrum, neque me bibentem sub arcta vite.

NOTES.

1. *Persicos.*] The Persians were a people remarkable for the magnificence and luxury they showed in their entertainments, dress, &c.: to form a true judgement of which, you need only read the first two chapters of Esther, and the first Alcibiad of Plato, where Socrates tells Alcibiades, that if he will observe the riches of the Persians, the mag-

ODE XXXVIII.

It appears, that Horace had a mind to have a carousal with some of his friends. His servant concluded with himself to make great preparations. But his master, like a true son of Epicurus, tells him, that the simplest and cheapest pleasures were those that would please him most. This happened during autumn, or about the beginning of winter, in what year is uncertain.

TO HIS BOY.

POMP and Persian magnificence are my aversion; garlands *adorned with too much art, and* platted with the bark of trees, give me no pleasure: never trouble yourself, boy, to seek roses of the later season; a garland of myrtle without any ornaments, will fit my head. While you serve me with my glass, in an arbour made of vines, the simple *plain* myrtle will equally become both you and me.

NOTES.

nificence of their habits, their prodigious expense in perfumes and essences, the great number of their slaves, and extravaganey in every thing, he will perhaps be ashamed to find himself so inconsiderable.

2. *Philyra.*] The inner bark of trees, which they platted in garlands.

3. *Rosa sera.*] The nice people were fond of nothing so much as they were of roses, when their season was over; as Pacat. informs us: *Delicati illi ac fluentes, parum se lautos putabant, nisi luxuria vertisset annum, nisi hybernæ poculis rosæ innatassent.* "Nice and affluent men never "thought that they had fared sumptuously, "unless the seasons had been inverted by "their luxury, unless roses had graced their "bowls in the very middle of winter."

The Romans gave the name of *tardus* to all those vegetables that were late.

7. *Sub arctâ vite.*] The scene destined for the party of pleasure, was a vine-arbour in Horace's garden, which was sufficiently thick to keep off the sun-beams from the company it contained; this is the meaning of the word *arcta.*

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI
CARMINUM
LIBER SECUNDUS.

ODE I.

Caius Asinius Pollio, after he had enjoyed very considerable places under Cæsar, was one of the first rank at the court of Augustus. He commanded armies, subdued the Dalmatians, triumphed, and was consul. But he was not less esteemed for his fine genius and his works, than for his valour and conduct. He wrote against Cicero and Sallust, and was the first that discovered the Paduan in the style of Titus Livius. His chief works were some tragedies, and the history of the civil wars.

Virgil means these tragedies in his third Eclogue,

Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina.

"Pollio himself makes admirable verses." And Horace, in the sixteenth Satire of the first Book, says:

Pollio regum
Facta canit pede ter percusso.

"Pollio, in iambics, sings of the actions of kings." His history of the civil war is particularly noticed in this ode; and it was from this history that Suetonius took that expression of Cæsar, who, viewing the great number of Romans that were killed at the battle of Pharsalia, said,

Hoc voluerunt. Tantis rebus gestis, C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petiissem.

"This they would have. After so many brave actions, I Cæsar had been "condemned, had not I demanded succour from the troops I commanded."

HORACE'S ODES.

BOOK THE SECOND.

ODE I.

There can be nothing more grand than the praises Horace gives here to that history; yet I dare affirm, that these praises are not the real subject of this ode. Horace has another design, which interpreters have not perceived. There are some who believe he thought of nothing but to solicit Pollio to quit tragedy, and apply himself entirely to the history he had begun; and others pretend, that he presses him to quit both tragedy and history; but they all mistake his design: wherefore, to give great light to this ode, and to discover all its finesse, it is necessary to fix the time of its being composed to be under the consulate of Pollio; that is, in the year of Rome 713, and about two years after the battle of Philippi. This being granted, we need only represent the state in which Horace then found himself.

He came from carrying arms against Augustus in Brutus's army; he had, with great difficulty, obtained his pardon, through the favour of Mæcenas; and he experienced every day, how difficult it was to obtain the good graces of a prince, after a fault of this nature. Besides, he had many friends in the same state with himself. Pollio's history could not but renew several things that might prove very prejudicial both to him and his friends, especially in its first parts. To prevent this misfortune, he earnestly desires Pollio to interrupt, for some time, the course of his history: but he does it in such a manner that, though Pollio should continue it, he had nothing to fear, in praising this history, in lamenting the civil wars, and in throwing the cause of all these deplorable events on circumstances in which neither he nor his friends were in the least concerned, and upon times that could not be imputed to them.

It may be also, that Horace was not so much afraid for himself, or his friends, as for Pollio. In that conjuncture, it was a delicate task to write the history of the civil wars; and it would be very difficult for Pollio, considering how much he had been attached to Mark Antony, to observe all the precaution necessary not to offend Augustus.

AD ASINIUM POLLIONEM.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
Bellique causas, et vitia, et modos,
Ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque
Principum amicitias, et arma
Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ,
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.
Paulùm severæ Musa tragœdiæ
Desit theatris: mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinâris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ;
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.

ORDO.

O Pollio, tractas motum civicum ex Metello consule, causasque belli, et vitia, et modos, ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque amicitias principum *reipublicæ*, et arma uncta cruoribus nondum expiatis, opus plenum periculosæ aleæ; et incedis per ignes suppositos doloso cineri.

O Pollio, insigne præsidium mœstis reis et consulenti curiæ, cui laurus peperit æternos honores Dalmatico triumpho, Musa severæ tragœdiæ, ubi ordinâris res publicas, paulum desit theatris; mox repetes grande munus Cecropio cothurno.

NOTES.

1. *Ex Metello consule.*] There were several of this name who had been consuls; but it is generally allowed by interpreters, that the person of whom Horace speaks is Metellus Celer, who had L. Afranius, in the year of Rome 693, for his colleague in his consulate, in which, Pollio says, the civil war began; because in this very year, Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey, entered into a confederacy that proved very fatal to the Romans. Florus has also followed Pollio in this, for he begins without controversy the war betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, under the consulate of Afranius and Metellus; the passage is very remarkable:

Causa tantæ calamitatis eadem quæ omnium, nimia fælicitas. Siquidem Q. Metello, L. Afranio, consulibus, quum Romana majestas toto orbe polleret, recentesque victorias, Ponticos et Armenios triumphos in Pompeianis theatris Roma cantaret; nimia Pompeii potentia apud otiosos, ut solet, cives movit invidiam. Metellus ob imminutum Cretæ triumphum; Cato adversus potentes semper obliquus, detractare Pompeium, actisque ejus obstrepere. Hinc dolor transversum egit; ad præsidia dignitati paranda impulit, &c. Sic igitur Cæsare dignitatem comparare, Crasso augere, Pompeio retinere cupientibus, omnibusque pariter potentiæ cupidis, de invadendâ republicâ facile convenit.

'The cause of so great a calamity was the 'same as that of all others, too great pro- 'sperity; for under the consulate of Metellus 'and Afranius, when the Roman power pre- 'vailed all over the world, and Rome sang 'nothing in Pompey's theatre but his new 'victories and triumphs in Pontus and Ar- 'menia, the over-grown power of Pompey 'drew, as it is usual, the jealousy of the idle

TO ASINIUS POLLIO.

POLLIO, while you write the history of our civil war, which broke out in the consulate of Metellus; while you show the causes of it, its disorders, its particular circumstances, and the various turns of fortune; *while you discover to us the secret of* the fatal confederacy of our chiefs, and *set before our eyes* arms stained with blood not yet expiated; you undertake a work that may be of dangerous consequence, and tread on live coals hidden under deccitful ashes.

Illustrious Pollio, who art the sole refuge of the distressed, the oracle of the senate in all their doubts, and to whom the laurel *crown* brought immortal honours in the Dalmatian triumph, forbear awhile to bring these bloody tragedies upon the stage *; and, after you have put the affairs of the public in order, return to this great work, and resume the Athenian buskin.

* Let the muse of severe tragedy be absent a little while from our theatres.

NOTES.

'citizens upon him. Metellus and Cato 'began to vilify him, and oppose his designs; 'the first, because Pompey lessened his 'triumph of Crete; the other, by his na-'tural disposition, which inclined him always 'to oppose those who assumed too much 'power. Pompey being troubled to the very 'heart, minded nothing but to maintain his 'power and dignity, &c. Thus Cæsar de-'siring to acquire a new power, Crassus to 'augment that which he had, and Pompey 'to retain his, and all three being equally 'ambitious to govern, they easily agreed to 'make themselves masters of the republic.'

3. *Gravesque principum amicitias.*] The triumvirate that proved so fatal to the commonwealth.

It was not their enmity, says Cato, but their friendship, that was so fatal to the republic.

5. *Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus.*] He means the ceremony of expiation, of which the pontiff made use to purify the people when defiled with the blood of their fellow-citizens. The ceremony was called *Armilustrium*, and the sacrifice, *Solitaurilia*. And to this end the people appeared all in arms in the Campus Martius, of which D. Halicarn. gives us a particular account in his fifth Book.

6. *Aleæ.*] The *Lusus Aleæ* was much the same as our game at dice, in which hazard and chance prevailed very much; whence any thing dangerous and hazardous came to be signified by the *Aleæ*.

12. *Cecropio.*] Tragedy had been carried to its utmost perfection at Athens, where Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, flourished. And Cecrops having been the first king of that city, they were thence frequently called *Cecropii* and *Cecropidæ*.

12. *Cothurno.*] The *cothurnus* is supposed to have been a sort of boot, or buskin, worn usually by the actors in tragedy, which made them appear above the ordinary size of men, such as the old heroes, whom they represented, were supposed to have been. This was so peculiar to tragedy, that it was afterwards brought to signify not only that species of poetry, but also to express the sublimity of style in any composition.

16. *Dalmatico.*] Dalmatia is a province of Sclavonia, beyond the Adriatic sea.

Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures; jam litui strepunt;
Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos, equitumque vultus.
Audire magnos jam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.
Juno, et Deorum quisquis amicior
Afris, inultâ cesserat impotens
Tellure, victorum nepotes
Rettulit inferias Jugurthæ.
Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulcris impia prœlia
Testatur, auditumque Medis
Hesperiæ sonitum ruinæ?
Qui gurges, aut quæ flumina lugubris
Ignara belli? quod mare Dauniæ
Non decoloravere cædes?
Quæ caret ora cruore nostro?
Sed ne, relictis, Musa procax, jocis,
Ceæ retractes munera næniæ;
Mecum Dionæo sub antro
Quære modos leviore plectro.

ORDO.

Jam nunc perstringis aures minaci murmure cornuum: jam litui strepunt; jam fulgor armorum terret fugaces equos, vultusque equitum.

Jam videor audire magnos duces sordidos pulvere non indecoro, et cuncta terrarum subacta, præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Juno, et quisquis Deorum *est* amicior Afris, impotens cesserat tellure inulta; rettulit *tamen* nepotes victorum inferias Jugurthæ.

Quis campus, pinguior Latino sanguine, non testatur *ex* sepulchris impia prœlia, sonitumque ruinæ Hesperiæ auditum Medis?

Qui gurges, aut quæ flumina ignara *sunt* lugubris belli? Quod mare Dauniæ cædes non decoloravere? Quæ ora caret nostro cruore?

Sed, Musa procax, ne, relictis jocis, retractes munera Ceæ næniæ; mecum quære modos plectro leviore sub antro Dionæo.

NOTES.

24. *Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*] What a noble character does Horace give of that illustrious patriot, whose inflexible soul Cæsar could not subdue, after he had subdued the greater part of the civilised world!

25. *Juno, et Deorum.*] Horace, we observe,

While I read your history, I think I hear the alarming sound of the trumpet, with the shrill noise of the clarion; the brightness of the armour seems to frighten the horses, making them retire, and strikes their riders with terror *and confusion*. I think I now hear our great generals *giving orders*, covered with glorious dust, and see the world entirely subdued, except the inflexible soul of Cato. *Surely* Juno, and the gods who had the greatest regard for the Carthaginians, obliged to abandon a country they were unable to protect, in revenge offer the children of the conquerors as an atonement to Jugurtha's ghost.

Is there any land that is not fattened with Roman blood, and which, by the graves wherewith it is filled, does not bear the marks of our detestable commotions, and of the fall of Italy, the report whereof has already reached the Medes? What lake, what rivers, are not dyed with the blood spilt in our intestine wars? What sea is not stained with the terrible slaughter, and what country is free from Roman blood?

But hold, rash Muse, do not quit your cheerful strains, to revive the mournful songs of Simonides; rather come with me into Venus' grotto, and pray *the goddess to inspire you with* airs more soft and agreeable.

NOTES.

still avoids touching the true causes of the civil wars. He either says nothing of them, or substitutes what is foreign from them. Here he brings forward Juno and the gods, who were protectors of Carthage, revenging Jugurtha's death by offering to his manes the descendants of those who conquered him.

28. *Jugurthæ.*] Jugurtha had been king of Numidia in Africa, and maintained a long and bloody war against Metellus and Marius. He was at length betrayed by Bocchus king of Mauritania; and being brought by Marius to Rome, served to adorn the victor's triumph. Afterwards, being cast into prison, he there died.

31. *Medis.* See Book I. Ode 2.

34. *Dauniæ.*] The part is here put for the whole, Daunia for all Italy, because this province furnished excellent soldiers. He says elsewhere, *militaris Daunia.*

38. *Ceæ neniæ.*] Simonides, a lyric poet, born in Cea, an island of the Ægean sea, was the inventor of a certain kind of funeral song, called *nænia*, which is a Hebrew word signifying a funeral song.

39. *Dionæo.*] Dione was the mother of Venus; yet Venus herself is often called by that name.

ODE II.

Crispus Sallustius, the noble person to whom Horace addresses this fine ode, was the son of a Roman knight, and grand-nephew to Sallust, the renowned author of the Roman history, who adopted him. In imitation of Mæcenas, he had no ambition to be a senator, nor did he aspire at honours, to which the way lay open to him; yet he surpassed in credit and authority a great number of those who had been consuls, or had been honoured with a triumph. Differing from his ancestors, he lived in pomp and affluence, so that by his profusion he approached very near to luxury. He had a spirit capable of affairs of the greatest consequence, and applied himself to them with so much the greater vigour, as he made a show of sloth and indolence. After Mæcenas' death, he became prime

AD CRISPUM SALLUSTIUM.

Nullus argento color est, avaris
Abditæ terris inimice lamnæ,
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
Splendeat usu.
Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni:
Illum aget pennâ metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

ORDO.

O Crispe Sallusti, inimice laminæ abditæ terris avaris, nullus color est argento, nisi splendeat usu temperato. Proculeius, notus animi paterni in fratres, vivet extento ævo: fama superstes aget illum penna metuente solvi.

NOTES.

1. *Avaris abditæ terris inimice.*] Horace, by this manner of expressing himself, lets us perfectly into the character of Sallust. He was one of those who fancied that mines of gold were discovered only to administer to their luxury and prodigality. For he was a lover of pomp and magnificence, so far as even to border upon profusion. This is perfectly agreeable to what Tacitus the historian says of him in the third Book of his Annals. *Diversus a veterum instituto, per cultum et munditias, copiaque et affluentia luxui propior.*

5. *Proculeius.*] A Roman knight distinguished for his wit, his generosity, and, above all, for his strict attachment to his prince. He never left Augustus all the time he carried on the war against Pompey and Antony. Though he was so very assiduous to make his court, yet he naturally loved a quiet life retired from the hurry of business. Augustus, who knew

ODE II.

minister to Augustus (being, before that time, only second in favour to Mæcenas), and had such confidence with two emperors, viz. Tiberius after Augustus, that they trusted him with their most secret counsels.

Sallust was a strict Epicurean; yet well knew how to mingle luxury with great affairs. This ode must have been therefore very agreeable to his taste; the beauty of expression runs along with the greatness of the sentiments. But what is most observable is, the great address of Horace, that while he exposes two maxims of the Epicurean philosophy, he indirectly makes a panegyric on Sallust, who, setting bounds to his desires, enjoyed with honour the great revenues his grand-uncle had amassed for him.

Some date this ode in the year of Rome 724, others in 728.

TO CRISPUS SALLUSTIUS.

SALLUST, who hast the greatest aversion to gold hidden in the insatiable mines of the earth, the whole excellency of wealth consists in the moderate use of it *. The affection of a father which Proculeius showed to his brothers, will make his name dear to posterity, and fame shall bear it on never-failing wings. You will

* There is no beauty in silver, unless it shine by a moderate use of it.

NOTES.

his character exactly, gave him, on many occasions, marks of his confidence. He committed to him the care of securing the person of Cleopatra, after he had taken Alexandria. He even cast his eyes upon him to make him his son-in-law, before he thought of marrying his daughter Julia to young Marcellus. Antony knew that he was in so great favour with Augustus, that, when on the point of death, he advised Cleopatra to apply to no other than Proculeius to obtain her pardon. He was, moreover, so great a lover of learned men, that he supported them with his credit, while he encouraged them by his liberality; and Juvenal makes no scruple, on this account, to rank him with Mæcenas, Fabius, Cotta, and Lentulus. But what does him the greatest honour, is what Horace praises particularly; that is, the tender regard he showed for his brothers, Terentius and Licinius, in dividing his patrimony with them, to make up the losses they sustained during the civil war; and likewise, in using all his interest, though in vain, with Augustus, for his brother Licinius, who had entered into a conspiracy against Augustus. Pliny says, that "Octavius, after the defeat of "his fleet by Pompey's lieutenants, de-"sired Proculeius to put him to death, that "he might not fall into the hands of the "enemy."

Latiùs regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quàm si Libyam remotis
Gadibus jungas, et uterque Pœnus
Serviat uni.
Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops;
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
Fugerit venis, et aquosus albo
Corpore languor.
Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten,
Dissidens plebi, numero beatorum
Eximit virtus, populumque falsis
Dedocet uti
Vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni, propriamque laurum,
Quisquis ingentes oculo irretorto
Spectat acervos.

ORDO.

Domando avidum spiritum regnes latius quam si jungas Libyam remotis Gadibus, et *quam si* uterque Pœnus serviat *tibi* uni.

Dirus hydrops sibi indulgens crescit, nec pellit sitim nisi causa morbi fugerit venis, et *nisi* aquosus languor *fugerit* corpore albo.

Virtus dissidens plebi, eximit numero beatorum Phraaten redditum solio Cyri, populumque dedocet uti falsis vocibus, deferens regnum et diadema tutum propriamque laurum *huic* uni quisquis spectat ingentes acervos irretorto oculo.

NOTES.

11. *Gadibus.*] Gades, now Cadiz, designated both a peninsula and a city in the south of Spain, near that narrow sea, which was thence called *Fretum Gaditanum*, now the streights of Gibraltar.

11. *Uterque Pœnus.*] The nation of that name in Africa, and that in Spain. The Carthaginians were long in possession of a great part of Spain, and had built a city on the southern coast of it, which they called *Carthago Nova.*

13. *Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops.*] The ancients always compared ambition and avarice to the dropsy; for as there is nothing drier than a man in a dropsy, so there is nothing poorer than a covetous or an ambitious man. Water only irritates the thirst of the one, and riches and honours only sharpen the insatiable appetite of the other. There is a passage in Bion very much to this purpose, on the comparison of riches and poverty. 'If,' says he, 'any one

show your power greater in curbing your ambitious spirit, than if you were monarch from Libya to Cadiz *, and brought both the Carthages under your subjection. *Ambition, like* that dreadful distemper the dropsy, increases the more it is indulged; nor can you carry off the thirst, till you remove the cause of the disease from the veins, and expel the watery humour out of the tabid body. Virtue, that follows not the sentiments of the crowd, ranks not Phraates among the number of the blessed, though he was re-instated in the throne of Cyrus. She teaches the vulgar to give specious names to things no more, and bestows the sceptre, the diadem, and the laurel crown, on him only who can look on immense heaps of gold with an unconcerned eye.

* Should join Libya to remote Cadiz.

NOTES.

'would deliver himself from poverty and 'indigence, or deliver any other, he must 'not have recourse to riches; as this would 'answer no better purpose than if one at-'tempted to cure a person in a dropsy, without 'first carrying off the dropsy itself, by giving 'him a great quantity of water to drink, 'which would only serve to increase, and not 'lessen, his swelling: nor would the case of 'a man insatiably covetous be at all differ-'ent from his.'

17. *Phraaten.*] Phraates, the son of Orodes, and king of the Parthians, having slain his father, brothers, and son, was driven from his kingdom, and afterwards restored by the assistance of the Scythians.

19. *Virtus.*] Virtue teaches us to reconcile our passions with reason, and our pleasures with duty.

19. *Falsis vocibus.*] By false names the stoics meant such as did not agree properly to the things they were used to express; as *beatus*, happy, which the vulgar commonly apply to the rich, who are indeed often the unhappiest of men. In reality, nothing is more common with men than this fallacious language, by which they endeavour to disguise what is most invidious in a character, as Tacitus very justly observes in his life of Agricola. *Fraudare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium appellant.* 'To 'defraud or carry off by violence, they co-'ver with the specious name of rule and 'dominion.'

23. *Oculo irretorto.*] That is, *non retorquens oculos*, for *irretortus* properly signifies *non retro flexus;* who beholds riches with an eye that betrays no concern, no eagerness to possess them.

ODE III.

Dellius, to whom this most beautiful ode is addressed, was a true picture of inconstancy. After Cæsar's death, he changed sides four times in the space of twelve years. First he took part with Dolabella, then with Cassius, then with Antony, and at last went over to Cæsar; or rather, he never was but for himself; that is, for his own interest. The peace that succeeded the civil wars, gave him an opportunity of retrieving his affairs, which could not but be in very great disorder by so many changes. It was probably after all this that Horace addressed

AD Q. DELLIUM.

Æquam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam
Lætitiâ, moriture Delli,
Seu mœstus omni tempore vixeris,
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
Festos reclinatum beâris
Interiore notâ Falerni;
Quò pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis, et obliquo laborat
Lympha fugax trepidare rivo.
Huc vina, et unguenta, et nimiùm breves
Flores amœnæ ferre jube rosæ,

ORDO.

O Delli, memento servare æquam mentem in arduis rebus; non secus in bonis, *mentem* temperatam ab insolenti lætitia: *Delli inquam* moriture, seu beâris te reclinatum in remoto gramine, per dies festos, interiore nota *vini* Falerni: quo ingens pinus albaque populus amant consociare umbram hospitalem ramis; et *quo* lympha fugax laborat trepidare obliquo rivo.

Jube ferre huc vina, et unguenta, et flores nimium breves amœnæ rosæ; dum res

NOTES.

1. *Æquam memento.*] Virtue has difficulties to struggle with in every situation of life. Prosperity elevates, adversity depresses us: and therefore we may justly call it the highest perfection of reason, to support us against presumption in the one, or dejection in the other; or, in the poet's words, to give us the equality of

ODE III.

this ode to him; in which he sets before him the purest maxims of the Epicurean philosophy. The soul and body, in the opinion of Epicurus, were two parts composed of the same matter, which ought to contribute to the happiness of man by the agreement and union of their pleasures. The poet, after having proposed to Dellius to keep his soul in tranquillity by keeping his passions under, allows him to indulge his sense with virtuous diversions. This is all that an Epicurean can do, according to his principles.

TO Q. DELLIUS.

REMEMBER, Dellius, in adversity * *always* to maintain a sedate mind; and in prosperity † a moderation free from all excess of joy: for you must die, whether you lead a melancholy life, or regale yourself on festival days with a glass of the best Falernian *wine*, reclining at your ease on the verdant bank, where the stately pine and tall ‡ poplar seem to take pleasure in forming a hospitable shade by interweaving their branches, and *where* a purling stream hastens its course along a winding channel. While your affairs, your age, and your health allow, hither order wines, odours, and the blooming rose's short-lived flowers, to be brought; for you must

* Adverse affairs. † Not otherwise in prosperous *affairs*. ‡ White.

NOTES.

mind here recommended. Nor, indeed, is any thing more likely to maintain this equal balance in our minds, than the consideration of death, which will one day put an end to all those vicissitudes of fortune. This reflection furnishes motives to patience in the severest shocks of life, and teaches moderation in the use of prosperity. It is with great judgement, therefore, that Horace, when he recommends this equality of mind to Dellius, adds as a motive to it the consideration of death. *Æquam memento servare mentem, morituræ Delli.*

1. *Rebus in arduis.*] Horace here opposes *arduis* to *bonis*. *Arduum* properly signifies a place of difficult access because of its height: hence it has been employed to denote any thing cross, difficult, or hard to be borne.

8. *Interiore notâ Falerni.*] That is, old wine; for, as the Romans used to mark every vintage on their casks when they put them into their vaults, the oldest must be farthest in the vault; or it may be interpreted, wine reserved, or set apart for its goodness.

9. *Albaque populus.*] The leaf of the poplar-tree is of a deep green above, and white below, which induced Virgil to call it *bicolor*. The reason is, say the poets, that when Hercules descended to hell crowned with poplar, the smoke blackened the leaves on one side, and his perspiration withered the other.

Dum res, et ætas, et sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.
Cedes coëmtis saltibus, et domo,
Villâque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit;
Cedes; et exstructis in altum
Divitiis potietur hæres.
Divesne, prisco natus ab Inacho,
Nil interest, an pauper, et infimâ
De gente, sub dio moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.
Omnes eodem cogimur; omnium
Versatur urnâ seriùs ociùs
Sors exitura, et nos in æternum
Exsilium impositura cymbæ.

ORDO.

et ætas, et atra fila trium sororum patiuntur. Cedes saltibus coëmptis, et domo, villaque quam flavus Tiberis lavit; cedes, et hæres potietur divitiis *tuis* exstructis in altum.

Nil interest divesne *sis*, natus ab prisco Inacho, an pauper, et de infima gente, moreris sub dio, victima *futurus* Orci nil miserantis. *Nos* omnes cogimur eodem; sors omnium versatur urnâ, exitura serius ocius, et impositura nos cymbæ in exsilium æternum.

NOTES.

15. *Sororum trium.*] The *Parcæ*, or three sisters, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, were supposed, by the ancients, to preside over the life of man. One held the thread, the second lengthened it out, and the third cut it, by which life was brought to a period.

one day leave your beautiful groves which cost you so dear, your fine house *in Rome*, and your charming country-seat on the brink of the pleasant Tiber*; you shall leave them, and your *gaping* heir shall enjoy the riches you have amassed. Whether rich, and descended from the ancient family of Inachus; or poor, and born so very mean, that you lie in the fields†, it matters not; *you must fall* a sacrifice to Pluto. We are all hurried to the same place; and out of the urn, which is in continual motion, shall come, sooner or later, the fatal lot, that will force us into the bark which wafts us over to our eternal abode.

* Which the yellow Tiber washes. † Under the open air.

NOTES.

16. *Fila atra.*] The ancients feigned, that the sisters, in forming the thread of life, made use of two kinds of wool, the one white, the other black; employing the first to draw out the thread of a long and happy life, and the other for one short and unfortunate. But Dacier thinks that the sentiment of Horace may be better explained by supposing a mixture of wool in the same thread, the white denoting the prosperous part of life, the black the unhappy,—while, says the poet, the sisters dispense the white thread, and our days are not embittered with misfortune and the infirmities of old age.

21. *Inacho.*] Inachus was king of the Argives in Greece. He flourished about the time of Abraham and Isaac, and is the first mentioned in the Greek history who founded a kingdom at Argos in Peloponnesus.

25. *Omnium versatur urnâ.*] As it was a custom among the ancients to decide affairs of the greatest importance by lot; they feigned also that the names of all men were written on billets, and thrown into an urn that was continually in motion; and that the persons whose names were drawn out of it first, died first.

ODE IV.

This ode, which Horace wrote in the forty-fifth year of his age, is full of gallantry, and very well pursued. The poet, with an air of irony and pleasantry, encourages Phoceus in his passion for his slave, though the Romans deemed it such a scandalous thing for a man to fall in love with his servant, that

AD XANTHIAM PHOCEUM.

Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu: priùs insolentem
Serva Briseïs niveo colore
Movit Achillem.
Movit Ajacem Telamone natum
Forma captivæ dominum Tecmessæ:
Arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
Virgine raptâ,
Barbaræ postquam cecidere turmæ
Thessalo victore, et ademtus Hector
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Graiis.
Nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavæ decorent parentes:

ORDO.

O Xanthia Phoceu, amor ancillæ ne sit tibi pudori: serva Briseis niveo colore prius movit insolentem Achillem. Forma Tecmessæ captivæ movit *suum* dominum Ajacem natum Telamone: Atrides in medio triumpho arsit virgine rapta, postquam barbaræ turmæ cecidere victore Thessalo, et *postquam* Hector ademptus tradidit Pergama leviora tolli fessis Graiis. Nescias an beati parentes flavæ Phyllidis decorent te generum. Certe

NOTES.

3. *Briseis.*] Hippodamia, so called from her father Brises. Upon the reduction of the city of Lyrnessus, she came into the hands of Achilles, as his share of the spoils. Agamemnon afterwards taking her from him by force, gave rise to such a dissension between them, as retarded the fate of Troy a long time. Dares Phrygius says, Briseis was beautiful, tall, and of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow and delicate, her eye-brows were joined, her eyes bright, and her body well-proportioned. She was gentle, affable, modest, unaffected, and pious.

6. *Tecmessæ.*] Tecmessa was the daughter of Teuthrantes king of Phrygia. Ajax, having entered that country, slew the king in single combat; and, when he took their chief city, Tecmessa (among other captives)

ODE IV.

those who so degraded themselves had the name of *Ancillarioli* given them by way of contempt.

> Ancillariolum tua te vocat uxor, et ipsa
> Lecticariola est: estis, Alauda, pares. *Mart.*

TO XANTHIAS PHOCEUS.

BLUSH not, Phoceus, to own the love you have for your slave. The haughty Achilles was moved before your time, with his most beautiful slave Briseis. *Stern* Ajax, the son of Telamon, was captivated with the great beauty of his *lovely* captive Tecmessa; and Agamemnon *himself*, in the midst of his triumph, could not avoid being inflamed with the irresistible charms of a fair prisoner, after the Phrygian troops were cut to pieces by the Thessalians, and the death of Hector* had made Troy an easy prey to the weary Greeks. How do you know, but that the parents of your lovely Phyllis are persons of such quality, that it would be an honour to you to be

* Hector carried off.

NOTES.

fell into his hands; she was assigned to him by the other Greeks, because of the valour he showed in this enterprise.

7. *Arsit Atrides.*] Agamemnon was so called from his being the son of Atreus. Horace here greatly improves upon the two preceding examples, both by the quality of the prince whom he represents in love, the degree of passion, and the circumstance of time. By the quality, I say, of the person; for Agamemnon was captain-general over all the other princes: by the degree of passion; *arsit*, he burned; whereas of the others he says only *movit*, beauty moved, affected them: and, lastly, by the circumstance of time, *medio in triumpho*, when glory alone ought to have taken possession of his soul: where it is to be observed, that the triumph here spoken of, is not of the nature of that which was afterwards in use at Rome, but denotes merely in the midst of victory and conquest.

8. *Virgine rapta.*] Agamemnon, who was general of the Greeks in their expedition against Troy, on the taking of the city, in the midst of the victory, was seized with love for Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, and demanded her as his part of the booty: yet she was forcibly seized by Ajax Oileus, and ravished in the very temple of Minerva. Cassandra, says Dares Phrygius, was of a middle stature, her mouth little and round, her complexion ruddy, and her eyes sparkling.

10. *Thessalo victore.*] Although Paris had slain Achilles before Troy was taken, yet he is deservedly accounted the conqueror of it, fate decreeing that it should never fall in his absence.

Regium certè genus, et Penates
Mœret iniquos.
Crede non illam tibi de scelestâ
Plebe delectam; neque sic fidelem,
Sic lucro aversam, potuisse nasci
Matre pudendâ.
Brachia, et vultum, teretesque suras
Integer laudo: fuge suspicari,
Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum.

ORDO.

genus *est ei* regium, et mœret iniquos Penates. Crede illam non *esse* delectam tibi de scelesta plebe; neque sic fidelem, sic aversam lucro, potuisse nasci pudenda matre.

Ego integer laudo *illius* brachia, et vultum, surasque teretes. Fuge suspicari *me*, cujus ætas trepidavit claudere octavum lustrum.

NOTES.

15. *Regium certè genus.*] We are not here to apply the verb *mœret* to both parts of the sentence, as if Horace had said *Phyllis mœret regium genus*; for *regium genus* is here a nominative. What Horace here insinuates, is founded upon the Romans having subdued many kingdoms; whence it was not impossible that daughters or near relatives of kings might have been slaves at Rome without its being generally known.

called their son*? She is certainly of royal blood†, and *in her adversity* complains only of her household gods. Be persuaded, *at least*, that the object of your choice did not spring from the dregs of the people; and that one so virtuous and disinterested as she is, cannot owe her birth to a prostitute. And though, *my friend*, I praise her *snowy* arms, her *blooming* face, and well-made legs, it is without any sinister design; you have no reason to be jealous *of your friend Horace*, who is now above forty years of age.

* They would honour their son-in-law. † Extraction.

NOTES.

17. *De scelestâ plebe.*] *Scelesta*, the perfidious, treacherous; as he says in the 35th Ode of Book I. *vulgus infidum*, and in the 16th of this Book *malignum vulgus*. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, frequently used *multi* for *mali*. Thus Accius says, *probis probatum potius quam multis fore*, 'I 'would rather be approved by the worthy 'and honest, than by the many.' And Cicero in his fourth Book *de Republica: Neque in hac dissensione suscepi populi causam, sed bonorum.* 'Nor did I on this occasion 'side with the multitude, but with the 'honest.'

24. *Lustrum.*] A space of five years, at the end of which, the censors made an estimate of the number, estates, &c. of the Romans, and then performed a solemn sacrifice, which was called *Lustrum condere:* whence the word came to denote that space.

ODE V.

We know neither when, nor for whom, this ode was composed; it is only certain that it was written before the 22d Ode of the first Book, Lalage being represented much younger in this than in that; however, I conjecture that this was addressed to the same Aristius Fuscus that the 22d of the first Book was, who was very much taken with the beauty of Lalage, and inclined to marry

Nondum subactâ ferre jugum valet
Cervice, nondum munia comparis
Æquare, nec tauri ruentis
In venerem tolerare pondus.
Circa virentes est animus tuæ
Campos juvencæ, nunc fluviis gravem
Solantis æstum, nunc in udo
Ludere cum vitulis salicto
Prægestientis. Tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvæ: jam tibi lividos
Distinguet Autumnus racemos
Purpureo varius colore.
Jam te sequetur; currit enim ferox
Ætas, et illi, quos tibi demserit,
Apponet annos: jam protervâ
Fronte petet Lalage maritum;

ORDO.

Juvenca tua, nondum valet ferre jugum subactâ cervice; nondum *valet* æquare munia comparis, nec tolerare pondus tauri ruentis in venerem.

Animus juvencæ tuæ est circa virentes campos, nunc solantis gravem æstum fluviis, nunc prægestientis ludere cum vitulis in udo salicto. Tolle cupidinem immitis uvæ: jam varius autumnus distinguet tibi racemos lividos purpureo colore.

Jam *Lalage* te sequetur; ætas enim ferox currit, et apponet illi annos quos demserit tibi: jam Lalage petet maritum proterva fronte; *Lalage tantum* dilecta, quantum

NOTES.

1. *Ferre jugum.*] This is a metaphor taken from a heifer that has never yet submitted to the yoke. Hence *jugare*, among the Latins, signifies to marry, and the *conjuges* are the married pair; *vir* being understood to be the husband, and *uxor* the wife, for *conjux* by itself properly signifies no more than coupled together. Hence, at Rome, the street where was an altar dedicated to Juno, who presided over marriage, *cui vincla jugalia curæ*, was called *vicus jugarius*.

10. *Immitis uvæ.*] Horace here makes use of another metaphor; and compares a girl not yet of age to marry, to an unripe grape. Plutarch makes use of the same comparison in his precepts relating to marriage; and from

ODE V.

her; but she, being too young for marriage, received his addresses very coldly, of which Aristius was continually complaining. Horace, upon this, writes to him, to comfort him, and quiet his impatience, and tells him, a few more years will make her more sensible of Cupid's arrows.

YOUR heifer is not yet either strong or tractable enough to bear the yoke; unfit yet for a mate, and too weak for a vigorous steer. Her sole delight is in the flowery meads, where she either quenches her violent thirst in the cool stream, or frisks about with young heifers among the green willows. Forbear longing for a grape not yet ripe. The autumn, pleasant for its variety, will soon turn those clusters ruddy that are now green. Lalage will, ere long, follow you; for impatient time flies swiftly on, and will add those years to her it takes from you. Then shall charming Lalage pertly challenge your addresses*; *a*

* Demand a husband.

NOTES.

this figure have several very common forms of speech been drawn, as, *Virgo matura, tempestiva, immatura, cruda, acerba.* For *acerba* is of like import with *immitis, atrox.* Varro; *Virgo de convivio abducatur, ideo quod majores nostri virginis acerbæ aures Veneris vocabulis imbui noluerunt.* 'Young virgins 'ought not to be admitted to entertainments 'and treats, for our ancestors were very careful to guard the ears of unripe girls from 'the poison of unchaste conversation.'

14. *Et illi quos tibi demserit, apponet annos.*] In order to comprehend perfectly the beauty and delicacy of this passage, let us suppose a man who has already half finished his course, and a girl not yet arrived at maturity. The life of one is upon the decline, and the other ripening towards perfection. Hence their years are far from proceeding in the same tenor; for they retrench from the life of the one, and add to that of the other. That is, the years of the one proceed in the way of diminution or subtraction, of the other by addition. Thus if we state the age of man at sixty, when he comes to be thirty, one year more leaves him only 29 years of life remaining; and if we add that to a girl of ten, she will now become eleven, which is approaching a year nearer to the perfection of age. This manner of computing was familiar to the Romans, as might easily be proved. It is upon this very foundation that Horace says in his Art of Poetry,

Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
Multa recedentes adimunt.

Dilecta, quantùm non Pholoë fugax,
Non Chloris; albo sic humero nitens,
Ut pura nocturno renidet
Luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges;
Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
Mirè sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Crinibus, ambiguoque vultu.

ORDO.

non fugax Pholoe, non Chloris; sic nitens albo humero, ut pura luna renidet nocturno mari, Cnidiusve Gyges; quem si insereres choro puellarum, discrimen obscurum mire falleret sagaces hospites, solutis crinibus, ambiguoque vultu.

NOTES.

18. *Albo sic humero nitens.*] The ladies of gallantry in Rome dressed themselves in such a manner, that their shoulders appeared naked.

20. *Cnidiusve.*] Cnidus is a maritime town of Caria, lying between Rhodes and Coos, now called Chio.

23. *Discrimen obscurum.*] Juvenal has imitated this in his 15th satire.

—— *Cujus manantia fletu*
Ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.

The poet seems here to praise Gyges more than he has done Lalage; for it is common

lady who has more admirers than either coy Pholöe, or lovely Chloris, and whose shoulders cast a lustre as great as the bright moon glistening on the sea in a *fine* calm night; or *beautiful* Gyges*, who, in a company of young ladies, with his flowing hair, and delicate face, would easily impose on the most quick-sighted strangers; so difficult it is to know him†.

* Cnidian Gyges. † The unobservable difference.

NOTES.

even with us to say a boy is beautiful as a girl, but we never use the contrary form, and the Romans, in all probability, had the same delicacy. This seems therefore to be an essential error in the comparison; but Horace did not fall into it through ignorance; for there is no doubt of his preferring in his own mind Gyges to Lalage, and that what he says here was by design, and the effect of inclination.

24. *Ambiguoque vultu.*] This single word *ambiguus*, gave rise to these incomparable lines of Ausonius:

Dum dubitat natura marem faccreine puellam,
Factus es, O pulcher, pæne puella, puer.

'While nature doubts whether she would
'make a male or a female, beautiful boy,
'thou wast made almost a girl.'

Ovid says also to the same purpose:

Talis erat cultu facies, quam dicere vere
Virgineum in puero, puerilem in virgine posses.

'His face was so formed, that one might
'easily take the boy for the girl, or the girl
'for the boy.'

ODE VI.

When Horace was preparing to follow Augustus into Spain, Septimius, his old friend, agreed to accompany him thither, and formed a resolution never to leave him on any account whatever. Horace declares to Septimius, that he was free from all ambition, that he had reduced all his projects to the

AD SEPTIMIUM.

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum, et
Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra, et
Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
Æstuat unda;
Tibur Argeo positum colono
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris, et viarum,
Militiæque.
Unde si Parcæ prohibent iniquæ,
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galesi
Flumen, et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalanto.

ORDO.

O Septimi, aditure mecum Gades, et Cantabrum indoctum ferre nostra juga, et barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura unda semper æstuat; utinam Tibur positum *ab* Argeo colono sit sedes meæ senectæ; *utinam* sit modus *mihi* lasso maris, et viarum, militiæque. Unde si Parcæ iniquæ *me* prohibent, petam flumen Galesi dulce pellitis ovibus, et rura regnata Laconi Phalanto.

NOTES.

1. *Septimi.*] Septimius was a Roman knight, beloved by Augustus, and a friend of Horace; he was at the same time no contemptible poet.

1. *Gades.*] See the second ode of this book.

2. *Cantabrum.*] The Cantabri were a people inhabiting the northern regions of Spain, now called Biscay, &c. They were the last who submitted to the Roman yoke, and could not be conquered but after an obstinate resistance.

3. *Maura unda.*] The waves of the Mauritanian sea. Mauritania is a northern region of Africa.

5. *Tibur.*] A town of Italy, (now Tivoli), watered with plenty of springs, and blessed with a temperate air. It was built by the three sons of Amphiaraus; from the oldest of whom, who was named Tiburtus, it had the appellation of Tibur.

5. *Argeo.*] *Argivo,* Grecian. The

ODE VI.

leading an easy life, and would be well satisfied to spend quietly the rest of his days at his seat at Tivoli, or at that of Septimius, near Tarentum. The ode is of a taste so very natural, that it is sufficient to understand it, to see its beauties.

TO SEPTIMIUS.

SEPTIMIUS, who art on the point of setting out with me for Cadiz, to accompany me into Spain, not yet subject to the Roman power*, and to brave the Syrtes, *those dangerous quicksands* where the Mauritanian billows ever boil; *if it be the will of heaven*, may Tivoli, that pleasant Grecian colony, be the retreat of my old age; may this be the place of my rest, after I have gone through so many dangerous voyages, journeys, and campaigns. But if the cruel fates deny me access there, I will repair to *that fine country of the Tarentines*, where the pleasant river Galesus runs, the banks of which are covered with most beautiful flocks, and where Phalanthus the Lacedemonian once reigned. That sweet spot is, to me, the

* And the Cantabrian untaught to bear our yokes.

NOTES.

Greeks were called Argivi, from Argos a city of Peloponnesus.

7. *Sit modus lasso maris.*] This passage may be very well explained without having recourse either to irony or pleasantry. Horace says, in general, that whatsoever may be his destiny, whether in the course of his life he be doomed to struggle with fortune, encounter the fatigue of voyages, or bear arms, it is his wish, when disengaged from these, to enjoy the agreeable retreat of Tivoli. Besides, his past life was not wholly free from hardships of this kind. He had served under Brutus, and accompanied Mæcenas at the congress of Brundusium, and in all his campaigns during the Sicilian war. These several changes and removals were by no means suitable either to the poet's temper or constitution; and therefore we are not to wonder if he speaks of them as irksome, and what he was impatient to be released from.

10. *Pellitis ovibus.*] At Tarentum the sheep had wool so very fine, and so excellent, that, to preserve it, they covered all their sheep with skins, which were thence called *pellitæ*.

10. *Galesi flumen.*] The river Galesus, now Galaso, runs through Calabria, a region in the south of Italy, near Tarentum; which city was built by Phalanthus a Greek, from Laconia in Peloponnesus.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Bacca Venafro;
Ver ubi longum tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimùm Falernis
Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus et beatæ
Postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
Debitâ sparges lacrymâ favillam
Vatis amici.

ORDO.

Ille angulus ridet mihi præter omnes *angulos* terrarum: ubi mella non decedunt Hymetto, baccaque certat viridi Venafro; ubi Jupiter præbet ver longum brumasque tepidas, et Aulon, amicus fertili Baccho, minimum invidet Falernis uvis. Ille locus et *illæ* beatæ arces postulant te mecum; ibi tu sparges debita lacryma calentem favillam amici vatis.

NOTES.

13. *Præter omnes.*] That is, next to Tivoli; otherwise we shall make the poet contradict himself, as he has just before been preferring Tivoli to Tarentum, and declares it was only in case of being excluded from the one, that he would wish for the other. Indeed he frequently joins them together, so that they seem to have been nearly upon a

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ODE VII.

Three years after the battle of Philippi, Augustus and Antony made a peace with young Pompey, and granted an amnesty to all those who, after the defeat of Brutus, retired into Sicily, where Pompey received them. This being a fair opportunity for Horace's friend to quit his arms, he returned to

AD POMPEIUM VARUM.

O Sæpe mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte, Bruto militiæ duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Dîs patriis, Italoque cœlo,

ORDO.

O Pompei, prime mecum sodalium, sæpe duce militiæ; quis redonavit te Quiritem deducte mecum in ultimum tempus, Bruto Diis patriis, Italoque cœlo! cum quo ego

NOTES.

2. *Bruto.*] Brutus and Cassius were two senators of Rome, and the chief of those who conspired to assassinate Cæsar in the senate-house. Augustus, carrying on war

most agreeable place upon earth; where the honey does not fall short of that of Hymettus, and the olives are not inferior to those of verdant Venafrum; where Jupiter grants a long spring and mild winters, and *where* Aulon, the seat of Bacchus, produces also plenty of grapes not inferior to those of Falernum. That charming place, and those pleasant little hills, invite both of us thither; there shall you *pay your last kind office to me, and* sprinkle with your tears* the glowing ashes of your friend the poet.

* A deserved tear.

NOTES.

level in his esteem. Thus Book I. Ep. 7.

Sed vacuum Tibur placet, aut imbelle Tarentum.

14. *Hymetto.*] Hymettus, a mountain of Attica in Greece, abounded with the finest flowers, and afforded excellent nourishment for bees.

16. *Venafro.*] Venafrum was a city of Italy in the territories of the Samnites, round which grew the most excellent olive-trees.

18. *Aulon.*] A mountain in the territory of Tarentum. Martial thus speaks of it in the 125th Epigram of his 13th Book:

Nobilis et lanis, et felix vitibus Aulon,
Det pretiosa tibi vellera, vina mihi.

'May Aulon, so renowned for its fine 'wool and fruitful vines, give its fleeces to 'you, and its wine to me.'

23. *Favillam.*] *Favilla* signifies properly those sparks that remain upon the ashes for a short time after the fire is consumed. Horace adds *calentem*, the better to show the piety of his friend, who was desired to do him this last kind office before the ashes were entirely cold, or even all extinguished. It is well known, the Romans had a custom of burning their dead, and that the parents and nearest relatives gathered the ashes or bones, and put them into urns.

ODE VII.

Rome. At the sight of an old friend, absent for many years, of whose return Horace had almost despaired, he could not retain his joy, but breaks out into raptures, and, with great address, enumerates the several occasions in which they shared the same pleasures and the same dangers, and makes an elegant entertainment on this joyful occasion.

TO POMPEIUS VARUS.

O POMPEY, the oldest of my *friendly* associates, often exposed with me to the utmost danger in the army of Brutus, who has restored you in safety to Rome, to your native country, and to your

NOTES.

against them, defeated them in a battle near Philippi. Horace in this engagement, siding with Brutus and Cassius, bore the office of military tribune; but throwing away his shield, betook himself to flight. Brutus and Cassius were both killed in the battle.

3. *Quis te redonavit.*] These words are not a question proceeding from ignorance, but an exclamation arising from the joy felt by Horace at the sight of a friend whom he had not seen for many years.

3. *Quiritem.*] A citizen of Rome. The

Pompei, meorum prime sodalium!
Cum quo morantem sæpe diem mero
Fregi, coronatus nitentes
Malobathro Syrio capillos.
Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmulâ,
Cùm fracta virtus, et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.
Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aëre:
Te rursus in bellum resorbens
Unda fretis tulit æstuosis.
Ergo obligatam redde Jovi dapem;
Longâque fessum militiâ latus
Depone sub lauru meâ; nec
Parce cadis tibi destinatis.
Oblivioso lèvia Massico
Ciboria exple; funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis. Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi? non ego saniùs
Bacchabor Edonis: recepto
Dulce mihi furere est amico.

ORDO.

sæpe fregi morantem diem mero, coronatus nitentes capillos malobathro Syrio.

Tecum sensi Philippos et celerem fugam, parmula *mea* non bene relicta; cum virtus fracta, et *homines* minaces tetigere turpe solum mento. Sed Mercurius celer sustulit me paventem per hostes denso aere: unda resorbens fretis æstuosis tulit te rursus in bellum. Ergo redde Jovi dapem obligatam; deponeque *tuum* latus fessum longa militia sub lauru mea; nec parce cadis destinatis tibi.

Exple ciboria lèvia *vino* Massico oblivioso; funde unguenta de capacibus conchis. Quis curat deproperare coronas udo apio myrtove? Quem Venus dicet arbitrum bibendi? Ego bacchabor non sanius Edonis; dulce *enim* est mihi furere amico *meo* recepto.

NOTES.

Sabines, being engaged in frequent wars with the Romans during the infancy of that republic, at last agreed to unite into one people, and take the name of *Quirites*.

8. *Malobathro.*] *Malobathrum* was a fine kind of ointment, which came from a plant growing in Syria, a region of Asia between Egypt and Asia Minor.

10. *Relictâ non bene parmulâ.*] What infamy they were branded with who threw away the buckler that they might escape the more easily, appears by what happened to one of Cæsar's soldiers in England. Some officers were engaged in a morass, where they could not stand their ground against the enemy; this soldier threw himself into the morass, made a brave and admirable attack, and at last rescued the officers; but, in repassing the morass, being last, he lost his buckler in the mud, out of which he extricated himself with great difficulty. Cæsar, who had seen the engagement, went with shouts of joy to receive and caress the soldier; but the youth, with tears in his eyes, and filled with shame, begged Cæsar's pardon that he had not brought back his buckler. Whatever cowardice it showed for one to throw away his buckler, yet here Horace

gods? With you I have often passed a great part of the day *agreeably* over a glass of wine, crowned with flowers, and perfumed with the finest essences of Syria. I still remember our precipitate flight at the battle of Philippi, where I shamefully left my shield, valour itself being forced to give way, and our most daring champions obliged with shame to bite the very ground: but Mercury in a thick cloud carried me safe through the midst of my enemies. As for you, embarking on a troubled sea, you again exposed yourself to the hazards of war. *Now that you are restored to us in safety, be not unmindful to* make the sacrifice you vowed to Jupiter; and as you are almost worn out with the fatigues of war, come, and repose yourself under my laurel. Spare not the wine that is destined for you. Indulge yourself in drinking freely of my *generous* Massic *wine, which you find to be* a sovereign remedy for dispelling anxiety; nor spare the fine perfumes that are in the costly shells. Who takes care to provide us with crowns of green parsley or myrtle? Whom will Venus name master of the feast? I intend to be as merry to-day as any Thracian; it gives me infinite pleasure *to play the Bacchanal on the safe arrival of my friend.

* To be mad.

NOTES.

owns it, to extol Augustus' glory the more, by mentioning the circumstances of his victory, and the terror wherewith he struck his enemies. Alcæus also threw away his shield in a battle; so that in this, as in other things, there is a conformity between him and Horace, in whose life it ought to be particularly remarked.

11. *Fracta virtus.*] The poet does justice to the conquered, and at the same time pays the highest compliment to the conquerors. Brutus and Cassius had the better troops; but victory declared for Octavius and Antony. The braver an enemy is, the greater is the glory of victory.

13. *Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer.*] The poet here alludes to the battles of Homer, where the gods are often represented as carrying off some one of the combatants, and encompassing him with thick clouds, to snatch him from the violence of his enemy. And this province, with regard to himself, he here assigns to Mercury, as being the father of eloquence, and the protector of learned men: he means also to intimate, that his poetry, and the patronage of Mæcenas, had procured him his pardon.

15. *Te rursus in bellum resorbens.*] This is purely historical. Many that had escaped from the battle of Philippi, embarked for Italy to make up their peace. The ship in which they were, was driven on shore by a tempest, near Cape Palinurus. Horace obtained his pardon by the intercession of Mæcenas; but Pompeius Varus and others, not proving so fortunate, returned to Sicily, and joined young Pompey. For this reason the poet says, *in bellum resorbens unda fretis tulit æstuosis.*

23. *Conchis.*] Vessels made of shell, or after the similitude of shells.

25. *Quem Venus.*] The Romans at their entertainments generally chose a king by a cast of the dice, which cast was called *Venus*, *Venerius Jactus*, or *Basilicus*; and for this purpose they made use of either the *Tali* or *Tesseræ*; for the *Aleæ* were forbidden by law. Venus was the fortunate throw in both; but with this difference, that with the *Tali* all the dice were to rise of different numbers; but, with the *Tesseræ*, the conqueror was to throw three sixes.

27. *Edonis.*] The Edonians were formerly a people of Thrace, afterwards of Macedonia, of which they inhabited the eastern part.

ODE VIII.

This ode is very curious, and full of gallantry. There is nothing in it by which we can ascertain when it was composed; but it is sufficient to remark,

IN BARINEN.

Ulla si juris tibi pejerati
Pœna, Barine, nocuisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres, vel uno
Turpior ungui,
Crederem : sed tu, simul obligâsti
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.
Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere, et toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum cœlo, gelidâque Divos
Morte carentes.
Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
Simplices Nymphæ, ferus et Cupido,
Semper ardentes acuens sagittas
Cote cruentâ.

ORDO.

O Barine, si ulla pœna pejerati juris unquam nocuisset tibi, si fieres turpior nigro dente vel uno ungui, crederem : sed tu simul obligasti *tuum* perfidum caput votis, enitescis multo pulchrior, prodisque publica cura juvenum. Expedit fallere opertos cineres matris, et taciturna signa noctis cum toto cœlo, divosque carentes gelida morte.

Ipsa Venus, inquam, ridet hoc; simplices Nymphæ rident *hoc*, et ferus Cupido, semper acuens ardentes *suas* sagittas cruenta cote.

NOTES.

1. *Ulla si juris tibi pejerati.*] The sense of these four lines depends on a superstition of the ancients, who believed that a lie was always followed with some pain, and that, as soon as it was uttered, one of the offender's teeth assumed a black hue, a nail was marked, or a blister appeared on the end of his tongue, or on his nose, or some mark upon his face; his foot became deformed, or his shape was marred, or he lost some hair. It is on the same subject that Ovid composed the third Elegy of the third Book :

Esse Deos credamne? fidem jurata fefellit,
Et facies illi quæ fuit ante, manet.
Quam longos habuit nondum perjura capillos,
Tam longos, postquam numina læsit, habet.

'Can I believe there are any gods? She 'hath violated the faith she gave me with 'so many oaths, and yet she continues as 'beautiful as ever. The fine hair she had 'before she perjured herself, she still has, as 'long, and as fine, even since she offended 'the gods.'

ODE VIII.

that Horace wrote the greatest part of his amorous odes before he was forty years of age.

TO BARINE.

BARINE, if you had ever suffered the slightest punishment for your false oaths, if one of your teeth, or a nail of your hand, had been affected with the least blemish, I would believe you; but you are no sooner perjured, than you appear more beautiful, and become the desirable object of all our youth. It seems only to set you off to the greater advantage, that you have violated the ashes of your mother, deceived the heavens, and the stars that shine during the silence of the night, and mocked the immortal gods themselves. Venus, I say, only smiles at this, and the gentle Nymphs seem well pleased, as does cruel Cupid, who always whets his new-forged arrows on a stone wet with blood. Add to this, that the rising youth

NOTES.

The Latins took this from the Greeks; for Theocritus writes in his ninth idyll,

Μηκετ' επὶ γλωσσας ἄκρας ολοφυγδονα φύσης.

'Take particular care not to make a blister grow on the end of your tongue;' that is, take particular care not to lie. And in the twelfth idyll, he calls very pleasantly the marks, ψεύδεα, lies.

—— Εγὼ δε σε τον καλον αἰνῶν
Ψεύδεα ῥίνος ὑπερθεν ἀραιῆς οὐκ αναφυσῶ.

'You are so very beautiful, that, in praising you, I shall make no lies grow on the end of my nose.' And the same has come in some manner down to us; for I have heard many call vulgarly lies, the little white or black marks that appear sometimes upon the nails.

5. *Sed tu, simul obligasti perfidum votis caput.*] There is some little difficulty in this passage. As they who bound themselves by oaths or promises, tacitly subjected themselves to certain penalties and maledictions, if they broke their engagements, their heads were in some sense devoted, and subject to all those maledictions. In allusion to this, Horace says of Barine, *sed tu simul obligasti perfidum votis caput.* *Votis* is here therefore an ablative; and what Horace here describes by *obligare votis caput*, Plautus simply expresses by *alligare caput*. Such as were in this manner bound, were said to be *voti rei, voti damnati*, and after the accomplishment, *voti absoluti*.

9. *Expedit.*] As if Horace had said, Since your perjuries serve only to render you more beautiful, it is for your advantage to violate the ashes of your mother, and deride the gods. Perhaps these four lines contain only a description of the manner in which Barine was wont to swear: by the soul of her mother, by the stars, and by all the gods. We meet in *Propertius* with an instance of this kind of oath; Lib. 2. Eleg. 20.

Ossa tibi juro per matris, et ossa parentis.
Si fallo, cinis, heu! sit mihi uterque gravis.

16. *Cote cruentâ.*] The cruelty of Cupid could not be more naturally represented than

Adde, quòd pubes tibi crescit omnis,
Servitus crescit nova; nec priores
Impiæ tectum dominæ relinquunt,
Sæpe minati.
Te suis matres metuunt juvencis,
Te senes parci, miseræque nuper
Virgines nuptæ, tua ne retardet
Aura maritos.

ORDO.

Adde, quod pubes omnis crescit *tibi*, nova servitus crescit *tibi*; nec priores, *licet* sæpe minati *sunt*, relinquunt tectum dominæ impiæ. Matres metuunt te juvencis, senes parci te *etiam metuunt*, miseræque virgines nuper nuptæ, ne tua aura retardet maritos.

NOTES.

it is here by Horace; who, to sharpen his arrows upon a stone, makes this little god use blood in place of water or oil. Anacreon says, that when Vulcan has forged the arrows of love, Venus dips their points in honey, but Cupid takes them afterwards and dips them in gall.

ODE IX.

To know how to comfort the afflicted, is a talent that does not fall to every man's share; it is even hazardous to undertake it. The greater and juster the affliction, the harder it is to find reasons strong enough to surmount it. After all, in losses that cannot be remedied, address must be made to the heart rather than to the fancy, or to the judgement rather than to the affections. Care must be taken to blunt the keenness of thought, and leave it to time to do the rest. The more natural and unaffected the motives of comfort are, they will then be of greater use than the grave maxims of morality and studied reasoning. This is the method which Horace, in this

AD VALGIUM.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
Manant in agros, aut mare Caspium
Vexant inæquales procellæ

ORDO.

O amice Valgi, imbres non semper manant nubibus in agros hispidos, aut inæquales procellæ usque vexant mare Caspium; nec stat

NOTES.

2. *Mare Caspium.*] The Caspian sea is in Asia, having Persia to the south, Tartary to the north, Armenia to the west, and India to the east. Horace makes choice of

become all your admirers, your slaves are daily multiplying, and your first lovers, who often threatened to abandon you on account of your perjuries, still continue to follow you. The careful mothers and frugal sires are afraid of you for their sons; and the new-married ladies are in great pain, lest your powerful charms should detain their husbands.

NOTES.

17. *Adde, quòd pubes.*] Commentators have not seen all the delicacy and beauty of this passage. Horace says, that the youth grow up only for her. This is very gallant and polite; and there is also something grand and noble in the compliment, as making Barine a kind of divinity, to whom all the future services of the youth were destined and devoted.

22. *Te senes parci.*] Covetousness is common to old men, who, for this reason, are always called *parci*. Horace says, in his Art of Poetry,

Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda; vel quod
Quærit, et inventis miser abstinet, ac timet uti.

'Old age is accompanied with many inconveniences; for instance, it desires always to heap up, and is afraid to make use of what it hath.'

ODE IX.

beautiful ode, takes with an affectionate father, under great affliction for the death of his son, whom he loved most tenderly. He does not condemn his grief; he only proposes to hinder its continuance, or to stop its career.

There is no great difficulty in fixing the time when this ode was composed. It appears plainly, by the last four lines, that it was after Augustus had undertaken an expedition into Armenia Minor, whence he sent Tiberius into Armenia Major, there to fix Tigranes upon the throne. This happened in the year of Rome 733; and this ode was undoubtedly composed the year after, Horace being then forty-seven years of age.

TO VALGIUS.

The clouds do not always pour down rain upon the fields, nor do the furious tempests perpetually agitate the Caspian sea. Armenia

NOTES.

this sea, because it is more dangerous than others. Pomponius Mela describes it thus:

Mare Caspium omne atrox, sævum, sine portubus, procellis undique expositum, ac beluis magis quam cætera refertum, et ideo minus navigabile.

'The Caspian sea, altogether fierce, raging, without harbours, on all sides exposed to storms, and more full of monsters than any other, and for that reason less navigable.'

It is surrounded with land, without any

Usque; nec Armeniis in oris,
Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
Menses per omnes, aut Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant,
Et foliis viduantur orni:
Tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademtum; nec tibi Vespero
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente Solem.
At non ter ævo functus amabilem
Ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
Annos; nec impubem parentes
Tröilon, aut Phrygiæ sorores
Flevere semper. Desine mollium
Tandem querelarum; et potiùs nova
Cantemus Augusti tropæa
Cæsaris; et rigidum Niphaten,
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
Victis, minores volvere vortices;
Intráque præscriptum Gelonos
Exiguis equitare campis.

ORDO.

iners glacies in Armeniis oris per omnes menses, aut querceta Gargani laborant Aquilonibus, et orni *semper* viduantur foliis: tu *vero* semper urges ademptum Mysten flebilibus modis; nec amores decedunt tibi Vespero surgente, nec fugiente rapidum solem.

At senex *Nestor* functus ter ævo non ploravit amabilem Antilochum omnes annos; nec parentes aut Phrygiæ sorores semper flevere impubem Troilon. Tandem desinc mollium querelarum, et potius cantemus nova tropæa Augusti Cæsaris, et Niphaten rigidum, flumenque Medum additum victis gentibus, volvere minores vortices; Gelonosque equitare exiguis campis intra *spatium* præscriptum.

NOTES.

visible communication with the ocean. Its circumference is five hundred leagues, and its length three hundred and sixty-five.

4. *Armeniis in oris stat glacies.*] The ice of Armenia here mentioned, is not an imagination of Horace; it is very well vouched, and his words are found to be agreeable to truth. The latest accounts we have of Armenia import, that this country is almost environed with mountains, viz. Taurus, Pariades, Anti-Taurus, Niphates, and Ararat; that these mountains being continually covered with snow and ice, are extremely cold; that the nature of the soil, which is impregnated with salt, contributes to increase the coldness of the air; and therefore it is no uncommon thing to see it snow and hail there in the month of June.

5. *Valgi.*] This is the poet Titus Valgius, of whom Horace speaks in the tenth Satire of the first Book; and of whom Tibullus hath said, that no poet ever came so near Homer as he:

Valgius æterno propior non alter Homero.

7. *Gargani.*] Garganus, a mountain of Apulia in Italy.

13. *At non ter ævo functus.*] Nestor, who lived three entire ages; that is, three times thirty years, and not three hundred years, as some have asserted; thirty years being reckoned a natural age, to distinguish it from a civil age, which is arbitrary, and depends on the will of men.

14. *Antilochum.*] Antilochus, seeing his fa-

is not covered with ice throughout the year, nor *for that whole time* are the forests of Garganus beaten upon by the north winds, nor are the trees *continually* naked of leaves: *but* you, my dear Valgius, *give no respite to your grief; you* are always lamenting, in mournful strains, the death of your dear Mystes; nor is your anxiety abated either when the evening star arises, or when it disappears upon the approach of the sun*. *Consider,* the aged *Nestor* did not always mourn for his darling son Antilochus. Hecuba, Priam †, and the princesses of Troy ‡, at last gave over their lamentation for young Troilus. Relinquish, therefore, these soft mournful strains, and let us rather sing the late victories of Augustus, the Niphates covered with snow, or the river Medus, which is now become a part of our conquest, and rolls its billows with a gentler course. Let us, *in fine,* sing of the Scythians, who, *now* confined within their own narrow country, dare not pass the bounds that are prescribed to them.

* Flies the rapid sun. † The parents. ‡ Phrygian sisters.

NOTES.

ther Nestor wounded, and ready to fall under the violent efforts of Memnon, threw himself between the two combatants, and thus received a wound, of which he died.

16. *Troilon.*] Troilus was one of Priam's sons. His life was precious to his country, because the fate of Troy depended upon it. He was killed by Achilles in the flower of his age.

16. *Phrygiæ sorores.*] The sisters of Troilus were, Creusa, Laodicea, Polyxena, and Cassandra.

18. *Et potiùs nova,* &c.] Valgius could scarcely withstand an argument so strong as this. The expedition of Augustus to the east, was more glorious than any of his most successful campaigns. This prince had not only made the Roman name respected over all Asia and Africa, and imposed his own terms of peace upon the Indians, Ethiopians, &c. but, what the Romans had most at heart, he had humbled the insolence of the Parthians; he had obliged Phraates their king to draw his troops from Armenia, to return the Roman standards, and the prisoners that had been detained for thirty years, and to pull down the trophies Orodes had raised on the defeat of Crassus. So many prodigies performed in less than two years, were the more agreeable to the Romans, as the success had not cost the republic the loss of one man. In these circumstances, Horace could not but be in the right to ask Valgius to give some respite to his grief, and partake, for some time, of the common joy.

20. *Niphaten.*] The Niphates is a great mountain in Armenia; Horace calls it *rigidum,* cold, because it is covered with snow. Virgil, speaking of this victory of Augustus in his third Book of Georgics, says,

Addam urbes Asiæ domitas, pulsumque Niphaten,
Fidentemque fuga Parthum, versisque sagittis,
Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropæa.

'Here I shall add the cities he subdued 'in Asia, the people that he conquered, 'those of Niphates, and the Parthians, who 'trust to the arrows they shoot in flying, and 'the two victories he gained over two ene'mies at a great distance from one another.'

21. *Medum flumen.*] Plutarch writes, that the Euphrates was formerly called *Medus,* by which Horace means the Parthians, as he did the Armenians by the Niphates.

23. *Gelonos.*] By the *Geloni* we must understand the Scythians, who made incursions into Armenia, to whom Augustus set bounds that they should not pass, as he had done to the Parthians.

ODE X.

Horace addresses this incomparable ode to Licinius Varro Murena, brother of Proculeius, and of Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas; who is the same Licinius that conspired against Augustus with Fannius Cæpio in the year of Rome 731; for which offence he was banished, and afterwards put to death, notwithstanding all the interest that Mæcenas and Proculeius could make for him.

This ode was composed before Licinius was engaged in the conspiracy, but after his goods were confiscated for carrying arms against Augustus. Ho-

AD LICINIUM MURENAM.

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urgendo, neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimiùm premendo
Litus iniquum.
Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus, caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidendâ
Sobrius aulâ.
Sæviùs ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus; excelsæ graviore casu

ORDO.

O Licini, vives rectius neque semper urgendo altum, neque, dum cautus horrescis procellas, nimium premendo iniquum litus. Quisquis diligit auream mediocritatem, tutus, caret sordibus obsoleti tecti, sobrius caret aulâ invidendâ. Ingens pinus sævius agitatur ventis, excelsæ turres decidunt graviore

NOTES.

1. *Neque altum semper urgendo, neque, dum*, &c.] To understand the true meaning of Horace in these words, we must consider the conformity they have with the state in which Licinius Murena then was. Licinius having all his goods confiscated for bearing arms against Cæsar, his brother Proculeius endeavoured to make this great loss easy to him, by giving him the half of his fortune. If he would have been contented with that station of life to which this kind office of his brother raised him again, he had not fallen into those misfortunes which he incurred in the sequel. To bring Licinius Murena to this, Horace endeavours, in this ode, to cure him of ambition and despair, the two rocks on which he afterwards split. He makes use of a very familiar comparison of those who make voyages, whereby he lays before him an exact picture of two

ODE X.

race, who knew his restless and ambitious spirit, and that he was as unfit to bear prosperity as adversity, designs, by this ode, to point out the way of avoiding those misfortunes into which he fell afterwards, by not following the good advice of his friend. The great address of the poet is, in making no application that could prejudice Licinius. The rules of conduct he gives are general, and almost all covered under different figures; and the ode itself is short, easy to be understood, and beautified with many comparisons.

TO LICINIUS MURENA.

DEAR Licinius, you will steer your course more safely through *the sea of* life *, if you launch not always out into the deep; provided, *on the other hand*, that, being *over*-cautious, and afraid of a storm, you bear not too near the shore, which is equally dangerous. He who loves the golden mean, is quite secure; as he does not choose to live in a sordid *little* house, he is not ambitious to live in a *magnificent* palace that attracts envy. The lofty pine is most beaten upon by the winds;

* Will live more safely.

NOTES.

extremes. By those who are always for advancing into the high seas, he admirably represents the ambitious, who never think themselves sufficiently exalted in the world; and by those who, upon the appearance of a storm, are seized with fear, and coast it always along the shore, and thus lose their lives by too great precaution, he gives a fine description of such as, upon the least disgrace, lose their judgement, and in their despair take dangerous resolutions.

6. *Tutus, caret obsoleti.*] Horace says *tutus caret*, he is secure against the necessity of an indigent dwelling; and *sobrius caret*, he is too discreet and prudent to lodge in a sumptuous palace that might expose him to envy. Or perhaps these two words *tutus* and *sobrius*, ought to be detached entirely from the verb *caret*, and considered as belonging to the person who is here said to love mediocrity of condition, always accompanied with security and temperance. He is not exposed to the inconveniences of want, or to the envy of an exalted rank.

7. *Invidendâ.*] Magnificent, splendid, and of consequence subject to envy; as he says, Ode first, Book third, *Invidendi postes*. Lucretius (V. 1130.) has excellently explained this:

Invidia quoniam, seu fulmine, summa vaporant,
Plerumque, et quæ sunt aliis magis edita cumque.

'All things that are magnificent, and 'rise in grandeur and height above others, 'are subject to envy, as well as to thunder.'

9. *Sævius.*] *Sævius* is proposed to the reader instead of *sæpius*; and indeed this reading

Decidunt turres; feriuntque summos
Fulmina montes.
Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene præparatum
Pectus. Informes hyemes reducit
Jupiter; idem
Summovet: non, si malè nunc, et olim
Sic erit: quondam citharâ tacentem
Suscitat Musam, neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.
Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare: sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimiùm secundo
Turgida vela.

ORDO.

casu, fulminaque feriunt summos montes.

Pectus bene præparatum sperat alteram sortem *in rebus* infestis, metuit *vero alteram sortem in rebus* secundis. Jupiter reducit informes hyemes; idem *Jupiter* summovet *eas:* si nunc male *est*, non et olim sic erit: Apollo quondam suscitat citharâ *sua* musam tacentem, neque semper tendit *suum* arcum. Appare fortis atque animosus *in* angustis rebus: idem sapienter contrahes vela *tua* turgida vento nimium secundo.

NOTES.

seems to add a greater justness to the sentiment of the poet: for, *sævius ventis agitatur ingens pinus*, agrees better with what follows, *excelsæ turres gravius decidunt* (which also is a preferable reading to *et celsæ*), *et fulmina gravius feriunt summos montes.* If he had used the word *sæpius* in the first phrase, he would have put *frequentiore casu*, or something like it, in the other.

13. *Metuit secundis.*] Prosperity is more to be dreaded than every one thinks; the higher it rises, the more are we liable to some fatal reverse of fortune. It was on this account that the ancients were wont

high towers have the most terrible downfall, and thunder falls with the greatest force upon the highest mountains. A heart prepared for all events, never loses hope in adversity, and yet retains some fear in prosperity. Jupiter sends us stormy winters, and he also removes them; if we are unfortunate now, we shall not be always so. Apollo sometimes tunes his lyre*, and does not always bend his bow. Show, *therefore*, that you have resolution and courage in adversity, and conduct yourself with prudence in the height of prosperity†.

* Wakes his silent muse with the harp.
† Prudently furl your sails swelled with too prosperous a gale.

NOTES.

to appease the gods by sacrifices after some very signal success. Had Licinius, in prosperity, retained some fear and apprehension, he would have avoided all the misfortunes that befell him.

15. *Informes hyemes.*] This epithet is very singular and bold, and also very happy and well-chosen. Winter quite changes the face of the universe; it disfigures and deforms nature.

19. *Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo.*] The ancients represent Apollo as the cause of a great number of the evils that affect kingdoms, armies, &c. as the plague, famine, &c. It is for this reason that Horace addresses him in his secular poem with prayers to retain his arrows in his quiver, and be appeased.

Condito mitis placidusque telo.

Homer says, that the arrows of this god brought the plague into the Grecian camp; the reason of which is evident. In like manner, when Horace says here, that Apollo has not always his bow bent, he means that Apollo does not always afflict mankind with the above-mentioned calamities; it is therefore a wrong application of these words, which many make, when they use them to express that the mind ought not always to be upon the stretch, but should now and then be allowed some relaxation.

21. *Animosus atque fortis.*] Horace had good reason for making use of both the words *animosus* and *fortis* on this occasion. The first marks only the disposition of the soul; the other the effects of that disposition, the actions that spring from it. The one is the cause, the other the effect. *Animosus* is properly one that fears nothing; *fortis* is applicable to a person who struggles through all hardships with patience. This passage well merited a particular explanation.

ODE XI.

There are many who know not how to be happy, or at least will not allow themselves to be so: they disquiet themselves with a thousand apprehensions of danger, which exists no where but in their own imagination, and dread the approach of evils of which there is not the least appearance. This was the character of Hirpinus. Although he resided at Rome in a quiet house, far from the alarms of war, yet his fate, and that of the empire, appeared to him very uncertain. He was continually providing against accidents which were never likely to happen, and brought upon himself a real

AD QUINTIUM HIRPINUM.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber, et Scythes,
Hirpine Quinti, cogitet, Adriâ
Divisus objecto, remittas
Quærere; nec trepides in usum
Poscentis ævi pauca. Fugit retro
Lèvis juventas et decor, aridâ
Pellente lascivos amores
Canitie, facilemque somnum.
Non semper idem floribus est honos
Vernis; neque uno Luna rubens nitet
Vultu. Quid æternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?

ORDO.

O Hirpine Quinti, remittas quærere quid bellicosus Cantaber cogitet, et Scythes divisus Adria objecto; nec trepides in usum ævi poscentis pauca. Levis juventas et decor fugit retro, arida canitie pellente lascivos amores facilemque somnum. Non semper est idem honos floribus vernis; neque rubens luna nitet *semper* uno vultu. Quid fatigas animum *tuum* minorem æternis consiliis?

NOTES.

1. *Scythes Adriâ divisus objecto.*] The ancients comprehended under the name Scythians all the people inhabiting northward; and we see clearly by this passage, that Horace gives that name to the people who were separated from Italy by the Adriatic sea; that is, by the Scythians he understands the people of Illyria, Dalmatia, Pannonia, Dacia, &c. all which Suetonius comprehends under the general name of Illyria.

2. *Hirpine Quinti.*] The house of Quintius was one of the most ancient and consi-

ODE XI.

evil, by his cares and endeavours to avoid a chimerical one. Horace, in this ode, advises his friend to lay aside this anxious and foreboding temper. He tells him, that all things are liable to change and variation; that the knowledge of futurity altogether exceeds our comprehension; and therefore wisdom requires that we should give ourselves no uneasiness on that head. If anxious thoughts will sometimes force themselves upon us, we should banish them by a cheerful glass, which is the best antidote to such attacks.

TO QUINTIUS HIRPINUS.

TROUBLE not yourself, *dear* Hirpinus, about inquiring into the designs of the warlike Cantabrian and Scythian, separated from us by the Adriatic sea; nor be so very anxious about the necessaries of life, that requires but a little to satisfy it.

Youth, with all its gaieties and beauties, flies from us apace, and is succeeded by old age, which banishes all the levities of love and soft slumbers. The flowers of the spring do not always retain the same bloom; nor does the moon shine at all times with the same lustre. Why *then* do you disquiet your mind about *the* future events *of providence*, which are beyond its reach? Why do we not

NOTES.

derable in Rome, of which it became a family after the destruction of Alba, and was ranked in the patrician order by Tullus Hostilius. It was divided into four branches, which are distinguished by the surnames of Capitolinus, Cincinnatus, Flaminius, and Crispinus. The person here addressed by Horace, is the same whom he addresses Epist. 16. Book 1. but cannot be distinguished from others of the same name, which is the reason that some interpreters have thought Horace wrote *Crispine Quincti*, and that this is the same Quinctius Crispinus who was consul with Cl. Drusus Nero in the year of Rome 744; but this is contrary to all the manuscripts, in which we read *Hirpine*.

11. *Quid æternis.*] As if he had said: Since youth passes so swiftly away, and nothing in nature is durable and lasting, why do you not now in old age give some relaxation to the mind? why do you oppress yourself with endless cares and projects? Such commentators as fancy that by *æternis consiliis* we are to understand the counsels and designs of the gods, because they are eternal, little comprehend the design of the poet, who means only to insinuate to Hirpinus, that his mind would not be able to

Cur non sub altâ vel platano, vel hac
Pinu, jacentes sic temere, et rosâ
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriâque nardo
Potamus uncti? dissipat Evius
Curas edaces. Quis puer ociùs
Restinguet ardentis Falerni
Pocula prætereunte lymphâ?
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? eburnâ, dic age, cum lyrâ
Maturet, incomtam Lacænæ
More comam religata nodo.

ORDO.

Cur non sic temere jacentes vel sub *hac* altâ platano, vel *sub* hac pinu, et odorati canos *nostros* capillos rosa, unctique Assyriâ nardo, potamus dum licet? Evius dissipat curas edaces. Quis puer ocius restinguet pocula ardentis *vini* Falerni lympha prætereunte? Quis eliciet domo Lyden devium scortum? Age, dic *ei ut* maturet cum lyra sua eburna, religata *suam* comam incomtam nodo, more *mulieris* Lacænæ.

NOTES.

bear up under that perpetual succession of new cares, and variety of different schemes, with which he oppressed it.

16. *Assyriâque nardo.*] *Nardus* is properly a plant which grows in India. Horace calls it Assyrian, because the European merchants bought it in Syria. Those who think that he means a kind of *nardus* growing in Cilicia, not far from Syria, seem to have forgotten that this was a savage kind of *nardus*, which never entered into the composition of these exquisite perfumes and odours.

19. *Restinguet ardentis Falerni pocula.*] Some interpreters have explained this passage, as if Horace desired his servant to bring some water to mix with the wine; whereas,

rather place ourselves without ceremony under this lofty plane-tree, or this pine, put on rose-garlands, anoint our grey hairs with the finest perfumes, and solace ourselves, while we may, with a hearty glass? It is wine that dispels the cares that prey upon us. Which of you, boys, will soonest cool for us a bottle of this hot Falernian in the rivulet that runs by us? Who will go for Lyde? Be sure you desire her to bring her ivory harp with her, *and not mind her dress, but come* with her uncombed hair tied in a knot, like the Lacedemonian ladies.

NOTES.

he plainly wanted it to be cooled in the neighbouring stream. There is indeed a fragment of one of the odes of Anacreon still extant, which seems to favour the sentiment of these commentators: for he commands his boy to put ten measures of water among five measures of wine, to moderate the insupportable strength of that liquor; but, notwithstanding this, the other method of explaining seems more just, and more agreeable to the words of Horace. The epithet *prætereunte* seems necessarily to demand it. It is very well known, that the ancients made use of ice and snow to cool their wine; and when these could not be had, they had recourse to fountains and streams.

21. *Quis devium scortum.*] By *devium scortum* commentators understand a courtezan that was not public; such an one as the ancients strictly understood by the word *meretrix*, when opposed to *prostibula* and *vaga*. Propert. Lib. I. El. 5, 7.

Non est illa vagis similis conlata puellis.

23. *Incomtam Lacænæ more.*] This passage has very much embarrassed interpreters, perhaps without cause. It is proper that we should read *incomtam* as one word, and refer it to *comam*, as is evident from what follows, viz. *more Lacænæ*: for it is evident from the records of antiquity, that the Lacedemonian ladies were very negligent and careless in their dress.

ODE XII.

As this is one of the finest odes of Horace, it has more of gallantry in it than any of his other compositions. Mæcenas very much importuned the poet to write of the wars of Italy; Horace, unwilling to undertake such a task, pleads for his excuse, on the one hand, that he thought himself incapable of executing so great a design; and, on the other, that Mæcenas himself had undertaken to write the history of Augustus, in which he would, without doubt, succeed much better than he; and to make his excuses more prevalent, he tells him, that his muse would only permit him to sing of the

AD MÆCENATEM.

Nolis longa feræ bella Numantiæ,
Nec dirum Annibalem, nec Siculum mare
Pœno purpureum sanguine, mollibus
  Aptari citharæ modis;
Nec sævos Lapithas, et nimium mero
Hylæum; domitosque Herculeâ manu
Telluris juvenes, unde periculum
  Fulgens contremuit domus

ORDO.

O Mæcenas, nolis longa bella feræ Numantiæ, nec dirum Annibalem, nec Siculum mare purpureum Pœno sanguine, aptari mollibus modis citharæ; nec sævos Lapithas, et Hylæum nimium mero; juvenesque Telluris domitos Herculea manu, unde fulgens domus

NOTES.

1. *Bella Numantiæ.*] Numantia was a city of Spain, near the river Durius, in the same place where Soria is now situated. It held out against the Romans eight years. They laid siege to it in the year of the city 622, under the command of Pompeius Rufus, and remained before it till the year 630, when, at last, it was taken by the second Scipio Africanus. Horace gives it the epithet of *fera*, to denote the undaunted valour of the inhabitants, who chose rather to destroy themselves by poison, fire and sword, than fall into the hands of the conqueror.

2. *Nec dirum Annibalem.*] Hannibal maintained a war against the Romans for seventeen years. Horace here calls him *dirus*, because he had almost proved fatal to the Romans, having vanquished several of their generals, destroyed in battle the greatest part of the citizens, and put Rome itself into the highest consternation, having carried his victorious arms within three miles of it.

2. *Nec Siculum mare.*] This must be understood of the first Punic war, in which the Romans obtained three signal victories over the Carthaginians on the Sicilian sea, the first under the conduct of Caius Duilius, the second by Attilius Regulus, and the third

ODE XII.

beauty and charms of Licinia, of whom his patron was deeply enamoured. Then he takes occasion to enumerate some of those amiable qualities which she so eminently possessed, and which could not fail to attract Mæcenas' esteem, and render her, to one of his discernment, more valuable than all the treasures of the world. In fine, Horace, to flatter the passion of his friend, and praise Licinia's beauty, makes use of such finesse as Ovid and Tibullus were entire strangers to.

TO MÆCENAS.

Do not command me, *Mæcenas*, to set to the soft notes of my harp, *fit only for love*, the long wars of cruel Numantia, the defeat of terrible Hannibal, or the sea-fights that dyed the Sicilian sea with the blood of the Carthaginians. Do not command me to sing of the cruel Lapithæ, or of the drunken *Centaur* Hylæus, or of *the giants*, those *terrible* sons of the earth, who made the magnificent palace of old Saturn shake, till they were subdued by the *powerful*

NOTES.

by Lutatius Catulus. In the second, the Carthaginian fleet, though it consisted of three hundred and fifty vessels, was yet put to flight, and two thousand seven hundred men were made prisoners.

5. *Lapithas.*] The Lapithæ were a people of Thessaly, who associated themselves with the giants, in order to make war against the gods.

6. *Hylæum.*] Hylæus was a Centaur who was slain by Atlanta, because he attempted to ravish her. It may not perhaps be improper to state here the conjecture of Dacier upon these four lines. It may seem strange, says he, that the poet should introduce the giants and Lapithæ here, since Mæcenas does not demand of Horace to write a description of the fabulous wars. We must necessarily therefore conclude, that the poet makes use of these expressions to explain events that are already past; and which, though in this manner concealed, could not fail of being understood by the resemblance and conformity they had to the history of those whose names he had borrowed. This conformity was very visible; and it was an easy matter to discern, that by the Lapithæ and giants who were subdued by Hercules in the plains of Thessaly, Horace means the troops of Brutus and Cassius, which were defeated by Augustus almost in the same place at the battle of Philippi. In like manner, under Hylæus, Horace gives us the exact portraiture of Antony, who ruined himself by his intemperance, and his extravagant passion for Cleopatra. Almost every one knows the excessive debauches he was guilty of with that princess; that he ordered himself to be called Bacchus, and imitated that god in his habit, equipage, and pomp. Thus far Dacier, whose opinion seems to be pretty well founded.

7. *Telluris juvenes.*] The giants, according to ancient fable, were the sons of

Saturni veteris: tuque pedestribus
Dices historiis prœlia Cæsaris,
Mæcenas, meliùs, ductaque per vias
Regum colla minantium.
Me dulces dominæ musa Liciniæ
Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
Fulgentes oculos, et bene mutuis
Fidum pectus amoribus;
Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,
Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia
Ludentem nitidis virginibus, sacro
Dianæ celebris die.
Num tu, quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes,
Permutare velis crine Liciniæ,
Plenas aut Arabum domos?
Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
Cervicem, aut facili sævitiâ negat,
Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet.

ORDO.

veteris Saturni contremuit periculum: tuque, Mæcenas, *in* pedestribus historiis melius dices prœlia Cæsaris, collaque minantium regum ducta per vias. Musa voluit me dicere dulces cantus dominæ *tuæ* Liciniæ, oculos *ejus* lucidum fulgentes, et pectus *ejus* bene fidum mutuis amoribus: quam nec dedecuit ferre pedem choris, nec certare joco, nec ludentem dare *sua* brachia nitidis virginibus, sacro die celebris Dianæ. Num tu velis permutare ea quæ dives Achæmenes tenuit, aut Mygdonias opes pinguis Phrygiæ, aut plenas domos Arabum, crine Liciniæ? Dum detorquet cervicem *suam* ad *tua* flagrantia oscula, aut facili sævitia negat *oscula* quæ magis gaudeat eripi *a te* poscente, interdum occupet rapere.

NOTES.

Titan and Terra. They were of an enormous size, and had feet resembling those of a dragon. They were sent into the world to destroy the gods, and dethrone Jupiter himself, against whom their mother had been provoked. Apollo, Diana, Bacchus, and Hercules, came to the assistance of Jupiter, who overthrew these monsters, buried some of them under the mountains, and precipitated the rest to the bottom of Tartarus.

8. *Fulgens domus Saturni veteris.*] As the giants and Lapithæ made the palace of old Saturn shake, in like manner did Brutus, Cassius, and Antony, make Rome and Italy tremble. And it is Rome itself and Italy, that Horace understands here by the magnificent palace of old Saturn. This allusion is the more just, as that part of Italy where Rome is, was called Saturnia, because it was the abode of Saturn after he was banished from heaven. This shows clearly the great address of Horace, and the justness of his comparison. He has made the same allusion in the fourth Ode of the third Book:

Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus horrida brachiis.

'Those terrible youths, trusting to the 'strength of their arms, struck Jupiter with 'great terror.'

9. *Pedestribus historiis.*] Horace has elsewhere said, *Musa pedestris, Sermo pedestris,* to denote a plain natural style; and here he opposes poetry to history: the latter, so to speak, goes on foot, it never quits the earth, its style ought to be smooth, its diction plain and easy; modest even in its

arm of Hercules. Mæcenas, you will describe far better in prose, *than I can in verse*, the battles of Augustus, and *his glorious triumphs, in which* kings, murmuring revenge, were led in procession through the streets *before his car*. My muse allows me to sing of nothing but the sweet voice of your charming mistress Licinia, her bright sparkling eyes, and the unfeigned return she makes to your love: with what a becoming air she joins the dance in an assembly; what a fine spirit of raillery she has, and with how good a grace she offers her fine arms to dance with the gay ladies on Diana's festival. Would not you exchange wealth equal to the possessions of the opulent Achæmenes, the immense riches of the king of fertile Phrygia, and all the treasures of the Arabians, for one ringlet of charming Licinia's hair? especially in the moment when she turns her neck to meet your ardent kisses, or when, with a cruelty easy to be conquered, she refuses you one, which she wishes you would rather take by force, and sometimes snatches a kiss from you first, *whilst she seemingly defends herself.*

NOTES.

ornaments, it avoids every thing that savours of affectation. Poetry, on the contrary, especially lyric poetry, soars high; its thoughts are noble, its turns bold, its expressions figurative, nature itself appears here dressed in its richest attire.

13. *Dominæ Liciniæ.*] This Licinia was mistress to Mæcenas; and not to Horace, as some interpreters have imagined, and especially Torrentius; for the sequel of the ode incontestably proves, that Horace speaks here of Mæcenas' mistress. Licinia is the same with Terentia, and the sister of Proculeius and Murena. Terentia was the proper name of the family, and Licinia an adopted name; for Terentius Varro was adopted into the family of Murena, which was named Licinian.

18. *Certare joco.*] By *joco*, Horace understands here raillery, or smart repartees; and by *certare*, he explains the Roman custom of disputing for the prize of raillery on festival days. This, Spanheim says, was also a custom among the Greeks; and they even crowned those who conquered; as appears from a passage of Aristophanes, who, speaking of the rejoicings on Ceres' festival, says in his comedy of the Frogs, Act V. Scene VII.:

Παίσαντα καὶ σκωψαντα, νικήσαντα τ'αἰνιοῦσθαι.

"Grant, O goddess, that I may act my "part so well in jesting and raillery, that "I may overcome, and at last be crown-"ed."

This shows with what care and application Horace ought to be read; because in one single word, that at first sight appears not worth notice, he implies what is very curious and remarkable.

18. *Nec dare brachia.*] Because the ladies joined their arms to dance in a circle round Diana's altar, according to an ancient custom.

21. *Dives Achæmenes.*] Achæmenes was a king of Persia; his descendants, to the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes, bore his name, and were called Achæmenides. It is for this reason that Plato, in his first Alcibiades, says, the kings of Persia derived their origin from Achæmenes.

22. *Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias.*] He means the riches of Midas king of Mygdonia, which was a part of Phrygia, and took its name from the Mygdones, a people of Thrace, or Macedonia, who had settled themselves in those parts.

ODE XIII.

No subject is too mean for a great poet. The smallest circumstance will afford him matter enough to expatiate upon, and lead him into a course of reflections that will highly please and delight a judicious reader. The fall of a tree seems to furnish only a trifling subject for poetry; but Horace employs that circumstance to introduce Sappho and Alcæus, without seeming to have sought an occasion for it, and to speak in praise of poetry, which he does with great address. These lyric excursions

IN ARBOREM,

CUJUS CASU IN AGRO SABINO PENE OPPRESSUS EST.

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
Quicunque primùm, et sacrilegâ manu
Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
Perniciem, opprobriumque pagi.
Illum et parentis crediderim sui
Fregisse cervicem, et penetralia
Sparsisse nocturno cruore
Hospitis: ille venena Colchica,
Et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas,
Tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
Te, triste lignum, te caducum
In domini caput immerentis.

ORDO.

O arbos! quicunque primum *posuit te*, ille et posuit te nefasto die, et produxit *te* sacrilegâ manu in perniciem nepotum opprobriumque pagi. Crediderim illum et fregisse cervicem sui parentis, et sparsisse penetralia *sua* nocturno cruore hospitis. O triste lignum, ille tractavit venena Colchica, et quicquid nefas usquam concipitur, qui statuit te *in* meo agro, te caducum in caput domini *tui* immerentis.

NOTES.

1. *Ille et nefasto.*] In the first part of this ode, Horace shows his resentment against those who had planted this unlucky tree, as if they had been guilty of the death which he so narrowly escaped. In order to understand the phrase here used, it will be necessary to observe, that the Romans divided their days into *Festi*, *Profesti*, and *Intercisi*. The *Dies festi* were consecrated to the gods, and appropriated to the celebration of religious rites and solemnities. The *Profesti*, allotted for the civil business of men, were again divided into *Fasti*, *Comitiales*, &c. *Dies fasti* were the same as our court days; upon which it was lawful for the prætor to sit in judgement, and consequently

ODE XIII.

are not at all to the taste of some methodical geniuses, who would have the poet always to follow a continued course of reasoning, without ever losing sight of the first proposition. This humour arises from their ignorance of the genius of poetry, and especially of the ode. Both the one and the other permit, and sometimes even require, these overflowings of fancy, to supply the place of agreeable episodes, which exalt and enrich the subject.

AGAINST A TREE,

BY THE FALL OF WHICH HE WAS ALMOST CRUSHED TO PIECES AT SABINUM.

THOU *execrable* tree, whoever he was that first planted thee, did it surely on an unlucky day, and with a sacrilegious hand, for the destruction of those who should be born after him, and for a reproach to the place in which he lived. I should make no scruple to believe that the wretch strangled his own father, and stained his domestic gods in the night with the blood of his guest. Thou unlucky tree, that hadst nearly fallen on the head of thy innocent master, he that planted you in my field, certainly made use of the Colchic poison, and was guilty of every villany that can be imagined. No man can, by the

NOTES.

fari tria verba, to say these three solemn words, *Do, dico, addico, I sit here to give laws, to declare right, and judge losses.* All other days (except the *Intercisi*) were called *Nefasti*, because it was not lawful to pronounce these three words upon them; that is, the courts were not open. The *Dies postridiani*, or next day after the Calends, Nones, and Ides, were of this last number, and were deemed unfortunate, whence they had the name of *Dies atri*; it having been observed that these days had proved unlucky to the state in the loss of battles and towns, and other casualties; so that these days being of the number of those which were called *Nefasti*, that term was used to signify an unlucky day.

7. *Nocturno cruore.*] This is an address peculiar to Horace, who, instead of saying *sparsisse cruore per noctem*, or *nocturno tempore*, makes an adjective of the circumstance of time, and joins it with *cruore*. He says in the same manner, Ode V. of this Book, *Nocturno mari*. These are very happy turns of expression, of which Horace frequently makes use.

8. *Venena Colchica.*] Ancient Colchis, now Mingrelia, was a country on the Black sea, between Circassia, Georgia, and Aladulia. Both it and Iberia were fertile in poisons.

11. *Caducum.*] This tree did not fall upon Horace, as he escaped the stroke; therefore *lignum caducum in domini caput*,

Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas. Navita Bosphorum
Pœnus perhorrescit, neque ultra
Cæca timet aliunde fata;
Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi; catenas Parthus et Italum
Robur; sed improvisa lethi
Vis rapuit rapietque gentes.
Quàm penè furvæ regna Proserpinæ,
Et judicantem vidimus Æacum,
Sedesque discretas piorum, et
Æoliis fidibus querentem

ORDO.

Nunquam satis cautum est homini quid quisque vitet in horas. Pœnus navita perhorrescit Bosphorum, neque ultra timet cæca fata aliunde: miles *Romanus perhorrescit* sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi; Parthus *perhorrescit* catenas et Italum robur: sed improvisa vis lethi rapuit rapietque gentes.

Quam pene *nos* vidimus regna furvæ Proserpinæ, et Æacum judicantem, discretasque sedes piorum, et Sappho querentem Æoliis

NOTES.

cannot here signify a tree which has already fallen upon the head of its master, as M. Dacier explains it; *caducum* is here put for *casurum*, in the same manner as Virgil says, *juvenis caducus*, for *casurus, moriturus;* so that the manner in which we ought to construe the word is plainly this, *Statuit te eo consilio ut caderes;* as if the gardener had planted it with that very design, that by its fall it might crush its master.

14. *Bosphorum.*] The Thracian Bosphorus is the same which we call the canal of the Black sea, viz. that narrow sea which joins the Propontis to the Pontus Euxinus. There is also another streight, called anciently *Bosphorus Cimmerius.* It separates Crimea from Circassia, and serves as a communication between the Black sea and the sea of Asoph, or Palus Mæotis. The name it bears, is the Streight of Caffa.

15. *Pœnus.*] Horace here represents a Carthaginian as dreading the dangers that attend sailing through the Bosphorus; because Carthage was a city of extensive commerce, which sent its ships to a very great distance, and whose inhabitants were consequently often exposed to perils of this kind.

16. *Cæca fata.*] The blind destinies; *cæca* for *occulta, ignota, unknown, concealed,* lying beyond our reach. Lucretius often uses the word in this sense, *venti cæca potestas, the undiscernible or unknown power of the wind;* for we cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth.

17. *Sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi.*] That is, *Sagittas Parthi celeriter fugientis.* As to this way of speaking, see Note on ver. 7. of this ode. It is further worth while to take notice here of the opposition between *timet* and *celerem fugam.* An enemy, one would think, is no longer to be feared after he betakes himself to flight: but in this case it happened quite otherwise; the more violent and rapid was the flight of the Parthians, the more dangerous did it prove to those who pursued them; because, without interrupting their course, they had the art of shooting over their shoulders a prodigious quantity of arrows, by which means they very much annoyed and weakened the enemy.

21. *Furvæ regna Proserpinæ.*] *Furvus* signifies black, dismal, gloomy; and Horace here says, the realms of dismal Proserpine, for the dismal realms of Proserpine. See the above note.

greatest precaution, shun all the misfortunes to which he is every moment exposed. The Carthaginian merchant is only afraid of the Bosphorus, but is not aware of *what* the secret fates *may surprise him with* from another quarter. The *Roman* soldier fears nothing but the arrows and expeditious flight of the Parthians. *On the other hand*, the Parthians are afraid only of the irresistible force and chains of the Romans. But men have often been, and will still be, carried off by a kind of death they least expect. *By this terrible accident*, how near was I seeing the dismal realms of Proserpine, and Æacus sitting in judgement, and the happy abodes destined for the just! *How near was I hearing* Sap-

NOTES.

22. *Judicantem Æacum.*] Æacus was the son of Jupiter and Ægina, and father of Peleus and Telamon. After his death, he was appointed one of the infernal judges with Minos and Rhadamanthus. The jurisdiction of the two last extended over all Asia, that of Æacus over Europe; for the earth was as yet divided only into two parts. Plato writes, that Æacus and Rhadamanthus gave judgement in a meadow, where two ways met, one of which led to Tartarus, and the other to the Elysian Fields; that Rhadamanthus judged the Asiatics, and Æacus the Europeans; and that Minos was seated with a sceptre of gold to pronounce sovereignly when any difficulties occurred which the other two were incapable of resolving. And this seems to be the reason why Horace, who was an European, makes mention only of Æacus, which otherwise might have appeared strange.

23. *Sedesque discretas piorum.*] The passage I have already cited from Plato, serves to give light to this. After having passed the meadow where sentence was pronounced upon departed souls by Æacus and Rhadamanthus, on one side might be seen Tartarus, and on the other the Elysian Fields. The word *descriptas* may signify *determined, assigned;* and the reading may well enough support itself. But Dacier is of opinion, that it ought to be read *discretas*, divided, separated from, as it is in many editions, and some of the best manuscripts: for the Elysian Fields were separated by a great interval from Tartarus; whence Horace, Ode 16th, Book 5th, says,

Jupiter illa piæ secrevit littora genti.

'Jupiter has set apart these happy regions for the just.' And Virgil, *Secretosque pios.* 'And the just separated.'

24. *Æoliis fidibus querentem Sappho.*] The Æolians were a people of Greece. After the Trojan war, they sent out a colony which went into Mysia, and possessed all the coast of the Ægean sea from Cyzicum to Phocis, or even to Smyrna, which Herodotus adds to the eleven cities belonging to the Æolians on the continent. But as this afterward fell into the hands of the Ionians, Herodotus enumerates only eleven cities that properly belonged to the Æolians. They had besides five or six cities in the isle of Lesbos; among others Mitylene the capital, where Sappho was born. Hence we have the reason why Horace says here, *Æoliis fidibus*, on her Æolian lute, instead of Lesbian. We have still remaining several fragments of Sappho, by which it appears that she was displeased with the ladies of her own country; but I question whether Horace here speaks of these complaints; he in this place means, without doubt, that the Lesbian ladies did not show the same regard to her as she did to them, but, on the contrary, aspersed and ruined her reputation. This is confirmed by what she herself says in Ovid:

Lesbides, infamem quæ me fecistis, amatæ,
Desinite ad citharas turba venire meas.

'You ladies of Lesbos, who have ruined my character, notwithstanding the love I bore you, desist from coming in crowds to hear my songs.'

Sappho puellis de popularibus;
Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcæe, plectro dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli!
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere: sed magis
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.
Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras bellua centiceps
Aures, et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues?
Quin et Prometheus, et Pelopis parens,
Dulci laborum decipitur sono;
Nec curat Orion leones
Aut timidos agitare lyncas.

ORDO.

fidibus de popularibus puellis; et te, O Alcæe, plenius sonantem aureo *tuo* plectro *dura mala* navis, dura mala fugæ, dura *mala* belli! Umbræ mirantur utrumque dicere digna sacro silentio: sed vulgus densum humeris magis bibit aure pugnas et tyrannos exactos.

Quid mirum *est*, ubi *Cerberus* centiceps *ille* bellua stupens illis carminibus demittit atras *suas* aures, et angues intorti capillis Eumenidum recreantur? Quin et Prometheus, et *Tantalus* parens Pelopis decipitur laborum dulci sono; nec Orion curat agitare leones, aut timidos lyncas.

NOTES.

26. *Et te sonantem plenius.*] We have already spoken of Alcæus, Ode 32d, Book 1st. Horace here names him with Sappho, because he lived nearly about the same time, was a native of Mitylene, and excelled chiefly in lyric poetry. He here adds *sonantem plenius*, because his style was noble and elevated, and he wrote on subjects of a higher nature than *Sappho*, who says of herself in Ovid,

Nec plus Alcæus, consors patriæque lyræque,
Laudis habet, quamvis grandius ille sonat.

'Alcæus himself, who is of the same 'country, and a brother lyric poet, has 'not raised himself to a reputation greater 'than mine, although his poetry be of a 'sublimer nature, and he treats of more 'elevated subjects.'

32. *Bibit.*] The Romans made use of the verb *libo* to express hearing with great care and attention. Propertius, Eleg. 5th, Book 3d.

Incipe, suspensis auribus ista bibam.

'Begin, and I will with an attentive ear 'take in all you say.' The word *drink*, which in our language answers to *libo*, is often used by us in the same sense; as, to drink in instruction, to drink in a discourse.

34. *Demittit atras aures.*] This description of Cerberus, who was so well pleased with hearing the verses of Alcæus, as to let fall his ears, is admirable: for it is peculiar to beasts to hang their ears when any thing agreeable strikes their imagination.

34. *Bellua centiceps.*] Cerberus, according to the ancient mythology, is represented as having sometimes fifty heads, sometimes a hundred, on account of the great number of snakes which formed, as it were, the hair of his three heads.

36. *Eumenidum.*] The Furies, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra, were daughters, as the poets feign, to Acheron and Nox, all brought forth at one birth. Some think they were so called by an antiphrasis. But Æschylus, in the tragedy of the Eumenides, gives us to understand, that Orestes imposed this name upon them, after he had been

pho complaining of the Lesbian virgins in mournful strains on her Æolian lute! and you, Alcæus, with your golden quill sounding, in bolder *and more elevated* strains, the hardships men undergo at sea, the great evils of banishment, and the still greater calamities of war! The spirits hear, with admiration, both of them singing what commanded religious silence: but when Alcæus sings of battles and of banished tyrants, then the vulgar phantoms crowd about him, and are all attention. No wonder, since *Cerberus*, that monster with a hundred heads, hangs down his black ears, and is astonished to hear them, and the very snakes in the heads of the Furies are delighted *with their airs*. Even Prometheus, and *Tantalus*, Pelops' father, forget their pain, *so much are they charmed* with the sweetness of their notes; nor does Orion, *whose sole delight was in hunting*, trouble himself any more about pursuing lions, or *giving chase to* the timorous lynxes.

NOTES.

absolved from the crime of which he was accused in killing his mother; and he called them *Eumenides*, because they suffered themselves to be appeased by Minerva, and consented to his absolution.

36. *Recreantur angues.*] The poets have feigned that the Furies had snakes entangled in their hair. And Pausanias relates, that Æschylus was the first who gave rise to this notion. Æschylus, says he, is the first who represents snakes twisted among the hair of the Eumenides. The passage which he had in view, is where Orestes says,

——— ἅιδε Γοργόνων δίκην
Φοινικώπεις καὶ πεπλεκταγήμεναι πυκνοῖς
δράκουσίν.

'They resemble the Gorgons, are clothed 'in long black habits; and frightful snakes, 'twisted in their hair, hiss upon their heads.'

37. *Prometheus.*] Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, and father of Deucalion, formed a statue of clay in the likeness of man. In order to give it life, he ascended into heaven, that he might procure the assistance of Pallas. He stole the celestial fire, by means of a flambeau which he kindled at the rays of the sun, and by the help of it animated his statue. By way of punishment for this sacrilege, the gods bound him to mount Caucasus, where an eagle constantly preyed upon his liver, which grew again as fast as it was destroyed, to perpetuate his torment. It is to be remarked here, that Horace places him in hell; and in this he follows Aristotle, chap. 17. of his Poetics.

37. *Pelopis parens.*] Tantalus was king of Lydia and Phrygia; or of Paphlagonia, according to some. See Ode 28th, Book 1st.

38. *Dulci laborum decipitur sono.*] We must not here join *laborum* with *sono*, as some interpreters have thought, who imagine that Horace here speaks of the labours of Alcæus. This is quite insupportable. Horace says, that the harmonious notes of Alcæus made Tantalus and Prometheus to forget their torments. *Decipitur laborum*, is a way of speaking used by the Greeks, ἐπιλανθάνεται πόνων.

39. *Orion.*] The ancients were of opinion, that after death men have the same inclinations, and the same occupations, assigned to them, in which they delighted most when alive. It is for this reason that Horace represents Orion as a great hunter, he having really been so during his life. Homer relates in the Odyssey, that Ulysses saw Orion in hell, running after those beasts which he had wounded in the woods when alive; and it is after this prince of poets that Horace places Orion in hell, as he had before done Prometheus. M. Zurk deviates very much from the sense of Horace, when he explains this passage as if the poet had said, 'Orion is no more afraid of the lion 'or lynx.' The word *agitare* evidently proves the contrary.

ODE XIV.

Some manuscripts have, for the title of this ode, *De superstitione*, Upon or against superstition; and a learned commentator is of opinion, that this is the true and only subject of it; but it is certain that Horace has something more in view than simply to guard Posthumus against the fear of death. He also advises him to aim at tranquillity of life, and to indulge himself a little more freely in the innocent pleasures and gratifications of it; and this he does with great address: for it is worth our notice,

AD POSTHUMUM.

Eheu, fugaces, Posthume, Posthume,
Labuntur anni; nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectæ
Afferet, indomitæque morti;
Non, si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies,
Amice, places illacrymabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi

ORDO.

Eheu, Posthume, Posthume, anni fugaces labuntur; nec *tua* pietas afferet moram rugis, et senectæ instanti mortique indomitæ: non *afferet moram*, O amice, si quotquot dies eunt, trecenis tauris places illacrymabilem Plutona, qui compescit ter amplum Geryonen Tityon-

NOTES.

1. *Posthume.*] There is great uncertainty among commentators who this Posthumus was. Dacier is of opinion that he must be the same with Julius Florus, to whom Horace addresses two epistles. This conjecture is founded upon the two following reasons; First, that Posthumus was a surname very common to the family of the Julii: secondly, that the same character is here given of Posthumus as, in those two epistles, is given of Julius Florus. This conformity of characters he thinks so remarkable, that any one who will take the pains to examine it, must assent to his conjecture. Horace here tacitly reproaches Posthumus with avarice, ambition, and a slavish fear of death. The two first of these are clearly hinted at in these lines of Epist. third, Book first, where the poet says to Florus,

——— ——— *Quod si*
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses.

'If you could only divest yourself of ambition and avarice, which serve but to nourish care and anxiety.' But they are yet more evidently noticed in Epist. second, Book second,

Non es avarus? abi. Quid? cætera jam simul isto
Cum vitio fugere? Caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? caret mortis formidine et irâ?

'Are you not covetous? Well. But moreover, have you, at the same time, laid aside other views? Are you no long-

ODE XIV.

that in order to bring him to a right way of thinking, he neither proposes precepts nor counsels, but only offers some general reflections on the shortness and uncertainty of human life. The piece is admirable for the justness of the reasoning on the Epicurean system, and beautified with such an agreeable variety as highly pleases the reader; and never did Horace excel more than in the versification of this ode. It is not easy to determine precisely in what year it was composed; but we have reason to think it was when the poet was not very young.

TO POSTHUMUS.

AH Posthumus, *my worthy friend* Posthumus, the years run on apace; nor can all your piety retard for one moment wrinkles, old age that approaches, and death that is inevitable. Even if you should offer every day to Pluto a sacrifice of three hundred bullocks, you cannot appease that inexorable god, who detains the huge Geryon and the mighty Tityus, *surrounded* with that black river we

NOTES.

'er the slave of a vain ambition? Have you 'armed yourself against the fear of death? 'Can you restrain yourself from unreasonable 'and immoderate anger?'

But Sanadon rejects this conjecture as groundless, and thinks, that, instead of a conformity of character between Julius Florus and Posthumus, the description given of them by the poet represents them as of a very opposite temper. For Julius Florus accompanied Tiberius into Spain, Gaul, Thrace, Pannonia, &c. whereas Horace gives us to understand, that Posthumus was no friend to expeditions and the tumults of war:

Frustra per autumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum.

That he took a pleasure in cultivating the earth:

Neque harum quas colis arborum.

He concludes with giving it as his judgement, that this Posthumus is the same with him whom Propertius addresses, Book third, Elegy ninth. This also Dacier has hinted, making them both the same with Julius Florus.

5. *Trecenis.*] That is, with three hecatombs. This number appearing incredible to some interpreters, as well as to some of the ancient grammarians, they thought we should read *tricenis*, and reduce three hundred to thirty. They might have avoided this mistake, if they had merely recollected, that the first syllable of *tricenis* is long, and would have destroyed the measure of the verse.

6. *Places illacrymabilem.*] This word naturally signifies unpitied, or, that does not deserve pity; and it is in this sense that Horace uses it, Ode ninth, Book fourth:

——*sed omnes illacrymabiles*
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte.

'But they are all plunged into eternal 'night, none lament their death, and the 'memory of them is no more.'

But here is an active signification, *Illacrymabilem Plutona*; Pluto, who is incapable of pity, who cannot be moved by tears.

7. *Ter amplum Geryonen.*] Geryon was the son of Chrysaor and Callirrhoe. From the middle upwards he had three human bodies united. It is upon this account

Compescit undâ, scilicet omnibus,
Quicunque terræ munere vescimur,
Enavigandâ, sive reges,
Sive inopes erimus coloni.
Frustra cruento Marte carebimus,
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Adriæ;
Frustra per autumnos nocentem
Corporibus metuemus Austrum.
Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytus errans, et Danai genus
Infame, damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Æolides laboris.
Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor; neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.
Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior
Servata centum clavibus, et mero
Tinget pavimentum superbo,
Pontificum potiore cœnis.

ORDO.

que tristi undâ, enavigandâ scilicet *nobis* omnibus quicunque vescimur munere terræ, sive erimus reges, sive inopes coloni.

Frustra carebimus Marte cruento, fractisque fluctibus Adriæ rauci; frustra per autumnos metuemus Austrum nocentem corporibus. Ater Cocytus errans flumine languido visendus *est nobis*, et infame genus Danai, Sisyphusque Æolides damnatus longi laboris.

Tellus *est* linquenda, et domus, et placens uxor; neque ulla harum arborum quas colis, præter invisas cupressos, sequetur te dominum brevem. Hæres *tuus* dignior absumet Cæcuba *vina* servata centum clavibus, et tinget pavimentum superbo mero potiore cœnis pontificum.

NOTES.

that he is called by Horace, *ter amplus*, and by Virgil, *ter geminus*. This fiction, according to some, took its rise from Geryon's being king of three islands on the coasts of Spain: but others derive it from three brothers of the same name, among whom the strictest amity prevailed.

8. *Tityon.*] Tityus, the son of Jupiter, was slain by Apollo for attempting to ravish Latona. The poets have feigned that he was conveyed into hell, where a vulture continually preyed upon his liver; which, to perpetuate his torment, grew again as fast as it was consumed.

17. *Ater flumine languido Cocytus.*] The Cocytus, a river of the infernal regions, is a branch of the Styx. It derives its name from the Greek word κωκύειν, to lament, because there the lamentations of the unhappy may be heard, &c. Horace calls its course languishing, as Virgil says of its waters, that they are slow.

18. *Danai genus infame.*] Danaus and Ægyptus were the sons of Belus king of Egypt. Danaus had fifty daughters, who were married to the same number of sons of Ægyptus; and who all, by the command of their father, murdered their husbands the

must all pass who subsist upon the fruits of the earth, *whether rich or poor*, kings or peasants. In vain do we avoid bloody battles, and the raging waves of the blustering Adriatic sea: in vain do we shun in autumn the south-wind so injurious to our health; *for* we must, at last, visit the slow and winding course of the black Cocytus, the infamous race of Danäus, and Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, condemned to eternal toil. *In fine*, you must quit your country, your house, your wife *the* agreeable *object of your love;* and not one of all these trees you *now* cultivate with so much care, will follow you their short-lived master, except the cypress. Your heir, more liberal, will lavish away the Cæcubian wines, now kept under a hundred keys, and stain the floors with more generous liquor than that which is used at the sumptuous entertainments of our priests *themselves*.

NOTES.

very first night after the marriage, except Hypermnestra alone. By way of punishment for their impiety, they were condemned in hell to fill a leaky cask with water.

20. *Sisyphus Æolides.*] Sisyphus was the son of Æolus, and slain by Theseus, because he infested all Attica with his robberies. He was condemned to roll a great stone to the top of a very high mountain, which came always tumbling down upon him again; and thus his labour was perpetually renewed.

25. *Dignior.*] This word serves very happily to express Horace's meaning, that those who do not freely use their wealth, are unworthy to possess it. It indirectly exhorts Posthumus to a more generous way of life.

26. *Et mero tinget pavimentum superbo.*] Some interpreters have believed, that Horace here speaks of a custom usually practised by the Greeks at their feasts, and which they derived from the Sicilians. After drinking, they threw the wine that remained in the cup to the ground, and endeavoured to do it in such a manner, that it came to the pavement, and struck against it all at once. There were sometimes prizes bestowed upon those who did it with the greatest art and dexterity; but this does not appear to me to be the sense of the poet. He only would intimate, that a more worthy heir would be lavish of that wine which Posthumus had preserved with so much care.

28. *Pontificum potiore cœnis.*] Dacier enumerates three different ways of explaining this line: first, that this wine was more costly than the entire feasts of the priests: secondly, that it would have been better to employ it at the feasts of the priests: thirdly, that it was more excellent than what was used at these feasts. That which he most approves is the second, as it gives a beautiful turn to the sense. Thus Horace equally blames the too great avarice of the first master, and the too great prodigality of the second, and concludes with a religious turn;—This wine ought not to have been guarded with so much care, nor spent in so lavish a manner; it should rather have been presented to the priests, to serve at their entertainments. Sanadon, on the contrary, thinks that Dacier has pitched upon that sense which is least capable of being supported, and that either of the other two would have done much better.

ODE XV.

Horace wrote this with a view of opposing the luxury and prodigality of the age in which he lived. The tranquillity which reigned at Rome after the conclusion of the civil wars, invited the opulent to build magnificent houses in town and country; and to employ great tracts of land for gardens, avenues, ponds, &c. all which, though they served very much to adorn Italy, yet were

Jam pauca aratro jugera regiæ
Moles relinquent: undique latiùs
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu; platanusque cœlebs
Evincet ulmos: tum violaria, et
Myrtus, et omnis copia narium,
Spargent olivetis odorem,
Fertilibus domino priori:
Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludet ictus. Non ita Romuli
Præscriptum, et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis, veterumque normâ.
Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis

ORDO.

Regiæ moles jam relinquent pauca jugera aratro: stagna undique visentur extenta latius Lucrino lacu: cœlebsque platanus evincet ulmos: tum violaria, et myrtus, et omnis copia narium, spargent *suum* odorem *in* olivetis fertilibus priori domino: tum spissa laurea ramis excludet fervidos ictus *solis*.

Non ita præscriptum *erat* auspiciis Romuli et intonsi Catonis, normaque veterum. Census privatus erat illis brevis, commune *erat*

NOTES.

3. *Lucrino lacu.*] This was a lake of Campania, not far from the lake Avernus, and joined to it afterward by Augustus, who made a harbour of it, which went by the name of the Julian port.

4. *Platanusque cœlebs.*] He calls the plane-tree *cœlebs*, in opposition to the elm, which, like the poplar, is often joined with the vine; but the plane serves for nothing but pleasure, because it makes a very thick shade, as Virgil says in his fourth Book of Georgics:

Jamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbram.

See the prose translation of Virgil, p. 196.

9. *Spissa ramis laurea.*] Horace here uses *laurea* instead of *laurus*, and blames the luxury and delicacy of the Romans, who had

ODE XV.

evident proofs of the corruption of manners, and decay of the ancient simplicity. Horace declaims against this excessive prodigality; declares that it was expressly contrary to the maxims and laws of the ancient Romans, who were magnificent only in the public edifices; and thus makes a beautiful contrast between the luxury of the present Romans and the frugality of their ancestors.

THE magnificent structures which are in our days erected, will, in a little time, scarcely leave a sufficiency of ground to be tilled*. We shall soon see ponds on all sides, of a greater extent than the Lucrine lake, and the barren plane will be preferred to the elms. The beds of violets, myrtles, and the whole species of odoriferous plants, will soon perfume those fields that were formerly planted with olives, which brought a considerable revenue to their former master. The bushy laurel with its branches will soon ward off the scorching rays of the sun. This is expressly contrary to the decrees of Romulus, the laws of the virtuous Cato, and the regulations of our first wise legislators. In the time of those great men, the estates of private persons were but small; but the treasury of the republic was rich. None of the citizens possessed spacious galleries for the reception of the north

* To the plough.

NOTES.

found the secret of making the laurel grow and shoot out its branches in such a manner that it afforded a very ample shade.

9. *Fervidos excludet ictus.*] The figure here used is beautiful and bold. Other poets have said, *Ictus solis, Phœbi, luminis.* But lyric poetry allows something still stronger. They who read *æstus*, or *ignes*, instead of *ictus*, weaken the expression greatly, and injure Horace, by obtruding a correction for which there is no foundation.

11. *Intonsi Catonis.*] Marcus Portius was of Tusculum, in the country of the Latins. His wisdom obtained him the surname of Cato, which descended to his posterity: to distinguish him from others of the same name, he is usually called Cato the Censor, having discharged that office with great reputation. Horace calls him *Intonsus*, because the ancient Romans had not the custom of cutting off their hair, as appears from several consular medals yet extant.

13. *Privatus illis census erat brevis.*] For Romulus, in the distribution of the Roman land, assigned only two acres to every man. Cato the Censor had a very small inheritance in the country of the Sabines; and, among the ancient Romans, the most considerable

Metata privatis opacam
Porticus excipiebat Arcton:
Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumtu jubentes, et Deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo.

ORDO.

magnum: nulla porticus metata decempedis excipiebat opacum Arcton privatis: nec leges sinebant spernere fortuitum cespitem, jubentes decorare oppida publico sumtu, et templa Deorum novo saxo.

NOTES.

did not leave a sufficiency for their interment; the expense of which, in consequence of individual poverty, fell upon the public. In those days, says Valerius Maximus, every man endeavoured to increase the revenue of his country, not his own; and preferred being poor in a rich empire, to being rich in a poor one. *Patriæ enim rem unusquisque, non suam, augere properabat; pauperque in divite, quam dives in paupere imperio, versari malebat.*

15. *Opacam excipiebat Arcton.*] In the time of Romulus, and even in that of Cato, it was not usual for private men to raise

ODE XVI.

Horace, in this ode, proceeds upon the principles of the Epicurean philosophy, and represents tranquillity of mind, and an exemption from irregular passions, as the highest degree of happiness that a man can attain. And indeed it must be acknowledged, that when Horace treats of the system of Epicurus, human wisdom is incapable of producing any more just or reasonable. The pleasure of that philosopher, a pleasure abused by libertinism, and condemned by ignorance, was nothing but a happy and agreeable life, consisting in that tranquillity of mind which results from the practice of every thing that is commendable and praise-worthy, and a careful endeavour to avoid the contrary. From this principle are derived all those beautiful maxims that are

AD GROSPHUM.

Otium Divos rogat in patenti
Prensus Ægæo, simul atra nubes

ORDO.

Prensus in patenti *mari* Ægeo rogat Divos otium, simul atra nubes condidit lunam,

NOTES.

2. *Ægæo.*] The Ægean sea is that part of the Mediterranean which we call the Archipelago, and which extends between European Turkey and Asia Minor, from the

wind, that they might enjoy the coolness of it *in the summer-season.* The laws did not permit any one to contemn the small portion of land that was assigned to him by lot; nor did they encourage the erection of magnificent buildings at the public expense, except the walls of cities and temples of the gods.

NOTES.

magnificent porticoes towards the north, where they might taste a refreshing coolness during the summer. But, by degrees, when luxury and effeminacy began to take place of the ancient austerity, this custom became prevalent.

16. *Arcton.*] The Bear is a northern constellation, not far from the pole. It is called the Little Bear, to distinguish it from another of the same name, which appears more towards the south.

17. *Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem.*] Commentators have been very much deceived upon this passage. By *fortuitum cespitem*, Horace here means the moderate proportion assigned to every private man in the division of the conquered lands by lot. They were obliged to dwell in the house which they there found already built to their hands, which Juvenal calls *glebam*, and Horace *cespitem*. The Greeks and Romans derived from the Jews this custom of dividing the conquered lands.

18. *Oppida publico sumtu jubentes.*] In these last lines, we see the principal subject of this ode. Horace commends the laws of the ancient Romans, to make these praises fall on Augustus, who had not only repaired old edifices, but built temples.

ODE XVI.

scattered up and down in the works of this poet, and which appear in a particular manner in this ode, where he offers to his friend some counsels and directions which seem to be the very dictates of reason itself. After having spoken of bodily rest and ease, he proposes tranquillity of mind, as an object yet more worthy of our pursuit. The expression and versification correspond exactly with the design of the ode; and the whole conducted in such a manner, as to do honour to the precepts of Epicurus, and establish the reputation of the poet.

TO GROSPHUS.

He that is surprised with a storm on the vast Ægean sea, when a black cloud has overshadowed the moon, and he cannot see a

NOTES.

streights of the Dardanelles to the isle of Candia. This sea has been named *Mare Ægæum*, that is, *fluctuosum, procellosum*, because with the least gale of wind its waves skip and dance about like goats; for the Greeks called αἶγας [goats] those foaming billows wherewith the Archipelago is almost wholly covered during a violent storm.

Condidit lunam, neque certa fulgent
Sidera nautis;
Otium bello furiosa Thrace,
Otium Medi pharetrâ decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis, neque purpurâ venale, nec auro.
Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circùm
Tecta volantes.
Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in mensâ tenui salinum;
Nec leves somnos timor aut cupido
Sordidus aufert.
Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
Multa? quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? patriæ quis exsul
Se quoque fugit?
Scandit æratas vitiosa naves
Cura; nec turmas equitum relinquit,
Ocior cervis, et agente nimbos
Ocior Euro.
Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est
Oderit curare, et amara lento
Temperet risu: nihil est ab omni
Parte beatum.
Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem;
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus;
Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negârit,
Porriget hora.

ORDO.

neque sidera fulgent nautis certa. O Grosphe, Thrace furiosa bello *rogat* otium, Medi decori pharetra *rogant* otium, non venale gemmis, neque purpura, nec auro.

Non enim gazæ, neque consularis lictor summovet miseros tumultus mentis, et curas volantes circum laqueata tecta. Bene vivitur parvo *ab illo*, cui paternum salinum splendet in mensa tenui; *cui* nec timor aut sordidus cupido aufert leves somnos.

Quid *nos* fortes jaculamur multa brevi ævo? Quid mutamus terras calentes alio sole? Quis exsul patriæ fugit se quoque? Cura vitiosa scandit naves æratas; nec relinquit turmas equitum, ocior cervis, et ocior Euro agente nimbos.

Animus lætus in præsens oderit curare *id* quod est ultra; et temperet amara lento risu: nihil est beatum ab omni parte. Cita mors abstulit clarum Achillem; longa senectus minuit Tithonum; et forsan hora porriget mihi *id* quod negarit tibi.

NOTES.

7. *Grosphe.*] This is a foreign name, and signifies, in the Greek, a dart. It is highly probable, that he is the same person with Pompeius Grosphus, of whom the poet speaks, Epist. twelfth, Book first.

known star to steer his course by, asks nothing so much of the gods as repose *and tranquillity.* It is repose, *dear* Grosphus, that is wished for by warlike Thrace, and by the Medes who look so graceful with a quiver; repose, that cannot be purchased with jewels, purple, or gold: for riches and the consul's officers cannot remove the uneasy troubles of the mind, or cares that fly about gilded cielings. He alone lives happy who is satisfied with a competency, and takes pleasure to see his father's plate on his frugal table, and whom fear and sordid avarice prevent not from sleeping. Why do we form so many and great designs, we who live so short a time? Why do we go to climates warmed by another sun? Who *is the man that,* by flying his country, can also fly himself? Care that preys upon us, goes in a ship with us; it keeps pace with the troops, is more fleet than the deers, and swifter than the east-wind that disperses the clouds. A mind contented with its present state will not vex itself about what is to come, but will sweeten the bitters of life with pleasure and joy: for no one can be entirely happy in this world. A sudden death carried off the famous Achilles; a tedious old age wasted the excellent Tithonus; and time will, perhaps, grant to me what it will deny to you. You have a hundred flocks

NOTES.

9. *Gazæ.*] This word is derived from the Persian language, and originally signified the treasures of the Persian monarch. The Romans made use of it to express great riches.

9. *Neque consularis summovet lictor.*] The lictors were twelve officers who marched before the consul, and carried his ensigns of honour. It was also their office to clear the way for the consul, and remove the crowd; which furnished Horace with this fine idea. The lictor can remove the people, and make them retire; but he cannot remove the troubles of the mind, &c. At Rome, the officers had no power to compel the ladies to retire, or give place to the magistrates, lest, under that pretence, the officers should push them, or hurt them.

17. *Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo.*] How happily is this expressed! Our desires may be said to be the arrows of our hearts, which we are still endeavouring to shoot beyond the mark of life.

25. *Lætus in præsens.*] To set bounds to our desires, and bear with patience the troubles we cannot possibly shun, is the only way to keep our passions in subjection, and render them subservient to our happiness.

31. *Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit, &c.*] As if Horace had said, Although I cannot boast of being equal to you in riches, or the other advantages of fortune, she may notwithstanding grant me some favours which she has denied to you, and lengthen out my life considerably beyond the measure of yours. But the poet expresses himself in a dark and ambiguous manner, to cover and soften the harshness of the supposition.

Te greges centum, Siculæque circum
Mugiunt vaccæ ; tibi tollit hinnitum
Apta quadrigis equa ; te bis Afro
Murice tinctæ
Vestiunt lanæ : mihi parva rura, et
Spiritum Graiæ tenuem Camenæ,
Parca non mendax dedit, et malignum
Spernere vulgus.

ORDO.

Centum greges, Siculæque vaccæ mugiunt circum te ; equa apta quadrigis tollit hinnitum tibi ; lanæ bis tinctæ Afro murice vestiunt te : Parca non mendax dedit mihi parva rura, et tenuem spiritum Graiæ Camenæ, et spernere malignum vulgus.

NOTES.

35. *Bis Afro murice tinctæ.*] *Murex* was a kind of oyster, now unknown. It had in its shell a certain juice or blood, of which they made the finest purple. As this was very

ODE XVII.

Mæcenas had, in his infancy, contracted a disorder which continued to affect him for the remainder of his life, and attended him to his very grave, of which I very much question whether physicians can produce another such example. This was an habitual fever, which gradually weakened him. *Quibusdam*, says Pliny, *perpetua febris est, ut Cilnio Mæcenati.* This internal fire could not fail in time quite to alter his complexion ; and the continuance of it must naturally throw him into an extreme melancholy, especially during the latter part of his life. It is probable that he sometimes discovered this misfortune to his friend, and expressed a tender and passionate regret at parting with life, notwithstanding all the evils and

AD MÆCENATEM ÆGROTUM.

Cur me querelis exanimas tuis ?
Nec Dîs amicum est, nec mihi, te priùs
Obire, Mæcenas, mearum
Grande decus columenque rerum.
Ah, te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æquè, nec superstes
Integer ? Ille dies utramque

ORDO.

O Mæcenas, grande decus columenque mearum rerum, cur exanimas me tuis querelis ? nec amicum est Diis, nec mihi, te obire prius. Ah ! si maturior vis rapit te partem meæ animæ, quid *ego* altera *pars* moror, nec *futurus* æque charus, nec integer *si sim* superstes ? Ille dies ducet utramque ruinam :

of sheep *that feed on your hills*, and Sicilian kine that low around you; mares fit to draw the chariots *at the Olympic races*, make all your pastures ring with their neighings; and you are clothed in purple of the deepest dye. To me the indulgent Fates have given a little country-seat, the fine spirit of the Sapphic muse, and *a soul* to despise the malignant vulgar.

NOTES.

dear, those who wished to distinguish themselves had their wool or cloth twice dipped in it, as Horace observes here.

39. *Parca non mendax.*] It was a prevailing notion among the ancients, that the *Parcæ* or Destinies regulated not only the duration, but also the lot of human life; and it was also believed, that whatever they had once decreed, was fixed and immutable. Hence the expressions *Parca non mendax*, *Parca tenax veri*, *Vosque veraces cecinisse Parcæ*.

ODE XVII.

calamities that attended it. Horace, moved by these complaints, composed this ode, where he prays Mæcenas no more to dispirit him by such mournful and afflicting discourses, declares that it would be impossible for him to survive him, which he proves by the conformity of their destinies, especially the danger they were both equally in of losing their lives; and, lastly, to remove those gloomy apprehensions, he proposes, that they shall renew their sacrifices to the gods, in return for their care and goodness. The whole performance is of an exquisite taste; the design is well laid, and very happily conducted; and the tenderness of sentiment which reigns throughout, does no less honour to Mæcenas than to Horace.

TO MÆCENAS WHEN SICK.

Why do you kill me with your *repeated* complaints? It is neither agreeable to the gods nor to me that you should die first, Mæcenas, my greatest glory and most generous patron *. Alas! should an untimely death carry off you, *and thus deprive me of* the better part of myself, why should the other continue here? I who, *without you*, am not so dear *to the people of Rome*, and cannot survive you entire. On the same fatal day shall both our deaths happen.

* Support of my affairs.

NOTES.

8. *Ille dies utramque ducet ruinam.*] This is an expression full of tenderness and affection. Horace wishes that he may accompany Mæcenas even to the grave; and there is little reason to doubt his sincerity. When we lose the person in the world who

Ducet ruinam: non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
Utcunque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Me nec Chimæræ spiritus igneæ,
Nec, si resurgat, centimanus gigas
Divellet unquam: sic potenti
Justitiæ placitumque Parcis.
Seu Libra, seu me Scorpius aspicit
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis horæ, seu tyrannus
Hesperiæ Capricornus undæ;
Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo

ORDO.

ego non dixi sacramentum perfidum: ibimus, *unà* ibimus, utcunque *tu* præcedes, comites parati carpere supremum iter. Nec spiritus igneæ Chimæræ, nec centimanus gigas, si resurgat, unquam divellet me *a te*: sic placitum *est* potenti Justitiæ Parcisque. Seu Libra aspicit me, seu formidolosus Scorpius, pars *illa* violentior natalis horæ; seu Capricornus tyrannus Hesperiæ undæ; utrumque nostrum astrum consentit modo incredibili.

NOTES.

is dearest to us, and who merits most of our esteem, the most desirable happiness is not to survive him, but to accompany him even in death, and be interred with him in the same tomb.

10. *Perfidum dixi sacramentum.*] *Sacramentum* is properly the oath of fidelity which the soldiers took when they were enrolled; and it is to this custom that Horace alludes here. It is only proper to take notice that, although there is no formal oath taken in the preceding lines, it is included in this protestation;

——— *Ille dies utramque*
Ducet ruinam.—

11. *Præcedes.*] Horace kept his word, this happening as he said; for Mæcenas died in October, and Horace on the 27th of November, in the same year.

13. *Chimæræ.*] Chimæra was a mountain in Lycia, which emitted fire and smoke, after the manner of Ætna. On the top of the mountain were kept lions, the middle afforded pasture for goats, and in the lower part of it might be seen the dens of dragons. This gave occasion for the poets to feign a monster, the upper part of which resembled a lion, the middle a goat, and the lowest a dragon.

14. *Gigas.*] Cæus, Briareus, and Gyas, were three giants, the sons of Heaven and Earth. They had each fifty heads and a hundred hands, and, imagining themselves invincible, entered upon a design of dethroning Jupiter, by whom they were overcome and destroyed.

17. *Seu Libra, &c.*] Whatever constellation he was born under, he affirms that it agrees perfectly with that of Mæcenas, and consequently, that it is impossible he can survive him: for the ancients were of opinion, that the lives of men were, in a great measure, regulated by the stars which presided at their nativity; that is, which rose, or appeared above the horizon, the moment they came into the world. The constellations here mentioned, are the seventh, eighth, and tenth signs of the zodiac.

18. *Pars violentior natalis horæ.*] *Pars* here signifies the same that the Greeks called μοῖρα, viz. that part of the sign which appears above the horizon at the very moment

I have not sworn in vain; we shall go, we shall go together: the moment you go before me, I am ready to follow, or rather accompany you in the last journey. Neither the *terrible* Chimæra who breathes nothing but fire; nor, were he to rise again, that gigantic monster with a hundred hands, shall ever tear me from you; for thus it hath seemed good to powerful Themis and the Fates. Whether I was born under the sign Libra *, or under the formidable sign Scorpion, that most dangerous place of the horoscope, or under Capricorn, that tyrant of the western sea, *I know not; but* our stars agree in an incredible manner. *For, as* the bright star of

* Whether Libra beholds me.

NOTES.

of birth; for every sign is divided into several parts, which make as many horoscopes, and are therefore called *natales horæ*. This passage is somewhat difficult; and those who think Horace speaks of the whole sign *Scorpio*, have certainly fallen into a mistake.

19. *Seu tyrannus Hesperiæ Capricornus undæ.*] Capricorn, as we observed before, is the tenth sign of the zodiac. Astrologers have attributed to every one of these signs their particular virtues, and assigned to them their several parts of the earth over which they rule. Capricorn had all the west, which Horace here understands by Hesperia. Thus Manilius, Book third, says,

Tu, Capricorne, regis quidquid sub sole cadente.

"Thou, Capricorn, rulest all the countries under the setting sun."

And Propertius, Elegy first, Book fourth,

Lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua?

"And Capricorn, which washes itself in the western ocean."

Horace here calls it the tyrant of that sea, in the same manner as elsewhere he says, the south-wind is the governor and arbiter of the Adriatic; for it is observable, that it excites frequent tempests in this sea, as Servius remarks on the first Book of the Georgics: *Saturnus in Capricorno facit gravissimas pluvias, præcipue in Italia: unde Horatius ait, Seu tyrannus, &c.* "When "Saturn is in Capricorn, he raises dreadful "tempests, especially in Italy; for which "reason Horace calls Capricorn the tyrant "of the Hesperian ocean." But Servius here falls into an error, when he takes Hesperia for Italy instead of the west; for Italy was not attributed to Capricorn, but to Libra or Sagittarius.

21. *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum.*] In order to understand this passage rightly, we must observe, that to render the lives and fortunes of two persons equal, and that there might be a perfect correspondence between them, it was necessary that their horoscope had been the same; in other words, that they were born under the same part of a sign, and at the same time. But, as Horace was not of the same age with Mæcenas, he contents himself with saying, that there was a great conformity between their stars, and that, to judge by the events of their lives, one would be apt to think they had been born under the same constellation. It is for this reason that Horace says *incredibili modo*, in an incredible manner, because it was impossible that two different horoscopes should have that effect. Thus Persius, in imitation of this passage, says,

Non equidem hoc dubites, amborum fœdere certo
Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci.

"There is not the least ground for doubt, "that our lives have a perfect resemblance "to each other: they are regulated by the "same stars, they are under the influence "of the same horoscope."

Consentit astrum. Te Jovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit, volucrisque fati
Tardavit alas, cùm populus frequens
Lætum theatris ter crepuit sonum :
Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextrâ levâsset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum. Reddere victimas
Ædemque votivam memento :
Nos humilem feriemus agnam.

ORDO.

Refulgens tutela Jovis eripuit te impio Saturno, tardavitque alas volucris fati, cum populus frequens ter crepuit lætum sonum *in* theatris : truncus illapsus cerebro sustulerat me, nisi Faunus custos Mercurialium virorum levasset ictum *sua* dextra.

Tu memento reddere victimas, ædemque votivam : nos feriemus humilem agnam.

NOTES.

These words, *There is no ground for doubt*, are frequently used when we are about to express something impossible or incredible.

22. *Te Jovis impio tutela.*] It is probable that Mæcenas had consulted astrologers about his horoscope, who had found

ODE XVIII.

This ode is purely moral, and was intended as condemnatory of the luxury and avarice of his countrymen. The sentiments are grave and just, the style nervous, and the versification correct and harmonious. In some manuscripts it has for its title *Varo*; whence Torrentius has conjectured that it was addressed to Quint. Varus, spoken of in Ode XVIII. Book I But if we

Non ebur, neque aureum
Meâ renidet in domo lacunar ;
Non trabes Hymettiæ
Premunt columnas ultimâ recisas

ORDO.

Non ebur, neque aureum lacunar renidet in mea domo ; Hymettiæ trabes non premunt columnas *meas* recisas in ultimâ Africâ ; neque

Jupiter rescued you from cruel Saturn, and stopped the precipitate flight of fate, when the people, assembled in *Pompey's* theatre, received you with repeated acclamations of joy; *in like manner*, a fatal tree would assuredly have fallen on my head and killed me, had not the god Faunus, the protector of poets, averted the blow with his hand. Remember then, *Mœcenas*, to offer the sacrifices you promised *to Jupiter*, and consecrate the temple which you vowed: for my part, I shall offer him an humble lamb.

NOTES.

that Jupiter, a good and benign planet, had corrected the bad influences of Saturn. Horace calls Saturn impious, either because he devoured his own children, or rendered men impious.

25. *Cum populus frequens.*] Mœcenas, after his recovery from a dangerous sickness, the first time he appeared in the theatre, was received by the people with the greatest acclamations. See Ode XX. Book I.

28. *Nisi Faunus ictum.*] The design of Horace is to show a great conformity between his destiny and that of Mœcenas. Therefore, after having taken notice, with regard to his friend, that Jupiter had corrected the malignity of Saturn, he proceeds to confirm the likeness of their fates, by mentioning a similar occurrence in his own life; he being almost crushed to pieces by the fall of a tree, when some favourable power prevented his destruction.

29. *Mercurialium virorum.*] That is, men of learning, poets, because Mercury is the father of letters and eloquence. Horace here represents Faunus as the protector of poets and men of learning, because he was a rustic god, who inhabited the woods and forests, the delight of studious men, where they often love to retire.

ODE XVIII.

consider the matter narrowly, we shall find that it is general, and without inscription. It is probable that the following circumstance gave occasion to this false title. Avarice is the principal subject of the ode; and possibly some of the literati might have written at the head of it *Avaro*, the first letter of which being effaced by time or some other accident, there remained nothing but *Varo*. This, it is probable, gave rise to Torrentius' opinion.

NEITHER ivory, nor gilded cielings, dazzle the eye in my house; you see no cedar beams from mount Hymettus, supported with columns of marble cut in the remotest parts of Africa: I do not possess the

NOTES.

3. *Trabes Hymettiæ.*] Beams of wood from trees which grew upon Hymettus, a mountain of Attica.

Africâ; neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi;
Nec Laconicas mihi
Trahunt honestæ purpuras clientæ:
At fides et ingeni
Benigna vena est; pauperemque dives
Me petit: nihil supra
Deos lacesso, nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
Truditur dies die,
Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ.
Tu secanda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus, et, sepulcri
Immemor, struis domos;
Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
Summovere litora,
Parum locuples continente ripâ.
Quid, quòd usque proximos
Revellis agri terminos, et ultra
Limites clientium
Salis avarus? pellitur paternos

ORDO.

Ego ignotus hæres occupavi regiam Attali; nec honestæ clientæ trahunt purpuras Laconicas mihi. At fides est *mihi*, et benigna vena ingenii; divesque petit me pauperem.

Ego, satis beatus unicis Sabinis, lacesso Deos nihil supra, nec flagito *meum* potentem amicum largiora.

Dies truditur die, Lunæque novæ pergunt interire. Tu, sub ipsum funus, locas marmora secanda, et, immemor sepulchri, struis domos; parumque locuples continente ripâ, urges summovere litora maris obstrepentis Baiis.

Quid *dicam*, quod usque revellis proximos terminos agri, et avarus salis ultra limites

NOTES.

5. *Attali ignotus hæres.*] Some have thought that this was a stroke of satire in Horace, who hereby insinuates, that the people of Rome had that testament by which Attalus Philometor had declared the nation his heir. But it is not at all credible, that Horace would have called the people of Rome *ignotus hæres*, after the many alliances they made with Attalus and Eumenes the second; it is more probable that he means Aristonicus, who, after the death of Attalus, gave out that he was the son of Eumenes, took possession of the kingdom, defeated Licinius Crassus, and was at last conquered by Perpenna, brought to Rome, and strangled in prison.

7. *Laconicas purpuras.*] Laconia was a region of Peloponnesus, and famous on account of its purple, which was the finest in Europe; it was worn chiefly by persons of the patrician order, or such as were in some employment of dignity.

8. *Honestæ clientæ.*] The distinction of *Patroni* and *Clientes* was first established by Romulus. His design, in this institution, was to settle a firm union and connexion between the patricians and plebeians; for which purpose he recommended some of the plebeians as objects of protection to the pa-

palace of Attalus as his pretended heir; nor do ladies, as my clients, spin purple robes for me. But I have sincerity, and a genius for poetry; in consequence of which, though poor, I am courted by the great. I importune not the gods for any thing beyond my present possessions; and, being abundantly happy in the enjoyment of my seat at Sabinum, I ask my friend for no more donations. One day makes way for another, and every new moon hastens to its end; but you, though you have one foot in the grave, give out marble to be cut; and, without once thinking of your monument, you build houses: not satisfied with the continent, you are at great pains *and expense* to extend the shore of the sea that beats with great violence against the walls of Baiæ. But what shall I say of your avarice in removing your neighbour's land-mark, and encroaching on the limits of your vassals? We

NOTES.

tricians, and imposed on both certain conditions, which they were bound to observe. In time, this custom extended itself in such a manner, that entire foreign provinces followed the example. Thus Lacedemon was under the protection of the Livian family, and Sicily under that of Marcellus. It is probable that Horace here means the clients' wives of some foreign province, and that the epithet, *honestæ*, does not signify beautiful, as some have imagined, but of noble rank or birth; therefore the sense of Horace seems to be this, that he had no clients of distinguished birth in Laconia, to prepare clothes for him of that fine purple which their country produced: for we are to remark, that the condition of a client was only a more honourable kind of slavery.

12. *Potentem amicum.*] Mæcenas, I presume, is the person whom Horace calls his powerful friend. He knew he would refuse him nothing that he demanded. Thus, Ode XVI. Book III.

Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.

But, as he had a competency, he was desirous of nothing more.

15. *Truditur dies die.*] He begins to attack directly, though in general terms, the manners of his age. He does it with great freedom and zeal; and it is worthy of notice, that he unites avarice and profusion in the same person, which, though at first view seemingly a contradiction, is yet allowed by all to be a just stroke in the character of men. *Alieni appetens, sui profusus*, is not a way of thinking peculiar to Sallust alone.

20. *Baïis.*] Baiæ was a city of Campania on the sea-coast, famed for its pleasant situation, and the wholesome water round it. This invited many of the opulent to build houses for their pleasure near it.

24. *Ultra limites clientium.*] Horace, the more effectually to oppose the luxury of his countrymen, represents here the unjust practices to which it urged men, to encroach upon the bounds of their neighbours, and, what was yet an instance of greater iniquity, to deprive clients of what in equity belonged to them.

26. *Pellitur paternos, &c.*] Horace gives here a lively description of the calamities and disasters which are brought upon a people by the ambition and irregular passions of the great men. They stick at nothing to compass their ends. The poor are unjustly driven from their possessions, and they and their innocent infants exposed to the greatest hardships, only to give their rich and powerful masters an opportunity of enlarging their enclosures.

In sinu ferens Deos
Et uxor, et vir, sordidosque natos.
Nulla certior tamen,
Rapacis Orci sede destinatâ,
Aula divitem manet
Herum. Quid ultra tendis? æqua tellus
Pauperi recluditur
Regumque pueris; nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea
Revexit auro captus. Hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
Genus coercet: hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus,
Vocatus atque non vocatus, audit.

ORDO.

clientium? Et uxor, et vir, ferens paternos Deos in sinu, natosque sordidos, pellitur. Nulla tamen aula manet divitem herum certior destinata sede rapacis Orci.

Quid tendis ultra? tellus æqua recluditur pauperi puerisque regum; nec *Charon* satelles Orci, auro captus, revexit callidum Promethea. Hic coercet superbum Tantalum atque genus Tantali: hic vocatus, atque non vocatus, audit levare pauperem functum laboribus.

NOTES.

28. *Sordidosque natos.*] That is, *Sordidis vestibus indutos.* And Horace adds this circumstance, to represent the more strongly the avarice and wretchedness of those whom he here describes, who suffered their servants and clients to carry off nothing but their old thread-bare clothes, and domestic gods.

29. *Nulla certior tamen.*] This passage is somewhat obscure, but may be rendered more intelligible by ordering the words thus: *Nulla tamen aula manet divitem herum certior destinata sede rapacis Orci.* Sanadon fancies, that Horace meant to oppose

ODE XIX.

This is one of the finest odes of Horace; it is full of that noble enthusiasm known only to great poets. We cannot determine the time of its composition; we know only that it was designed for some of the feasts of Bacchus. The eulogium of the god is complete, and is carried to the highest per-

IN BACCHUM.

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem, (credite, posteri)

ORDO.

O posteri, credite, *ego* vidi Bacchum in remotis rupibus docentem carmina, Nymphasque

even see wife and husband driven from their home by your orders, carrying their domestick gods and their poor children in their arms. Yet their rich and cruel lord will surely have that place in hell that is destined for him. Why then do you still go on *to increase your power and riches?* The impartial earth is ready to receive the peasant and the sons of kings; nor could Charon * ever yet be bribed by gold to bring back subtile Prometheus. He confines in his territories proud Tantalus and all his race; and, whether invoked or not, he is ever ready to relieve the poor man from all his miseries in this life.

* The porter of hell.

NOTES.

this idea to the brutal avarice of the usurpers, whom death would equally despoil of all their possessions, as they had despoiled others. Agreeably to this notion, he disposes the words in the following manner: *Divitem herum æque ac pauperem clientem non certior manet aula quam rapacis Orci, sedes omnibus destinata.* I have proposed the sentiments both of Sanadon and Dacier, that the reader may be able to determine for himself; but Dacier's seems more natural.

34. *Satelles Orci.*] Charon, the god so well known in mythology. His name, in the Ægyptian language, signifies a waterman. The employment assigned to him, was to convey to hell over the Stygian lake the souls of the dead. He was the son of Erebus and Nox.

36. *Superbum Tantalum.*] He calls Tantalus proud, haughty, either on account of his riches, which were so considerable as to pass into a proverb; or for his insolence, in presenting his own son to the gods for a repast.

38. *Hic levare functum.*] Horace had before said, that death would overtake every man; neither rich nor poor are exempt from the grave. Here he shows the distinction that will be made between them; death, to the poor, is the beginning of their repose and happiness, to the rich it is the end of all their pleasures.

ODE XIX.

fection. The marks of his divinity are stamped on all the parts of this vast universe. Heaven, earth, the sea, and hell, have felt the effects of his power. Horace has collected all these monuments, to furnish out an immortal trophy to Bacchus.

IN PRAISE OF BACCHUS.

I SAW Bacchus (believe me, posterity) teaching amidst solitary rocks the nymphs *to make* verses; who received *with pleasure* his

NOTES.

1. *Remotis carmina rupibus vidi docentem.*] The ancients ascribed to Bacchus two characters; to love the mountains, and to instruct. Thus both Greeks and Latins attri-

Nymphasque discentes, et aures
Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
Evœ! recenti mens trepidat metu,
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Lætatur. Evœ! parce, Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyrso.
Fas pervicaces sit mihi Thyadas,
Vinique fontem, lactis et uberes
Cantare rivos, atque truncis
Lapsa cavis iterare mella:
Fas et beatæ conjugis additum
Stellis honorem, tectaque Penthei
Disjecta non leni ruinâ,
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum:
Tu separatis uvidus in jugis
Nodo coërces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines.
Tu, cùm parentis regna per arduum
Cohors gigantum scanderet impia,
Rhœcum retorsisti leonis
Unguibus horribilique malâ;
Quanquam, chorcis aptior et jocis
Ludoque dictus, non sat idoneus
Pugnæ ferebaris; sed idem
Pacis eras mediusque belli.

ORDO.

discentes, et acutas aures capripedum Satyrorum.

Evœ! mens *mea* trepidat recenti metu, lætaturque turbidum pectore pleno Bacchi.

Evœ! O Liber metuende gravi thyrso, parce *mihi*, parce. Fas sit mihi cantare pervicaces Thyadas, fontemque vini, et uberes rivos lactis, atque iterare mella lapsa cavis truncis *arborum*. Fas *sit* et *cantare* honorem *tuæ* beatæ conjugis additum stellis, tectaque Penthei disjecta non leni ruina, et exitium Thracis Lycurgi.

Tu flectis amnes, tu *flectis* mare barbarum: tu uvidus in separatis jugis coerces crines Bistonidum nodo viperino sine fraude. Cum impia cohors gigantum scanderet regna *tui* parentis per arduum, tu retorsisti Rhœcum unguibus horribilique mala leonis; quanquam, dictus aptior choreis et jocis ludoque, ferebaris non sat idoneus pugnæ; sed *tu* idem eras medius pacis bellique.

NOTES.

buted to him the origin of all their feasts and public sports, and even of tragedy and comedy.

5. *Recenti mens trepidat metu.*] Horace saying he had seen Bacchus, as if the god actually stood before his eyes, falls into the enthusiasm which the presence of that deity naturally inspired, and represents himself as really moved and actuated by him.

7. *Parce.*] Horace imagines he sees Bacchus with his ivy spear lifted up ready to strike him for presuming to reveal his mysteries without permission, and begs pardon for his temerity in a most artful manner.

7. *Liber.*] The Latins called Bacchus, *Lyæus* and *Liber*; they are both one and the same name differently expressed. The one is derived from the Latin verb *liberare*, and the other from the Greek λυειν,

instructions, at which the Satyrs also pricked up their ears. Ah! I still tremble when I think what awful dread I was under; and my heart, full of the divinity of that god, now feels the sallies of a confused joy. Ah! pardon me, Bacchus, pardon me, thou who art so formidable *when armed* with thy powerful spear. Allow me to sing the furious transports of thy priestesses, the fountain of wine, and overflowing rivulets of milk, and to describe the *delicious* honey dropping from the trunks of trees. Permit me also to sing the bright crown of *Ariadne* thy happy consort, that new star the ornament of heaven, the dreadful overthrow of Pentheus' palace, and the terrible death of Lycurgus the Thracian. Thou changest the course of rivers, and hast the sea under thy command. Heated with thy divine liquor upon the wild mountains, thou twistest in the hair of the Bacchanals frightful snakes that do them no harm. When the impious band of giants attempted to scale heaven, *with a design to dethrone thy father*, thou alone, under the form of an enraged lion, didst with dreadful paws and devouring jaw repel *bold* Rhœcus *their leader;* and though thou wert considered by them as fitter for dancing, drollery, and pleasure, than fighting, thou soon madest them feel that thou wast as well skilled in *the achievements of* war as in *the diversions of*

NOTES.

solvere. Vinum enim mentem liberat et solvit. Wine frees the soul from care and anxiety.

8. *Thyrso.*] The thyrsus with which the poets have armed Bacchus, was a kind of half-pike adorned with ivy-leaves and vine-branches.

13. *Beatæ conjugis, &c.*] He speaks here of the crown of Ariadne, which Bacchus placed among the stars. She was the daughter of Minos king of Crete. By her advice chiefly it was, that Theseus was enabled to extricate himself out of the labyrinth. He carried her away with him from Crete, but perfidiously left her in the isle of Naxos, where she was afterwards married to Bacchus.

14. *Pentheï.*] He was king of the Thebans. Contemning the rites of Bacchus, he excited the anger of that deity, and was torn in pieces by his own mother Agave and the rest of the Bacchantes, and his house reduced to rubbish.

16. *Lycurgi.*] This Lycurgus was king of Thrace, who, seeing his subjects go to the highest excess in drinking, that he might prevent it, ordered the vines all over his kingdom to be cut down. This brought upon him the anger of Bacchus, who rendered him so furious, that he killed his own son Dryas; after which his subjects, rising in rebellion, caused him to be devoured by his own horses.

17. *Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum.*] By rivers here interpreters understand the Ganges and Indus; we may also take in the Hydaspes, &c. which he passed over dry-footed, after having struck it with his rod. The Barbarian Sea here must be the Indian, Æthiopian, or Red Sea, Bacchus having travelled as far as India. This is plainly the story of Moses' passage through the Red Sea and Jordan, applied to Bacchus.

20. *Bistonidum.*] The Bistones were a people of Thrace, so called from a lake of that name. The women also in Thrace, who performed the rites of Bacchus, were called *Bistonides.*

23. *Leonis unguibus.*] The ancients report, that in this war against the giants,

Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
Cornu decorum, leniter atterens
Caudam; et recedentis trilingui
Ore pedes tetigitque crura.

ORDO.

Cerberus insons vidit te decorum aureo cornu, leniter atterens caudam; et tetigit ore trilingui pedes cruraque *tui* recedentis.

NOTES.

Bacchus assumed the shape of a lion.

29. *Te vidit insons Cerberus.*] The ancients feigned that Bacchus descended into hell to bring thence Ariadne; though Apollodorus writes, that it was to recover his mother Semele. Horace here represents that horrible monster Cerberus as so sensible of the divinity of this god, that, far from

ODE XX.

The great men of antiquity are very much blamed by modern critics for boasting so freely, that by their writings they had rendered themselves immortal. They look upon it as contrary to the rules of modesty, and think that posterity would not have judged less favourably of them had they abstained from this excessive self-praise. It must be acknowledged, that this manner of praising one's self requires great art and nicety in order to avoid the imputation of vanity; but we ought not under this pretext to be forward in condemning Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and other great poets. Why should they not be allowed to render the same justice to themselves as they do to others; and to think, that as it is an indication of a little mind not to know itself, so it is a commendable courage to show a consciousness of those excellences which we are sure we possess? Longinus thinks

AD MÆCENATEM.

Non usitatâ nec tenui ferar
Pennâ biformis per liquidum æthera
Vates; neque in terris morabor
Longiùs; invidiâque major
Urbes relinquam. Non ego, pauperum

ORDO.

Ego vates biformis ferar per liquidum æthera pennâ non usitatâ nec tenui; neque longius morabor in terris; urbesque relinquam major invidiâ.

O Mæcenas! non ego, *licet* sanguis pauperum parentum, ego quem vocas Dilecte, non

peace. *When thou descended'st to hell,* Cerberus, at the sight of thee decked in thy golden horns, forgot his rage, and drew his tail gently to him; and when thou offered'st to withdraw, he licked thy legs and feet with his three tongues.

NOTES.

offering violence to him, he paid him marks of adoration.

29. *Aureo cornu.*] The ancients always attributed horns to Bacchus; and Dacier is of opinion, that the reason of this is to be sought only in the history of Moses, during whose descent from the mountain, after he had been there forty days (which he also thinks gave rise to the story of Bacchus' descending into hell), there were seen on his head rays of light which appeared in the form of horns.

ODE XX.

it necessary, that all those who would arrive at the excellency of good writing, should be filled with a noble pride, and believe themselves capable of great things. When a poet represents to himself the judgement which posterity will form of his writings, and, upon examination, finds that he has a genius capable of such productions as will render him immortal, this thought will add inconceivable force to his imagination, and there will appear in his compositions a fire infinitely above what was to have been expected had he been destitute of these hopes. To say any more in vindication of this ode, and the last of the following book, would be only to do Horace an injury. They are such finished pieces, that we ought rather to admire their beauties, than dwell upon their imperfections. None but Horace knew so well how to change himself into a swan, that he might fly to the east, west, north, and south.

TO MÆCENAS.

MÆCENAS, thy poet will soon be carried through the air upon uncommon wings, and which shall never fail, being partly changed *into a bird.* I shall not stay much longer on the earth; and, being *now* above envy, I shall *soon* bid adieu to the world. No, I shall not die, though born of mean parents; I, whom you are pleased

NOTES.

2. *Biformis.*] This word presents to our imagination the metamorphosis of the poet begun, but not altogether finished. He was already in part a swan, but still retained something of the man. Those who understand by *biformis* the two kinds of poetry in which Horace excelled, have quite mistaken the thought.

5. *Pauperum sanguis parentum.*] For his father was one of those who were called *Libertini,* being the son of a freed man, as his office was that of a collector of the taxes.

Sanguis parentum, non ego, quem vocas
Dilecte, Mæcenas, obibo,
Nec Stygiâ cohibebor undâ.
Jam jam residunt cruribus asperæ
Pelles, et album mutor in alitem
Supernè, nascunturque lèves
Per digitos humerosque plumæ.
Jam, Dædaleo ocior Icaro,
Visam gementis litora Bospori,
Syrtesque Gætulas, canorus
Ales, Hyperboreosque campos.
Me Colchus, et qui dissimulat metum
Marsæ cohortis Dacus, et ultimi
Noscent Geloni: me peritus
Discet Iber, Rhodanique potor.
Absint inani funere næniæ,
Luctusque turpes, et querimoniæ:
Compesce clamorem, ac sepulchri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

ORDO.

obibo, nec cohibebor Stygia unda.

Jam jam asperæ pelles residunt *meis* cruribus, et superne mutor in alitem album, levesque plumæ nascuntur per digitos humerosque. Jam *ego* canorus ales ocior Icaro Dædaleo visam litora gementis Bospori, Syrtesque Gætulas, camposque Hyperboreos.

Colchus, et Dacus qui dissimulat *suum* metum Marsæ cohortis, et ultimi Geloni, noscent me; peritus Iber discet me, potorque Rhodani.

Næniæ, turpesque luctus, et querimoniæ absint *a meo* funere inani: compesce clamorem, ac mitte supervacuos honores sepulchri.

NOTES.

6. *Non ego, quem vocas Dilecte, Mæcenas.*] All the difficulty of this passage, is to know whether we should join *dilecte* with *Mæcenas* or *vocas; i.e.* whether Mæcenas calls Horace *dilecte*, or if it be Horace that calls Mæcenas so. It is plain, that the first corresponds more with the design of the ode, and that we ought to put a comma after *dilecte:*

Non ego quem vocas Dilecte, Mæcenas,

Horace hereby insinuates, that he was not unworthy of the kindness which Mæcenas had for him, and which he testified by calling him *Dilecte*, his darling, his delight.

8. *Cohibebor.*] *Cohibere* is here used in the same sense as *coercere* in Ode 18. He expresses himself in the same manner in the 4th Ode of the following Book:

—— *Amatorem trecentæ*
Pirithoum cohibent catenæ.

to call your dear Horace, shall never die, nor shall I ever be shut up *in those abodes that are surrounded* with the river Styx. Lo! a *black* rough skin begins already to grow over my legs, and the upper part of my body is changed into a swan. Downy *white* feathers grow all over my fingers and shoulders. Being thus changed into a tuneful bird, I shall, with a flight more rapid than that of Icarus, visit the banks of the roaring Bosporus, the Syrtès of Getulia, and the lands under the north pole.

The people of Colchis, he who conceals his dread of the battalions of the Marsi, the Dacian, the remote Geloni, the wise Spaniard, and those who drink the water of the Rhone, shall all know me. Let therefore no mournful hymns be sung at my funeral, let no doleful lamentations or shameful groans be heard; suppress your crying, and forbear all funeral honours that are but superfluous.

NOTES.

10. *Album mutor in alitem.*] The swan was sacred to Apollo, and the ancients attributed to him not only a sweetness of voice, but also an ability to foresee what was to come. This was the reason why poets were supposed to be changed into swans.

14. *Gementis litora Bospori.*] He calls the Bosporus murmuring, on account of the noise which its waters make, when agitated by the wind in that narrow strait. It is for the same reason that our poet calls it *insanientem*, raging, turbulent, in the fourth Ode of the next Book.

16. *Hyperboreosque campos.*] He here means the people that are the nearest to the northern pole, those beyond whom nothing is to be found but the pole.

18. *Dacus.*] This some refer to the preceding line; but it is probable that it ought rather to be understood of the Parthians; the Daci are another set of people, who will be acquainted with his fame.

19. *Me peritus discet Iber.*] In the time of Augustus, the sciences flourished greatly in Spain and Gaul, chiefly in consequence of the zeal of the Roman colonies settled in those parts. Many learned men of those countries came to Rome, and appeared there with great reputation.

20. *Rhodanique potor.*] The Rhodanus, now the Rhone, was a river in Gaul, which was the boundary of the Helvetii, on the side next the Roman province.

22. *Luctusque turpes.*] He calls these lamentations shameful and dishonourable, as they made it be believed that he was really dead. In these last four verses Horace has happily imitated a distich of Ennius:

Nemo me lacrymis decoret, nè funera fletu
Faxit. Cur? volito vivus per ora virum.

"Let none lament my death with tears, or "complain at my funeral. I still live, and "fly through the mouths of men, or in the "sight of men." In these last words he alludes to the metamorphosis of poets into swans.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI
CARMINUM
LIBER TERTIUS.

ODE I.

We find in this Book and the fourth a far greater number of beautiful odes than are to be met with in the two preceding and the fifth, which is ordinarily called the Book of Epodes; it is highly probable, therefore, that they are the productions of a more advanced age. This is the reason why they abound so much in precepts of morality, that being the language of men in years. This first ode is wholly of the moral kind; and if no other circumstance could denote the time of its composition, yet this alone is suf-

AD ASINIUM POLLIONEM.

Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.
Favete linguis: carmina non priùs
Audita, Musarum sacerdos,
Virginibus puerisque canto.
Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis,

ORDO.

Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo. Favete linguis; *dum ego* sacerdos Musarum canto virginibus puerisque carmina non prius audita.

Imperium regum timendorum *est* in proprios greges, imperium *autem* Jovis, clari

NOTES.

2. *Favete linguis.*] To understand the force of this expression, it is necessary to take notice, that *favere linguis* properly signified *bona verba fari*, and was used on occasion of sacrifices. For the people being very superstitious, and believing that the words they heard on these occasions might have some influence in producing a good or a bad omen, the priests were themselves careful (and also warned others) to pronounce nothing but favourable words. This care, to speak nothing that might have a bad effect, kept the

HORACE'S ODES.

BOOK THIRD.

ODE I.

ficient to make us believe that Horace by this time began to grow old; yet it must be acknowledged, that age had not yet in the least diminished the fire of his imagination, or deprived him of that vigour and liveliness which appeared in his more youthful productions. His design is to show that true happiness does not depend either on honours or riches, but on a certain equanimity and contentedness of mind, which render a man superior to the inconstancy and attacks of fortune.

TO ASINIUS POLLIO.

I HATE the profane vulgar, and command them to keep at a distance. Give ear with religious attention; *while* I, the priest of the Muses, sing to *pure* virgins and *unspotted* youths *sacred* songs never heard before.

Kings, though powerful, exercise only a dominion over their own people; but kings themselves are subject to the sovereign dominion

NOTES.

people in continual fear of uttering any word that might disturb the sacrifice, so that a profound religious silence was the usual effect of the injunction. Hence the same phrase came into ordinary use, when the strictest silence was required.

4. *Virginibus puerisque canto.*] It may seem here somewhat surprising, that when Horace had before declared his verses unfit for vulgar readers, he should here tell us, they were designed for the youth, who were still less capable of comprehending their meaning and importance. By way of answer to this difficulty, we are to observe, that Horace intended these verses to instruct the youth in the knowledge of virtue. For as they consist chiefly of moral precepts, they are best calculated to make an impression on tender and docile minds; whereas grown people are ordinarily confirmed in vice, and it is

Clari giganteo triumpho,
Cuncta supercilio moventis.
Est ut viro vir latiùs ordinet
Arbusta sulcis; hic generosior
Descendat in campum petitor;
Moribus hic meliorque famâ
Contendat; illi turba clientium
Sit major. Æquâ lege necessitas
Sortitur insignes et imos:
Omne capax movet urna nomen.
Districtus ensis cui super impiâ
Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem;
Non avium citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent. Somnus agrestium
Lenis virorum non humiles domos
Fastidit, umbrosamque ripam,
Non Zephyris agitata Tempe.
Desiderantem quod satìs est, neque
Tumultuosum solicitat mare,

ORDO.

giganteo triumpho, moventis cuncta *suo* supercilio, est in reges ipsos.

Est, ut *unus* vir ordinet arbusta *in* sulcis latius *alio* viro; hic petitor descendat in campum *Martium* generosior; hic melior moribus famaque contendat; major turba clientium sit illi. Necessitas sortitur insignes et imos æqua lege· urna capax movet omne nomen.

Siculæ dapes non elaborabunt dulcem saporem *illi*, cui districtus ensis pendet super impia cervice; cantus avium citharæque non reducent *ei* somnum. Lenis somnus non fastidit humiles domos agrestium virorum, umbrosamque ripam, non Tempe agitata Zephyris.

Neque tumultuosum mare solicitat deside-

NOTES.

no easy matter to prevail with them to relinquish their bad habits.

5. *Regum timendorum.*] As the design of Horace is to show, that happiness does not depend on any station or condition of life, he begins with man in the highest rank, kings. These, though in appearance above others, and accountable to none, yet are not exempt from the jurisdiction of Jupiter, who is lord of the universe, and commands all nature by his nod.

9. *Est ut.*] Horace, after having spoken of kings, descends to those stations of life which are next in honour and dignity. Among the Romans, the highest rank was to be one of the chief magistrates. The candidates for the places left nothing unattempted to carry off the honour from the other competitors. The poet gives a brief and just enumeration of the qualities which are most considered in the persons who offered themselves. Virtue alone ought to decide in these elections: but nobility, riches, and popularity, were too often such powerful recommendations as to carry all before them; an evil that all ages and countries have found cause to complain of. *Est ut* does not here signify *fieri potest*, as some have absurdly conjectured, but *fit, evenit, quotidie accidit.* M. Dacier has evidently shown, that *est ut* is an ellipsis where *negotium* is understood. This way of speaking is not only very poetical, but at the same time perfectly agreeable to the Latin idiom. Lucretius uses it very elegantly in his fourth Book, where he says,

Hic odor ipse igitur, nares quicunque lacessit,
Est illo ut possit promitti longius ille.

of Jupiter, who is renowned for his triumph over the giants, and who with his imperial nod makes the whole world to tremble.

When candidates *for the magistracy* appear in the Campus Martius, it *often* happens, that one values himself on his planting vineyards of greater extent, another that he is of a more noble family, a third that he has more integrity and a better reputation, and a fourth that he has a greater number of vassals; but death, whose capacious urn shakes every name, draws out by an impartial law the high and low. Should a wretch observe a naked sword hanging by a hair over his head, he could not relish the most delicious Sicilian dishes, nor could the sweetest harmony of birds and lute compose him to sleep. Sound sleep disdains not the cottages* of peasants, nor the shady bank, or agreeable valleys fanned by the cooling Zephyrs. Neither the raging sea, nor the violent storm of Arcturus setting or

* Humble houses.

NOTES.

14. *Æqua lege necessitas.*] Whatever distinctions there may be among men in this world, yet, after death, these shall all vanish, and mankind shall then be reduced to a level. There will be no difference in the grave between the ashes of a magistrate or a king, and those of an artisan.

15. *Insignes et imos.*] *Insignis* signifies properly, distinguished, remarkable; and as no man can be called remarkable, who is not in some elevated station, Horace, with great propriety, opposes *insignis* to *imus* in the same manner as he has elsewhere opposed it to *obscurus*; because no man can be called obscure and concealed, but from being in a low and undistinguished station of life.

17. *Districtus ensis cui super.*] Horace here alludes to the story of Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, and Damocles, related by Cicero in his fifth Book of Tusculan Questions. Damocles was a great admirer of the riches and magnificence of the court of Dionysius, and assured the tyrant that never was any one so happy as he. Upon which Dionysius ordered him to be placed upon a chair of state, with a magnificent canopy over his head; all his gold and silver vessels were set before him, and the flower of the youth of his court were commanded to serve him. Great quantities of the finest perfumes were burned, and the tables were furnished with the most rare and exquisite dishes. Damocles imagined, that never any man enjoyed a happiness equal to his: but, in the midst of the pomp, he cast his eyes upon a naked sword, supported only by a hair, the very point of which threatened his head. No sooner was the philosopher sensible of his danger, than, disregarding the pomp and magnificence wherewith he was surrounded, he fixed his thoughts only upon the sword which hung directly over him, and every moment seemed to menace his ruin; so that he had not the courage to put out his hand to help himself, and thus in an instant did he find himself deprived of all his felicity.

18. *Siculæ dapes.*] Sicilian repasts were so remarkably fine, as to pass into a proverb, to express the most delicate food.

21. *Somnus agrestium.*] We ought to construe this passage in the following manner. *Somnus lenis non fastidit humiles domos agrestium virorum.* This remark is of no great importance, and was only designed to correct the mistake of the old interpreter, who has given it a wrong turn. It must be acknowledged that these four lines are extremely beautiful; that great repose which may be enjoyed in low life, makes an agreeable contrast, when opposed to the anxieties and inquietudes attending high stations. Men despise this happiness, only because they know not what it is; having never tasted the pleasures of a virtuous solitude, they have no desire for them, and therefore are apt to overlook and slight them.

25. *Desiderantem quod satis est.*] This is the maxim of Epicurus, recorded by Seneca: *Si ad naturam vives, numquam*

Nec sævus Arcturi cadentis
Impetus, aut orientis Hœdi:
Non verberatæ grandine vineæ,
Fundusque mendax; arbore nunc aquas
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sidera, nunc hyemes iniquas.
Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt,
Jactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Cæmenta demittit redemtor
Cum famulis, dominusque terræ
Fastidiosus: sed timor et minæ
Scandunt eodem quò dominus; neque
Decedit æratâ triremi, et
Post equitem sedet atra cura.
Quòd si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis,
Nec purpurarum sidere clarior
Delenit usus, nec Falerna
Vitis, Achæmeniumque costum;
Cur invidendis postibus, et novo
Sublime ritu moliar atrium?
Cur valle permutem Sabinâ
Divitias operosiores?

ORDO.

rantem quod satis est, nec sævus impetus Arcturi cadentis, aut Hœdi orientis: vineæ verberatæ grandine, fundusque mendax, non *solicitant eum;* arbore culpante nunc aquas nunc sidera torrentia agros, nunc hyemes iniquas.

Pisces sentiunt æquora contracta, molibus jactis in altum. Redemtor cum famulis, dominusque fastidiosus terræ, frequens demittit huc cæmenta: sed timor et minæ scandunt eodem quo dominus *scandit;* neque atra cura decedit ærata triremi, et sedet post equitem.

Quod si nec Phrygius lapis delenit dolentem, nec usus purpurarum clarior sidere; nec Falerna vitis Achæmeniumque costum; cur moliar sublime atrium invidendis postibus, et novo ritu? Cur permutem divitias operosiores *mea* valle Sabinâ?

NOTES.

eris pauper; si ad opiniones, numquam eris dives. From how many cares and anxieties might mankind deliver themselves, if they merely knew how to moderate and restrain their desires! This is, in one word, the foundation of that amiable tranquillity which constitutes the true and real happiness of life. *Quod vult habet,* says Publius Syrus, *qui velle quod satis est potest.* Those who neglect so easy a method to arrive at felicity, cannot be said seriously to desire happiness; nor, indeed, do they really deserve it.

26. *Tumultuosum solicitat mare.*] A man who can content himself with a moderate subsistence, will not be apt to carry his desires beyond sea. If he be under a necessity of engaging in commerce, that he may prevent poverty, and procure an honest

of Hœdus rising, give him the least anxiety who desires *no more than* what is *just* enough. Nor *is his peace disturbed* if his vines are battered by the hail, or his grounds deceive his expectation, his *barren* trees blaming now excessive rains, now stars parching the soil, now winters *hard and* rigorous. *But how few are so moderate in their desires!* The very fishes are sensible that the sea is contracted by the vast heaps of stones that are thrown into the deep; for, disdaining the firm ground, hither a lord repairs with great numbers of undertakers and their workmen to sink foundations for high structures: yet fear and terror climb as high as he, nor does black Care leave him on board of his armed galley; and, when he is on horseback, she seats herself behind him. Since then the most curious Phrygian marble, the very finest purple robes whose colour outshines the stars, fruitful Falernian vines, and the richest Persian perfumes, cannot compose a troubled mind; why should I desire to build a magnificent palace after a new model, with *fine saloons and* grand gates to attract *the* envy *of the public?* Why should I exchange my sweet retreat at Sabinum for riches that are attended with so much care and trouble?

NOTES.

maintenance for his family, his virtue will support him under the frowns of fortune.

27. *Arcturi cadentis.*] Arcturus is a constellation consisting of fourteen stars. Its rising is always dangerous; but its setting is still more so.

28. *Orientis Hœdi.*] *Hœdi* for *Hœdorum*, for there are two stars of this name; their rising, which is about the end of September, is always attended with rain and tempest, whence Virgil calls them *pluviales*.

33. *Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt.*] Horace, after having shown that a contented mind is in a manner proof against all the calamities of life, proceeds to take notice, that men in his time were so far from aiming at this calm and submissive temper, which alone could render them happy, that they were not satisfied with the firm land, but were contriving how, by throwing ponderous stones into the sea, they might raise a mole to serve as a foundation for building mansion-houses and houses of pleasure on that element.

35. *Redemtor.*] This is one who undertakes to finish any piece of work at his own hazard, for a certain sum of money.

41. *Quòd si.*] Horace, after having shown that all the magnificence and splendid appearances which were then so much in vogue, were not sufficient to relieve the mind from trouble and cares, concludes with a piece of reasoning the most simple, and at the same time the most convincing imaginable: I am happy with my small possessions; why then should I be anxious after more, since riches are so far from allaying our cares, that they serve only to multiply them?

47. *Cur valle permutem Sabinâ.*] The most natural way of expressing this would have been, *cur vallem permutem Sabinam divitiis*, &c. For we always give what we have, in exchange for what we have not. But Horace chooses rather to invert the order of the words, as in Ode 17. Book 1st. *Lucretilem mutat Lycæo Faunus:* the god *Faunus* changes *Lucretilis* with *Lycæus*, that is, quits *Lycæus* for *Lucretilis*.

ODE II.

The design of Horace in this ode is to recommend valour, virtue, and secrecy. The first is proper for a military person, the second for a civil, and the third for all conditions of life. Thus the ode consists of three parts, which follow naturally one after another. Those commentators are very much deceived,

AD AMICOS.

Angustam, amice, pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militiâ puer
Condiscat, et Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hastâ;
Vitamque sub dio, et trepidis agat
In rebus. Illum ex mœnibus hosticis
Matrona bellantis tyranni
Prospiciens, et adulta virgo,
Suspiret: Eheu, ne rudis agminum
Sponsus lacessat regius asperum
Tactu leonem, quem cruenta
Per medias rapit ira cædes.
Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori:
Mors et fugacem persequitur virum;
Nec parcit imbellis juventæ
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.
Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;

ORDO.

O amice, puer robustus condiscat pati angustam pauperiem *cum* acri militia, et eques, metuendus hasta, vexet Parthos feroces; agatque vitam sub dio, et in trepidis rebus.

Matrona tyranni bellantis, et adulta virgo prospiciens illum ex mœnibus hosticis, suspiret *dicens:* Eheu, ne sponsus *meus* regius rudis agminum lacessat *illum* leonem asperum tactu, quem cruenta ira rapit per medias cædes.

Dulce et decorum est mori pro patria. Mors persequitur et virum fugacem; nec parcit poplitibus timidoque tergo imbellis juventæ.

Virtus, nescia repulsæ sordidæ, fulget inta-

NOTES.

1. *Angustam, amice.*] Horace does not content himself with saying, that young men should learn in the camp to bear up under poverty, but adds, *severe* poverty. This is a great precept, and exactly answerable to the discipline of the Romans. It was this that enabled them to gain so many celebrated victories, and extend their conquests over all the nations of the then known world. While they continued to maintain this discipline, they were invincible.

ODE II.

who think that Horace in the third part departs from the subject. They could not have fallen into this mistake, had they thoroughly understood his design. The versification is admirable; and we observe through the whole a certain vivacity and nobleness of sentiment, by which Horace's compositions are usually characterised.

TO HIS FRIENDS.

My friend, a robust youth fit to undergo the fatigues of war should learn also to bear the hardships of poverty, and, with his lance *in his hand*, to harass and strike the warlike Parthians with terror: he ought also to pass the greatest part of his time in the open fields, exposed to continual danger. The consort of the king at war with us, or the princess *his daughter*, now marriageable, descrying him from the walls of their palace, heaving a deep sigh, *will say*, "God forbid that my young prince, as yet unskilled in the art of "war, should encounter that savage *young* lion, who with blood "and fury cuts his way through our slaughtered troops." It is glorious and honourable for a man to die in defence of his country. Death pursues the coward; nor does it spare the inactive, or one who shamefully turns his back *upon the enemy*.

Virtue which neither knows *nor fears* a shameful repulse, arrives at the highest pitch of honour without any base means; nor

NOTES.

6. *Illum ex mœnibus hosticis.*] These lines are extremely beautiful; nor could any thing have been more finely imagined, to flatter the Roman youth, and inspire them with a resolution to undergo, with intrepidity, all the hardships and fatigues of the camp. It is probable that Horace had in his eye that fine passage of Homer, where Helen and the Trojan ladies appear upon the walls, and take a view of the Grecian camp.

17. *Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ.*] This is the second part of the ode. Horace, after having in the first part spoken of valour, speaks here of virtue, which is always independent of the caprices of the multitude, and which, in spite of all opposition, never fails to support itself in places of the greatest eminence and distinction. We ought to call to our remembrance here the maxim of the Stoics,

Numquam privatum esse sapientem.

Repulsa signifies a refusal when one stands for an office. Horace calls it *mean* or *disgraceful*, as in the first Epistle of Book 1st.

—— *Turpemque repulsam.*

Virtue is incapable of a repulse, because the honours it aims at do not depend upon the arbitrary humours of factions and parties; it is its own recompense; the highest preferments are due to it; it meets

Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.
Virtus, recludens immeritis mori
Cœlum, negatâ tentat iter viâ;
Cœtusque vulgares; et udam
Spernit humum fugiente pennâ.
Est et fideli tuta silentio
Merces. Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgârit arcanæ, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselum. Sæpe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum:

ORDO.

minatis honoribus; nec sumit, aut ponit secures arbitrio popularis auræ. Virtus, recludens cœlum immeritis mori, tentat iter via *aliis* negata; spernitque cœtus vulgares et udam humum penna fugiente.

Est et tuta merces fideli silentio. Vetabo *ut ille*, qui vulgarit sacrum Cereris arcanæ, sit sub iisdem trabibus, solvatque *eundem* fragilem phaselum mecum. Diespiter neglectus sæpe addidit integrum incesto: pœna

NOTES.

with universal respect, and honours those who submit to its direction with an immortal crown. Pliny, in his Preface, gives us a shining instance of this virtue in one of the most professed Stoics. Varinius being preferred to Cato of Utica in the choice of a prætor, the latter, says he, far from thinking himself dishonoured by his repulse, rejoiced as much as if he had succeeded in his desires:

Repulsus tanquam honoribus indeptis gaudet.

20. *Popularis auræ.*] The voice of the people is compared to the wind, because of its inconstancy; which should not be passed over here without notice. For the phrase, *popularis aura*, relates to the two words *sumit* and *ponit*, and of consequence is to be considered as common; that is, may be taken either in a good or bad sense, although ordinarily it serves to denote rather the favour than the hatred of the people, by a metaphor taken from a calm or favourable wind, which is properly called *Aura*. This is evident from the following verses of Virgil:

Quem juxta sequitur jactantior Ancus,
Nunc quoque jam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.

See the Prose Translation of Virgil.

22. *Negatâ tentat iter viâ.*] Horace here gives a most amiable idea of virtue, as it carries a man with undaunted bravery through the most difficult and hazardous attempts, and entitles him to an everlasting happiness, at which none can arrive but those who are steady in the practice of it.

23. *Udam spernit humum.*] Horace never uses epithets in vain; and it is impossible to make their beauty and propriety be thoroughly perceived, unless a reason be given for those he employs; but interpreters have never taken such pains. We may venture to say, that the greatest part of the graces and beauties of this incomparable poet have escaped them; for as they have not seen the reason of Horace's calling the earth *humid*, they of consequence have been insensible of the finesse and elegance of this passage. He calls the earth *humid*, to denote that men are sunk and retained in it, as in mire and clay, and that they cannot disengage themselves but by the most extraordinary efforts of virtue. Doubtless he had in view a passage of Plato in his Phædo, where Socrates says, that the earth which we inhabit, and in which we are sunk, is merely the sediment of that pure earth which the blessed inhabit.

25. *Est et fideli.*] This is the third and last part of the ode. After having set before us maxims proper for the conduct both of a military and civil life, he concludes in

does she accept or quit places of trust and dignity at the caprice of the vulgar. Virtue carries those to heaven who deserve immortality; she opens a way to them inaccessible to others; and soaring aloft with an inexpressible rapidity, looks down with disdain on the tumultuous assemblies of the crowd, and scorns this vile earth. There is also a sure reward to him that inviolably keeps the secrets of religion. I will never allow the man who hath divulged the mysteries of Ceres, either to lodge under the same roof, or embark in the same vessel with me; for Jupiter, highly provoked with the great contempt offered to his law, hath often punished the

NOTES.

praise of discretion and prudence, a virtue common to every state and condition. Those commentators who have imagined that Horace departs from his subject, have neither rightly understood the connexion of the ode, nor the design of the poet.

25. *Tuta mercès.*] As Horace here says, that there is also a recompense for secrecy, he must necessarily, in the first part of the ode, have proposed one for the military virtues. This reward is expressed in the 13th verse:

Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mòri.

"It is glorious and honourable to die in "defence of our country." He must at the same time have proposed one in the second part of the ode, for the political or moral virtue. It is contained in these lines,

Virtus, recludens immeritis mori
Cœlum, negatâ tentat iter viâ.

"Virtue, procuring an entrance into hea-"ven to those who are worthy of immor-"tality, treads in a path unknown to the "generality of mankind." This remark was necessary to give a light to the ode, and to discover that justness and symmetry, which Horace and other great masters of correct writing never failed to observe in all their compositions.

26. *Cereris sacrum.*] He who revealed these mysteries was regarded as one who had drawn upon himself the anger of the gods. Every one avoided his presence, and he was denied the very necessary enjoyments of life. Lucian ridicules with a great deal of humour these secret mysteries. Of whatever kind, says he, these ceremonies at the feast of Ceres may be, it is the highest folly imaginable to conceal them; if they are unbecoming, then ought they to be made public, that every one may be inspired with a horror and aversion at them; if they are holy and religious, the knowledge of them may be useful and edifying. These feasts were celebrated at Eleusis in Attica, whence they were called *Eleusinia.*

29. *Phaselum.*] *Phaselus* was a small vessel built after the manner of a Venetian boat.

29. *Sæpe Diespiter neglectus.*] Horace here gives the reason of what he had before said, that he would not either lodge or travel with him who had divulged the mysteries of Ceres: for Jupiter, when his laws are violated, often involves the innocent with the guilty. This opinion, that the impiety of one person may often prove fatal to all those who are in company with him, is very ancient. The Grecian history informs us, that those who embarked with Diagoras, being overtaken by a violent tempest, referred the cause of it to him alone, because his impiety was generally known. The Holy Scripture farther furnishes us with a beautiful instance of this general persuasion in the history of Jonas. He embarked in order to fly from the presence of his Maker, and avoid the execution of his commands. God raised a dreadful tempest; all the mariners were astonished, and wanted to know who the criminal was that had drawn down upon them the wrath of heaven. They cast lots; and the lot fell upon Jonas, who, conscious of his impiety, said, Take me, and throw me into the sea, and the sea will be calm; for it is on my account that God hath sent this tempest against you.

Rarò antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

ORDO.

pede claudo raro deseruit antecedentem scelestum.

NOTES.

31. *Raro antecedentem scelestum.*] Horace adds this to cut off from the wicked all hopes of escape. Jupiter often involves the innocent with the guilty; but it never

ODE III.

This is, without contradiction, one of the finest odes of Horace. There is not amongst all his compositions any thing that can be preferred to it, whether we consider the greatness truly sublime that reigns through the whole, the harmony of the numbers, its easy turn, and the beauty of the figures. But, notwithstanding all this, these advantages have not prevented it from appearing as very injudicious and very imperfect; for it has been said, that Horace does not give us the least insight into his design, and that, if we peruse the ode attentively, we shall find that the sense is entirely suspended. But Horace, it may be supposed, had too much judgement to fall into an oversight of this nature. It was this that prevailed with M. le Fevre to examine this piece with greater attention than had ever been paid to it before; the pains he took on this head were not without effect, and after we have delivered his opinion of the matter, it will evidently appear, that this ode, so beautiful by all the embellishments of poetry, with which Horace has taken care to adorn it, is yet more admirable for the design, the address, and the judicious conduct of the poet. The numerous beauties which shine in this ode, are evident marks of Horace's elevation of soul, and natural happy genius. But after all, it will appear strange to some that we so much approve this ode, and commend it as a finished piece, when it is plain that the design of it is in a great measure hidden, and that the poet has left unexplained the chief part of his subject. This is a truth that no one can doubt, if he peruses the following abridgement of this ode, which includes all the essential parts of it. "A man who is upright and steady, is not moved by the clamours and tumults of his fellow-citizens, or by the menacing presence of a tyrant, the raging fury of a tempestuous ocean, or the tremendous thunder even of Jupiter himself. These are the virtues which procured an entrance into heaven to Pollux, Hercules, and also to Romulus, after Juno had pronounced in an assembly of the gods a long speech, in which she had no other design than to prevent the rebuilding of Troy." Is it not evident, that the sense here is interrupted, and that the conclusion of the ode has no relation to, or connexion with, the beginning?

innocent with the guilty; and, though Vengeance seems to halt and advance slowly, she seldom fails to overtake a villain.

NOTES.

happens that impious men can shun divine vengeance, which, however slow, yet sooner or later is sure to overtake them. This is fine morality—and yet it is capable of improvement.—Whoever expects punishment, already suffers it, and whoever has deserved it, expects it.

ODE III.

We must suppose, therefore, that there is in this poem some secret which Horace was unwilling to make known; and this is the secret which I intend, if possible, to bring out of that obscurity under which it is hidden, and thus make the design and address of Horace appear in their true light. Above all things we must remark, that there was nothing Juno dreaded more than to see Troy rebuilt. This is what she herself declares, not only once, but several times, when she repeats her command that it be not done. And indeed this alone might have opened the eyes of interpreters. Thus, verse 37:

Dum longus inter sæviat Ilion
Romamque pontus.

Again, verse 40:

Dum Priami Paridisque busto
Insultet armentum.

And, lastly, verse 58, which is still more strong and express than the foregoing passages:

——— ne nimium pii,
Rebusque fidentes, avitæ
Tecta velint reparare Trojæ.

Now, in order to penetrate exactly into the meaning of the ode, and clear up this seemingly great difficulty, the following circumstance will be of considerable moment.

After the murder of Julius Cæsar, a report was spread at Rome, that he had resolved to drain Italy of men and money, and to transport the seat of the empire to Troy or Alexandria. This is what Suetonius relates in express terms in his 79th chapter of the life of that emperor. "Quin "etiam valida fama percrebuit migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium, "translatis simul opibus imperii, exhaustaque delectibus Italia." And we

may readily believe that he would have preferred Ilion to Alexandria, on account of the origin of the Cæsars, who boasted they were descended from Æneas. Nothing was more to be feared by the Romans than this change, which must infallibly have proved the ruin of their empire. This is plain from what happened under Constantine; for New Rome, that is, Constantinople, was the chief cause of the ruin of Old Rome. As Augustus therefore had been declared Cæsar's heir, and as it is usual with heirs to pursue the purposes and resolutions of those by whom they are so appointed, there was ground to fear that Augustus might entertain some thoughts of putting his uncle's design in execution. This kept Rome in continual alarm; and it was on this very account that Horace composed the following ode, that he might quite root out of the mind of Augustus so destructive and pernicious a resolution; but because it is always a dangerous thing to dive into the secrets of princes, he was afraid to speak too plainly, and chose rather to leave his ode imperfect, than give Augustus ground to blame him for having spoken too much. This conjecture of M. Le Fevre, is one of the finest that could be made in this kind of criticism; and it is

VIRTUTE PRÆDITUS VIR NIHIL EXTIMESCIT.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
  Non vultus instantis tyranni
    Mente quatit solidâ, neque Auster
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.
  Si fractus illabatur orbis,
    Impavidum ferient ruinæ.
Hac arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules,
Innixus, arces attigit igneas;
  Quos inter Augustus recumbens
    Purpureo bibit ore nectar.
Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuæ
Vexere tigres, indocili jugum

ORDO.

Non ardor civium jubentium prava, non vultus tyranni instantis quæsit virum justum et tenacem propositi *à* solida *sua* mente, neque Auster turbidus dux inquieti Adriæ, nec magna manus Jovis fulminantis *quatit eum*. Si orbis fractus illabatur, ruinæ ferient *illum* impavidum.

Pollux, et vagus Hercules, innixus hac arte, attigit arces igneas; inter quos Augustus recumbens bibit nectar ore purpureo.

Bacche pater, tigres tuæ, trahentes jugum indocili collo, vexere te merentem hac *arte:*

NOTES.

1. *Justum et tenacem propositi.*] Horace had reason to join steadiness of mind or constancy with justice, they having been always looked upon as inseparable companions; whence justice has been defined, *Constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi.* Constancy is here proposed to Augustus, as the virtue of the gods and heroes; and the design of Horace in so doing was, to dissuade him from the change that was appre-

hard to determine which deserves the greatest praise, Horace for writing the ode, or M. Le Fevre for having discovered its secret import, after it had remained concealed for about sixteen hundred years. There is nothing requisite for the completion of his remarks, but to have fixed the time in which this ode must have been composed. But this was a subject in which he was unwilling to engage, because all the particularities of the court of Augustus are not so well known to us. All that I can say of it is, in a general view, that after the death of Julius Cæsar, the war, which was kindled on all hands, did not give Augustus time to think of transferring the seat of the empire, which as yet was not very well established; it is highly probable, therefore, that he never took up this resolution, or, at least, that there was no ground to apprehend any such design till after the death of Marc Antony; that is, till after he had shut, for the first time, the temple of Janus; and that of consequence Horace could not have written this ode till after that time, viz. about the year of the city 626, or 627. Horace was then about thirty-seven years old.

THE VIRTUOUS MAN FEARS NOTHING.

THE man who is just and steady in his resolution cannot be moved from his fixed principle by the party-heat *and violence* of his fellow-citizens pressing him to act contrary to his judgement, by the presence of a threatening tyrant, by the violent south-wind, that blustering ruler of the Adriatic sea, nor by Jupiter himself, though armed with his tremendous thunder. Even if the whole world should be hurled into confusion, he could sustain the dreadful shock with an undaunted soul.

Supported by such virtue as this, Pollux, and Hercules who carried his victories through so many countries, arrived at the heavenly mansions; with whom Augustus having also taken his place, now drinks *the heavenly* nectar with his ruby lips. As a reward of thy virtue, father Bacchus, tigers, naturally intractable, submitted

NOTES.

hended, and which would have been a great mark of inconstancy.

2. *Prava jubentium.*] Horace, speaking of a sedition, uses the word *jubentium* with great propriety: for *jubere* was the word used by the people, when they strictly commanded any thing to be done, or wished to enact some new law. The tribune demanded with a loud voice, *Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites?* And the people said, *Volumus jubemusque.*

8. *Impavidum.*] An intrepid man, according to the Stoics, was one, who might at first be surprised at the dreadful noise of a hurricane or tempest, a peal of thunder, or the fury of an enraged populace, and might even show this surprise in his countenance; but who, after having calmed these sudden and involuntary emotions, would condemn all ideas of danger, as phantoms of the mind, and recollect that he had no ground of fear, in as much as nothing was capable of doing him the least harm.

11. *Quos inter Augustus recumbens.*] Horace here places Augustus with Hercules, Castor, and Bacchus. Quintus Curtius, speaking of Alexander, whose flatterers attributed to him the title of god, writes in the same manner. *Hi tum cœlum illi aperiebant, Herculemque et Patrem Liberum, et cum Polluce Castorem, novo numini cessuros esse jactabant.*

12. *Purpureo bibit ore nectar.*] Some editions have *bibet*, but *bibit* may be allowed; and it seems to add a peculiar beauty to the

Collo trahentes: hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit;
Gratum elocutâ consiliantibus
Junone Divis: Ilion, Ilion,
Fatalis incestusque judex,
Et mulier peregrina vertit
In pulverem, ex quo destituit Deos
Mercede pactâ Laomedon, mihi
Castæque damnatum Minervæ,
Cum populo et duce fraudulento.
Jam nec Lacænæ splendet adulteræ
Famosus hospes; nec Priami domus
Perjura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit;
Nostrisque ductum seditionibus
Bellum resedit. Protinus et graves
Iras, et invisum nepotem,
Tröica quem peperit sacerdos,

ORDO.

hac Quirinus fugit Acheronta equis Martis; Junone elocutâ gratum Divis consiliantibus: " Fatalis, *dixit illa*, incestusque judex, et " mulier peregrina, in pulverem vertit Ilion, " Ilion *inquam* damnatum mihi castæque Mi- " nervæ cum populo et duce fraudulento, ex " quo *tempore* Laomedon destituit deos pactâ " mercede. Jam nec famosus hospes Lacænæ " adulteræ splendet; nec perjura domus Pri- " ami refringit pugnaces Achivos Hectoreis " opibus; bellumque, ductum nostris sediti- " onibus, resedit. Protinus redonabo Marti,

NOTES.

passage. For Augustus received divine honours, even during his life, as Horace writes, Ode fifth, *Præsens Divus habebitur Augustus*. See Epistle 1. Book II. It is for the same reason that he adds here, *purpureo ore*, to denote that the statue of Augustus was already placed with those of Hercules, Bacchus, and Castor, and that they painted his statue in the same manner as they painted the figures of these deities.

15. *Quirinus.*] Here we may properly find the key to explain the whole ode. Horace, to dissuade Augustus from transferring the seat of the empire to Troy, presents to him Romulus as the last example of constancy. But he raises an opposition to his deification, and it is Juno herself that forms it. That goddess, says he, fearing that the Romans, descended from Troy, might, some time or other, dream of restoring to its former lustre an ancient city which she had destroyed, will consent to the reception of Romulus into heaven only upon this condition, that no mention shall ever be made of rebuilding Troy. The poet could not have devised a more artful way of delivering his judgement, than by putting that into the mouth of Juno, which no other person durst have mentioned to the prince. This is an admirable stroke of poetry and politics. It is plainly telling Augustus, that he hazarded nothing less than drawing upon himself the hatred of Juno, who had established that condition, and of the other gods who were the guarantees of it.

16. *Martis equis Acheronta fugit.*] This is both a great and a beautiful idea, as if no sooner had Romulus disappeared, than his father Mars took him to heaven in his chariot. Ovid has the same thought in the second Book of his Fasti:

Fit fuga: Rex patriis astra petebat equis.

" The multitude dispersed on all hands: " in the mean time Romulus was raised to " heaven in his father's chariot."

their necks to the yoke of thy car, and wafted thee *to heaven*. *In fine*, it was by this that *our great founder* Romulus escaped the infernal regions*, with the assistance of the coursers of Mars, *and was exalted to the dignity of a god;* upon which Juno, in these agreeable words, addressed the gods in full assembly: "Troy, *detested* "Troy, has been reduced to ashes for the crimes of a fatal and incestuous judge and of a foreign woman, being with its perfidious "prince and people abandoned to chaste Minerva's fury and mine, "ever since Laomedon defrauded the gods of the recompense he "promised them. The sight of that infamous guest of the Lacedemonian adulteress now no more offends mine eyes; nor can "Priam's perjured house any more oppose my warlike Greeks by "Hector's valour: and the war, *for many years* prolonged by our "dissensions, is now at an end. From this time then I lay aside "my just resentment, and restore to Mars his son *Romulus, once*

* Acheron.

NOTES.

18. *Ilion, Ilion.*] The repetition marks strongly Juno's hatred of this city, and the joy she felt at having destroyed it. The citadel was at the foot of mount Ida; it derived its name from king Ilus, who either built or fortified it.

19. *Fatalis incestusque judex.*] The history of Paris is well known. That prince drew upon himself the resentment of Juno and Pallas, by the judgement he gave in favour of Venus, to the disadvantage of those two goddesses. Juno avoids naming him out of contempt, as if his name would have defiled her discourse.

20. *Mulier peregrina.*] Helen. Juno avoids naming her also. She only calls her a foreign woman, to denote the greater contempt.

21. *Ex quo destituit Deos.*] The ancients have related that Neptune and Apollo assisted in building the walls of Troy, upon a promise from Laomedon of a reward for their labour, which, after they had finished the work, he refused to give. The true history which lies hidden under this fable is as follows. Laomedon wanting money to carry on the building of the walls of Troy which he had begun, took the treasures out of the temples of Apollo and Neptune, and engaged himself by a vow to restore them after the walls were finished. But afterwards not finding it convenient to fulfill his vow, he neglected to restore to the gods the treasures that belonged to them, and was thus guilty both of perjury and sacrilege.

22. *Mihi castæque damnatum Minervæ.*] Commentators have not understood the force of this expression when they imagined, that *damnatum mihi* signified the same with *damnatum à me.* Nothing can be conceived more unreasonable. Horace tells us, that we ought to consider Troy as overthrown and sacked from the very time that Laomedon deceived the gods: for from that moment it was adjudged to Juno and Minerva, and abandoned to their fury; that is, the gods at that time resolved, that Juno and Minerva, enraged at the affronts which Paris had offered to their beauty, should one day be the principal cause of the ruin of that city.

28. *Hectoreis opibus.*] Juno here makes particular mention of the valour of Hector, because it was he alone that disputed so long the victory with the Grecians.

29. *Nostrisque ductum seditionibus.*] The Trojan war was very much prolonged by the seditions of the gods: for Apollo, Mars, Latona, Diana, and Venus, favoured the Trojans, while Neptune, Minerva, Juno, Mercury, and Vulcan, promoted the interest of the Greeks.

30. *Protinus et graves.*] The twelve foregoing verses are, as it were, the exordium of Juno's speech; this is the proposition, which includes at the same time the unraveling of the whole piece. After having vindicated her resentment against the Trojans, the goddess declares she is willing to lay it aside, and receive into favour the posterity of that hated people, and consent to the reception

Marti redonabo. Illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Succos, et ascribi quietis
Ordinibus patiar Deorum,
Dum longus inter sæviat Ilion
Romamque pontus. Quâlibet exsules
In parte regnanto beati,
Dum Priami Paridisque busto
Insultet armentum, et catulos feræ
Celent inultæ; stet Capitolium
Fulgens, triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare jura Medis.
Horrenda latè nomen in ultimas
Extendat oras, quà medius liquor
Secernit Europen ab Afro,
Quà tumidus rigat arva Nilus;
Aurum irrepertum (et sic meliùs situm,
Cùm terra celat) spernere fortior,
Quàm cogere humanos in usus,
Omne sacrum rapiente dextrâ.
Quicunque mundi terminus obstitit,
Hunc tangat armis, visere gestiens
Quâ parte debacchentur ignes,
Quâ nebulæ pluviique rores.

ORDO.

" es graves *meas* iras, et invisum nepotem, " quem Troica sacerdos peperit. Ego patiar " illum inire lucidas sedes, ducere succos nec- " taris, et adscribi quietis ordinibus Deorum, " dum longus pontus sæviat inter Ilion Ro- " mamque. Exsules regnanto beati in quali- " bet parte, dum armentum insultet busto " Priami Paridisque, et feræ *ili* celent *suos* " catulos inultæ; Capitolium stet fulgens, " Romaque ferox possit dare jura triumpha- " tis Medis. *Illa* horrenda late extendat " *suum* nomen in ultimas oras, qua medius " liquor secernit Europen ab Afro, qua tu- " midus Nilus rigat arva; fortior spernere " aurum irrepertum, (et sic melius situm, " cum terra celat) quam cogere in humanos " usus, dextra rapiente omne sacrum. Qui- " cunque terminus mundi obstitit *ei*, tangat " hunc armis, gestiens visere, qua parte " ignes, qua nebulæ pluviique rores debac-

NOTES.

of Romulus into heaven, provided they never dream of restoring Troy to its former glory and lustre. There is scarcely a phrase in the whole ode, from which Augustus may not draw this hint.

32. *Troica quem peperit sacerdos.*] This verse gives a reason for the word *invisum*, used in the preceding. Juno calls Romulus the son of the Trojan priestess, to reproach him with his base and criminal birth. This priestess was the daughter of Numitor, one of the descendants of Æneas; some name her Ilia, others Rhea Sylvia; she was superior of the Vestal virgins.

37. *Dum longus inter.*] This is the whole design of the piece: therefore the poet makes Juno repeat it very often.

38. *Quâlibet exsules.*] The queen of the gods, in token of her reconciliation, begins to foretell some of the most flourishing ages of the Roman empire; but at the same time reiterates the demand expressed a few lines before, as if all their glory depended upon their compliance with that condition. All

" the object of my hatred, because born of a Trojan priestess. I " allow him admittance into these bright regions, to drink the juice " of nectar, and have a place among the gods, where nothing can " molest him, provided Rome be ever disjoined from Troy by a " wide stormy sea. Let these exiles go and live happily in any " other country whatever, provided cattle *ever* insult the tombs of " Priam and Paris, and the wild beasts conceal their young there " unmolested. *I consent that* the Capitol may continue in all its " glory, and that invincible Rome may give laws to the conquered " Medes; that her name may carry terror to the utmost parts of the " earth, even beyond the seas that separate Europe from Africa, and " to those lands which the Nile waters by overflowing its banks; " that she may become more virtuous, and despise gold never " designed for men*, and therefore hidden in the bowels of the " earth†, rather than apply what is sacred to human use with a sa- " crilegious hand. *In fine*, if any corner of the earth should refuse " to submit to her obedience, *to reduce it* let her merely show her " arms before it‡, and make it her diversion to conquer that part of " the earth burned up by the sultry heat of the sun, that darkened " with clouds, or that overflowed with constant rains. But I pro-

* Not found. † And so better placed as the earth hides it.
‡ Touch it with her arms.

NOTES.

this appears to me so sublime, that I question whether the marvellous in poetry can go beyond it. Here the poet rises to the highest pitch.

39. *Regnanto*] Is a word which marks the authority of the person who speaks. She is about to pronounce oracles, and declare to the universe the destiny of Rome.

41. *Feræ.*] What impression must this make upon the mind of a prince, who was capable of discerning better than any other person, the sense contained under this fiction!

42. *Capitolium.*] This was a fortress built upon mount Tarpeius. Beside a great number of edifices that were raised on this mountain, there were especially several temples, among which the most famous was that dedicated to Jupiter, under the title of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

45. *Horrenda latè.*] It is impossible to praise or admire too much these four verses. *Istud de Roma quis satis pro dignitate laudaverit?* says M. Le Fevre. *Horrenda* is a word full of dignity; for *horror* signifies properly those sentiments of fear and respect which we have for the gods.

46. *Quà medius liquor.*] *Liquor* and *humor*, though they seem to be words that agree only to small collections of water, yet when used by poets, give a great deal of strength and nobleness to the expression, whence they are often made to stand for the ocean itself.

48. *Quà tumidus rigat arva Nilus.*] The Nile annually overflows Ægypt, and thereby renders the ground fertile, and fit to receive the seed that is to be thrown into it. Upon this account Horace calls it *tumidus.*

49. *Aurum irrepertum (et sic melius situm.*] Juno here praises, in a very noble and handsome manner, the virtue of the ancient Romans, who preferred poverty to all the riches of the world. He means by *aurum irrepertum*, not gold wholly undiscovered; for where is the virtue of despising what we know nothing of? but gold which was never designed for the use of man from the beginning, and which remained undiscovered for several ages, and was at last brought into use only by avarice.

53. *Quicunque mundi terminus obstitit.*] These four verses are admirable: *Quis hæc*

Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
Hâc lege dico, ne nimiùm pii,
Rebusque fidentes, avitæ
Tecta velint reparare Trojæ.
Trojæ renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
Ducente victrices catervas
Conjuge me Jovis et sorore.
Ter si resurgat murus aheneus,
Auctore Phœbo; ter pereat meis
Excisus Argivis; ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret.
Non hæc jocosæ conveniunt lyræ.
Quò, Musa, tendis? desine pervicax
Referre sermones Deorum, et
Magna modis tenuare parvis.

ORDO.

" chentur. Sed dico fata bellicosis Quiriti-
" bus hac lege, ne nimium pii, fidentesque
" *suis* rebus, velint reparare tecta avitæ
" Trojæ. Fortuna *enim* Trojæ, renascens
" lugubri alite, iterabitur clade tristi, me
" conjuge et sorore Jovis ducente victrices
" catervas. Si murus aheneus ter resurgat,
" auctore Phœbo; ter pereat excisus meis
" Argivis; uxor capta ter ploret *suum* virum
" puerosque."

Hæc *autem* non conveniunt jocosæ lyræ. Musa, quo tendis? desine pervicax referre sermones Deorum, et tenuare magna parvis modis.

NOTES.

legerit nisi admiratione defixus? says M. Le Fevre. By *mundi terminus*, the poet refers particularly to the poles.

55. *Quâ parte delucchentur ignes.*] These two lines are incomparable. Horace here takes in three parts of the world, which were almost unknown to the ancients, because they believed them uninhabitable. *Quâ parte delucchentur ignes:* this serves to express the torrid zone; *Quâ nebulæ pluviique rores*, to express the two frigid zones.

58. *Ne nimiùm pii.*] We have here expressed the principal motives which might induce Augustus to think of transferring the capital of the empire to Troy, *pietas et rerum confidentia.* The Cæsars gave out that

" nounce these decrees to the warlike Romans on this condition, " that, from an excess of piety and trusting too much to their good " success, they never presume to rebuild Troy, where their ances- " tors once reigned; but, *if they should*, it will be under disastrous " auspices, and Troy will be again plunged into its former calami- " ties; for I myself will head my invincible troops and lead them " against it, I who am the wife and sister of Jupiter. Even if it " should be thrice fortified by a brazen wall under the direction of " Apollo himself, thrice should that wall be razed to the ground by " my irresistible Greeks; thrice should the captive Trojan ladies " lament the loss of their husbands and children."

But *hold*, my muse, whither do you soar? These subjects are too sublime for a sportive lyre; forbear thinking that you are quali- fied to rehearse the eloquence of the gods, nor dare by your low strains to debase the majesty of so grand a subject.

NOTES.

they were descended from Æneas. The regard we naturally have for our ancestors, joined to the flattering idea of an ancient origin, might serve very much to increase that prince's ve- neration for Troy, *pietas*. The situation of affairs at that time gave him a better oppor- tunity of executing such a resolution than ever had offered before. His power was raised to the highest pitch. The civil wars were terminated about nine years before. He had twice shut the temple of Janus in that interval, and he had moreover entered the east with two very numerous and powerful armies: one headed by himself was in Syria, and the other advanced towards Asia Minor under the conduct of Tiberius.

61. *Alite lugubri.*] *Ales lugubris* is the same with *mala avis*, Ode 15. Book 1., un- lucky auspices. See the remarks on that ode.

69. *Non hæc jocosæ conveniunt lyræ.*] Horace could not push this matter any far- ther, without speaking in a manner too open and undisguised. This is the reason why he quits it, under a pretence that his verses were not equal to the greatness of the sub- ject; but we see clearly that this is only a counterfeit modesty. Horace knew very well that his verses were noble, sublime, and wor- thy of the attention of the gods; nor has he scrupled to tell us as much himself. It was not therefore out of fear of displeasing the gods that he has left this ode imperfect; but from a fear of Augustus, whose anger he dreaded as much as that of the gods.

ODE IV.

This again is one of Horace's beautiful odes, and is consecrated wholly to piety and religion. The first part of it demonstrates the happiness of those who are submissive to the gods; and the last, the rigorous punishments of such as neglect and contemn them. Some modern critics, who find so many digressions in the odes of Horace, will be surprised to see, that, in a piece of

AD CALLIOPEN.

Descende cœlo, et die age tibiâ
Regina longum Calliope melos,
Seu voce nunc mavis acutâ,
Seu fidibus, citharâve Phœbi.
Auditis? an me ludit amabilis
Insania? audire, et videor pios
Errare per lucos, amœnæ
Quos et aquæ subeunt, et auræ.
Me fabulosæ Vulture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque somno,
Fronde novâ puerum palumbes

ORDO.

O regina Calliope, descende cœlo, et age die longum melos tibia, seu nunc mavis voce acuta, seu fidibus citharave Phœbi.

Auditis? an amabilis insania ludit me? Videor audire *Calliopen*, et errare *cum illa* per pios lucos, quos et amœnæ aquæ et auræ subeunt.

Fabulosæ palumbes texere nova fronde me puerum fatigatum ludo somnoque in Vulture Appulo, extra limen altricis Apuliæ; quod

NOTES.

1. *Descende cœlo.*] As Horace in this ode was about to handle a pious and religious subject, he begins by invoking his muse. This was the most proper way to excite the attention of his readers, who, after so solemn an introduction, would naturally expect that something of moment was to follow. For the same reason, he desires her to descend from heaven, and addresses her under the title of queen. All his expressions on this occasion are founded on ancient mythology. Calliope was regarded as the queen of the muses, she being the oldest of them all, according to Hesiod; to whom was attributed, in a particular manner, the invention of poetry.

5. *Amabilis insania.*] If poetry be a species of madness, it must be allowed to be the most pleasant kind of madness in the world. Horace is not the only person who has fallen into this way of thinking: a celebrated poet of our own time has expressed himself in much the same manner:

Great wits to madness nearly are allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.

9. *Me fabulosæ.*] Horace, after having demanded of his friends whether the objects

ODE IV.

such length, not one sentence has escaped him but what has some relation to his subject. He has handled it with so much art and dexterity, as to find the means of fixing the attention of the reader in proportion as he advances. The nobleness of the design is equaled by the beauty of the style and versification, where every thing is set off with all the ornaments of poetry.

TO CALLIOPE.

DIVINE Calliope, queen *of the muses*, quit for a moment the celestial mansions, come, sing some sublime air with your enchanting voice, or play it, if you please, on your flute or lyre, or Apollo's harmonious lute. Do not ye hear, *my friends?* or is it an agreeable delusion that imposes on my senses? I certainly hear the goddess, and think I walk with her in these *charming* sacred groves fanned by the refreshing Zephyrs, and where the purling streams make an agreeable murmur. *Formerly I felt the good effects of her protection; for*, when I was a boy, fatigued with diverting myself on mount Vultur, on that side of it which is beyond the limits of Apulia my native country, being overtaken with sleep, the pigeons, of which they tell so many strange things, covered me with verdant leaves. The people who inhabit the top of lofty Acherontia, the

NOTES.

which his imagination presented to him were real, or only pleasant reveries, endeavours to persuade them that they were real, by the miracles which the muses had wrought for him while he was yet an infant. Upon this he begins to recount all the favours he had received from them, and is led insensibly to speak of the pardon which by their means he had obtained.

9. *Vulture in Appulo, extra limen Apuliæ.*] Commentators are much embarrassed to think how Horace, after having called Vúltur a mountain of Apulia, *Vulture in Appulo*, should immediately add that it was *extra limen Apuliæ*; for if it be without the limits of Apulia, how can it be in Apulia? To solve this difficulty, some have given it as their opinion, that Apulia here is not the name of a province, but of a woman, and that Horace's nurse was so called. But this is altogether without foundation. The following explication seems more reasonable. Vultur was situated upon the frontiers of Apulia and Lucania, in such a manner, that it might be called indifferently *Mons Lucanus* or *Appulus*. The one half of it was in Apulia, the other in Lucania. It is for the same reason that Horace, who was of Venusium, tells us, Book 2d, Sat. 1. that it was doubtful whether he was born in Lucania or Apulia, because Venusium was situated on the frontiers of these two provinces:

Texere; mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicunque celsæ nidum Acherontiæ,
Saltusque Bantinos, et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Ferenti;
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem et ursis; ut premerer sacrâ
Lauroque, collatâque myrto,
Non sine Dîs animosus infans.
Vester, Camenæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu Tibur supinum,
Seu liquidæ placuere Baiæ.
Vestris amicum fontibus et choris,
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non extinxit arbos,
Nec Siculâ Palinurus undâ.
Utcunque mecum vos eritis, libens
Insanientem navita Bosporum
Tentabo, et urentes arenas
Litoris Assyrii viator.
Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,
Et lætum equino sanguine Concanum;
Visam pharetratos Gelonos,
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.
Vos Cæsarem altum, militiâ simul
Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,

ORDO.

foret mirum omnibus, quicunque tenent nidum celsæ Acherontiæ saltusque Bantinos, et pingue arvum humilis Ferenti; ut *ego* dormirem corpore tuto ab atris viperis et ursis, utque premerer sacra lauro, collataque myrto, infans animosus non sine Diis.

O Camenæ, vester, vester *sum*, *seu* tollor in arduos Sabinos, seu frigidum Præneste, seu Tibur supinum, seu liquidæ Baiæ placuere mihi.

Acies versa retro Philippis non *extinxit* me amicum vestris fontibus et choris, devota arbos non extinxit *me*, nec Palinurus in Siculâ unda. Utcunque vos eritis mecum, *ego* navita libens tentabo insanientem Bosporum, et viator *tentabo* urentes arenas litoris Assyrii; visam Britannos feros hospitibus, et Concanum lætum sanguine equino; inviolatus visam Gelonos pharetratos, et Scythicum amnem.

Vos *etiam*, *O Musæ*, recreatis antro Pierio altum Cæsarem quærentem finire labores, simul

NOTES.

——*Lucanus an Appulus anceps,*
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus.

The same thing may be said of Vultur, which was very near Venusium; so that we may easily suppose this happened to Horace when he was upon Vultur, a mountain of Apulia, reposing himself on that side of it which was towards Lucania, and without the limits of Apulia.

11. *Ludo fatigatumque somno.*] *Fatigatus ludo et somno* can never signify, fatigued after play and sleep, but fatigued with play and a desire of sleep; for *somnus* is equivalent to our sleepiness, and *fatigatus somno*, is the same as, oppressed with drowsiness. The expression is copied from Homer, Book 11. of the Iliad, where Agamemnon says to Nestor, Let us go and visit the guards, to see whether, overcome with fatigue and watchfulness, they have not fallen asleep.

Bantine forests, and the fruitful valleys of Ferentum, were filled with astonishment, to see me sleep secure amidst poisonous vipers and wild bears, and covered with sacred laurels interwoven with myrtles; nor could they imagine how a boy could have so much courage, if not from the gods. *Divine* muses, whether I go to the high Sabine mountains, to cool Preneste, to Tivoli, situate on the declivity of a hill, or Baiæ celebrated for its fine waters, I am still under your care and protection. It is owing to the great regard I have for your *sacred* fountains and agreeable concerts, that I escaped in safety when we were routed at Philippi, that I was not crushed to pieces by the fall of a cursed tree, nor swallowed up by the Sicilian waves near Cape Palinurus. So long as I am favoured with your protection, I can cheerfully brave the raging Bosporus, and travel over the scorching sands of the Assyrian shore. I can hazard myself among the inhospitable Britons, and the *savage* Scythians, who take great pleasure in drinking the blood of horses. I can visit the Geloni, who go always armed with a quiver, and can with safety cross the Caspian sea *. Ye refreshed the great Augustus, *who has been always your care*, in your Pierian cave, when, desirous of terminating his conquests, he put his troops into garrisons fatigued with so many battles. Ye, great goddesses, inspired

* Scythian river. See note on ver. 36.

NOTES.

14. *Celsæ nidum Acherontiæ.*] Acherontia was a city bordering upon Venusium in the confines of Lucania and Apulia. Horace here uses the word *nidum*, because it was situated on the top of a rock, in the same manner as Ithaca, of which Cicero, in his first Book *de Oratore*, says: *Tanta vis patriæ est, ut Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis, tanquam nidulum, affixam, sapientissimus vir immortalitati anteponeret.* "So "strong is the love of our country, that the "wisest of all the Greeks preferred his "Ithaca, a petty place, lying among bar-"ren rocks, to immortality."

15. *Saltusque Bantinos.*] Bantia was a city on a line with Acherontia, whence some have attributed it to Apulia, others to Lucania. Ferentum was a neighbouring city.

22. *Frigidum Præneste.*] Horace here gives *Præneste* the epithet of *frigidum*, because it was built on a mountain in Latium, about eighteen miles distant from Rome. Virgil calls it *altum Præneste.*

26. *Non me Philippis.*] Horace here recounts three facts to demonstrate that the gods interested themselves in a particular manner in his preservation; his escape at the battle of Philippi, his narrow delivery from being crushed to pieces by the fall of a tree, and his preservation from shipwreck.

28. *Nec Siculâ Palinurus undâ.*] When Horace returned into Italy, after the battle of Philippi, the ship in which he was carried was roughly handled by a tempest not far from Cape Palinurus.

34. *Lætum equino sanguine Concanum.*] Ptolemy makes mention of a city in Spain called *Concana*. But Torrentius thinks, with greater appearance of probability, that by *Concanum* Horace understands some people of Scythia, as the Bisaltes, whom Virgil joins with the *Geloni*, of whom he says,

Et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino.

The inhabitants of Little Tartary, at this day, do the same thing.

36. *Scythicum amnem.*] Many commentators explain this of the Tanais; but it is most probable, that Horace here speaks of the Hyrcanian or Caspian sea, which is also sometimes called *Scythicus sinus*, the Scythian sea, the Romans using the

Finire quærentem labores,
Pierio recreatis antro.
Vos lene consilium et datis, et dato
Gaudetis almæ. Scimus ut impios
Titanas, immanemque turmam,
Fulmine sustulerit caduco,
Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, et urbes, regnaque tristia,
Divosque, mortalesque turbas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.
Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus horrida brachiis,
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
Sed quid Typhœus, et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
Quid Rhœcus, evulsisque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,

ORDO.

abdidit oppidis cohortes fessos militiâ. Vos et datis *ei* lene consilium, et almæ gaudetis *consilio* dato.

Scimus ut *ille* qui *temperat* terram inertem, qui temperat mare ventosum et urbes regnaque tristia, quique unus regit imperio æquo Divosque, mortalesque turbas; *ut ille, inquam*, sustulerit caduco fulmine impios Titanas, immanemque turmam.

Horrida illa juventus, fidens brachiis, intulerat magnum terrorem Jovi, fratresque tendentes imposuisse Pelion opaco Olympo, *intulerant magnum terrorem Jovi.* Sed quid possent Typhœus et validus Mimas, aut quid Porphyrion minaci statu, quid Rhœcus Enceladusque audax jaculator, evulsis truncis,

NOTES.

word *amnis* with the same latitude as the Greeks did ποταμος, to express the sea.

37. *Vos Cæsarem.*] Horace here fixes himself in a more particular manner to his subject, and after having thanked the muses for the care they had taken of him, and professed his entire confidence in their protection, he explains what he had before said:

Non me Philippis versa acies retro:

and lets us see in what manner they procured him the pardon which he obtained from Augustus.

38. *Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis.*] Torrentius is of opinion that Horace speaks here of the time when Augustus, after having put an end to the civil wars, distributed his veteran soldiers into colonies, and had some thoughts of resigning the government, that he might pass his latter days in quiet and peace. But, besides that this ode was written several years after the time referred to by this conjecture, it is evident that Horace speaks here of the custom which Augustus always followed, of applying to study and poetry, after he had put his troops into winter-quarters.

40. *Pierio recreatis antro.*] In the Pierian cave, that is, in the cave of the muses, which was in Macedonia. Augustus was a man of great learning, and had made a considerable proficiency in the study both of the Greek and Latin rhetoric. He was deeply skilled in philosophy; and so great was his passion for letters, that at table he always discoursed on some subject that had a relation to learning. He was a great lover and encourager of poetry, and was himself the author of several poetical works, which are particularly mentioned by Suetonius. There is still extant in Suetonius a fragment of one of his letters to Tiberius, in which he strongly expresses his fondness for

your royal pupil with sentiments of clemency and moderation, of which ye see the *happy* fruits with great pleasure. We still remember how Jupiter, who supports the inactive earth, who rules the raging sea, cities, and the dreary *infernal* realms, and who alone governs with just sway both gods and men, routed the frightful troops of impious Titans with his tremendous thunder. This monstrous race, trusting to the great number and strength of their arms, and attempting to roll mount Pelion on shady Olympus, gave great alarm to Jove. But what efforts could Typhœus, stout Mimas, the gigantic Porphyrion, *brave* Rhœcus, or bold Enceladus, with the trunks

NOTES.

the muses, and which shows the justness of this sentiment of Horace.

41. *Vos lene consilium.*] This passage is extremely beautiful. Horace says, that the muses inspired Augustus with sentiments of sweetness and moderation. Suetonius, speaking of him, says: *Clementiæ civilitatisque ejus multa et magna documenta sunt.* He pardoned Quintus Gallus, convicted of having a design upon his life, opposed for three days the edict of proscription, and rescued several of his enemies from the fury of his colleagues. He received Messala into favour, and made him augur and lieutenant to Agrippa in the war of Sicily. He showed yet a greater regard to Antonius Iulus, son of the triumvir: not content with honouring him with the offices of priest, prætor, and consul, he received him into an alliance with himself, by making him espouse Marcella, one of the daughters of his sister Octavia. In fine, Velleius Paterculus says of him, that he never put to death any of those who had taken up arms against him: *Fuit et fortunâ et clementiâ Cæsaris dignum, quod nemo ex his qui contra eum arma tulerunt, ab eo jussuve ejus interemptus.*

42. *Scimus ut impios Titanas.*] Although commentators have been of opinion that Horace here observes no connexion, yet if we consider the matter thoroughly, we shall find that there is a very manifest one. The poet would have us believe, that the clemency which Augustus showed to those who had taken up arms against him, proceeded entirely from his affection for the muses, and not from any inability to punish his enemies, if he had been inclined so to do; as if he had said: "Yes, powerful deities, "it is you without doubt who have inspired "Augustus with this clemency; for had he "been willing to arm all his forces against "them, it had been impossible for his enemies to resist him. We have not as yet "forgotten that dreadful encounter in which "the Titans were overthrown by his tremendous thunder." By the Titans he understands manifestly the troops of Brutus and Cassius, and by Jupiter who overthrew them, Augustus. The passage is exceedingly beautiful, the connexion evident, and the address of Horace incomparable.

48. *Imperio regit unus æquo.*] This passage is singular, and furnishes us with a very important and edifying remark. According to the heathen theology, there were three gods equal in dignity, who respectively possessed their proper territory, over which they reigned as sovereigns, and which had fallen to them by lot. The empire of the sea fell to the share of Neptune; that of hell to Pluto; Jupiter exercised his dominion throughout the vast extent of heaven, the clouds, and regions of air. The earth and Olympus were in common. This is the opinion explained at large in the 15th Book of the Iliad. Horace here declares against this senseless theology, and openly refutes it. He acknowledges that there is but one God, sovereign Lord of the universe, who rules with equity and justice. He governs this earth, cities and nations, *terram inertem et urbes.* He exercises dominion over the sea, *mare temperat ventosum.* His power extends to hell, *regnaque tristia.* And, in fine, he reigns superior of gods and men, *Divosque mortalesque turbas.* Add to all this, that he reigns alone, *Unus.* Horace, combating the vulgar theology, enters into the true sentiment of Homer, who has also acknowledged a supreme God, governor of the world, and sovereign of men and gods.

52. *Pelion imposuisse Olympo.*] Pelion and Olympus are two mountains of Thessaly. Apollodorus writes, that the Titans put Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. Vir-

Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Vulcanus, hinc matrona Juno, et
Nunquam humeris positurus arcum,
Qui rore puro Castaliæ lavit
Crines solutos, qui Lyciæ tenet
Dumeta, natalemque sylvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.
Vis consilî expers mole ruit suâ:
Vim temperatam Dî quóque provehunt
In majus: iidem odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.
Testis mearum centimanus Gyas
Sententiarum notus, et integræ
Tentator Orion Dianæ,
Virgineâ domitus sagittâ.
Injecta monstris Terra dolet suis;
Mœretque partus fulmine luridum
Missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
Impositam celer ignis Ætnam;
Incontinentis nec Tityi jecur
Relinquit ales, nequitiæ additus

ORDO.

ruentes contra sonantem ægida Palladis?

Hinc avidus Vulcanus stetit; hinc matrona Juno, et Delius Patareus Apollo, nunquam positurus arcum *ex* humeris, qui lavit crines solutos puro rore Castaliæ; qui tenet dumeta Lyciæ natalemque sylvam.

Vis expers consilii ruit mole sua: Dii quoque provehunt vim temperatam in majus, iidem odere vires moventes omne nefas animo.

Gyas centimanus *est* notus testis sententiarum mearum, et Orion tentator integræ Dianæ, domitus virginea sagitta. Terra injecta suis monstris dolet; mœretque partus *suos* missos fulmine ad luridum Orcum; nec celer ignis peredit Ætnam impositam; nec ales, additus custos nequitiæ, relinquit jecur

NOTES.

gil, on the contrary, says that they put Ossa upon Pelion, and Olympus upon Ossa:

Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossæ frondosum involvere Olympum.

See the Prose Translation of Virgil, vol. 1.

Apollodorus, in the account he gives, has followed Homer, who, according to Strabo, gives the most natural description of the thing, because Olympus, being the greatest, ought to be the foundation and basis of the other two.

57. *Contra sonantem Palladis ægida.*] Horace follows here the history of the war against the giants, as it is written by Apollodorus, who says, that Minerva, Juno, Apollo, and Vulcan, sided with Jupiter. But we ought by no means to overlook the address of the poet, who would have us hereby to understand, that all the gods favoured the cause of Augustus in opposition to Brutus and Cassius.

61. *Castaliæ.*] This was a fountain of mount Parnassus, consecrated to the muses.

65. *Vis consilî expers*, &c.] Power and strength, according to the sentiment of many, give a weight to undertake every thing. The giants experienced, that strength, destitute of prudence, may well serve to in-

of trees which he threw entire, make against the impregnable * shield of Pallas? Vulcan supported the party *of Jupiter* with great ardour, as did the *great* goddess Juno, and Delius Patareus Apollo, who never appears without his bow on his shoulder, who often bathes his flowing locks in pure Castalia's spring, and takes great pleasure in Lycia's brakes and his native wood. Force, without conduct, sinks under its own weight; the gods promote it when regulated with prudence, but detest it when it is used for the commission of the most heinous crimes. Gyas, that giant with a hundred hands, is a famous instance of this truth, as is also Orion, killed with an arrow by Diana, whose chastity he impiously attempted to violate. The earth is grieved to depress, by her weight, these monsters her sons; nor can she forbear lamenting the lot of her children that were precipitated to hell by thunder; and she sees, with sorrow, that the fire, which gradually wastes mount Ætna, has not force enough to consume it entirely. The *voracious* vulture, which Jupiter has fixed to the liver of unchaste Tityus, leaves not his prey for one mo-

* Sounding.

NOTES.

spire with temerity, but can never give assurance of the success of any enterprise; whereas force, when conducted by prudence, generally renders those victorious who possess it.

71. *Tentator Orion.*] Orion was the son of Terra, or of Neptune and Euryale. Horace says, that Diana killed him with her arrows, because he attempted to ravish her. Lucan writes, that she made use of a scorpion for this purpose. It is probable that Lucan may have imagined this, because the constellation Orion sets when Scorpio rises.

73. *Injecta monstris Terra dolet suis.*] Horace here introduces the earth as a person lamenting the overthrow of her own children, and that she herself was become the principal instrument, because in this war of the giants Minerva threw Sicily upon Enceladus, Neptune cast a part of the isle of Cos upon Polybates, and Othus was overwhelmed by the isle of Crete. In a word, the ancients believed that in all those places whence fire and smoke issued, some giant was interred.

75. *Nec peredit impositam.*] Mount Ætna is not lessened or consumed by the fire it has thrown out during so many ages; by which he would have us to understand, that Enceladus, who was buried under that mountain, can obtain no respite from his torments. It is plain that this fable of the war of the giants and Titans against Jupiter, and of their being precipitated into Tartarus, or an abyss of sulphur and fire, is drawn from the sacred writings, and is only a corruption of the story of the fallen angels: for, according to the remark of Bochart, Enceladus is a Phœnician word, signifying *crooked*, which is an epithet of the serpent and Satan. Briareus is equivalent to Belial in the Hebrew language, and Belial signifies properly a dragon or serpent; Hesychius, Βελιας δρακων.

76. *Ætnam.*] Ætna is a mountain of Sicily, terrible on account of the flames which it vomits up. Horace, by thus showing the continuation of the punishments inflicted upon the giants, Titans, and others, shows how dreadful a thing it is to draw down upon ourselves the wrath of the gods.

77. *Incontinentis nec Tityi jecur.*] Tityus, attempting to ravish Latona, was slain by Apollo. Two vultures were said to be perpetually gnawing his liver in hell. The ancients feigned this story with a design to represent, in the most lively manner, the torments occasioned by those passions which have their seat there. Lucretius, Book 3.

Sed Tityus nobis hic est, in amore jacentem,
Quem volucres lacerant, atque exest anxius angor,
Aut aliæ quævis scindunt torpedine curæ.

"Tityus is he whose heart is wounded

Custos: amatorem trecentæ
Pirithöum cohibent catenæ. 80

ORDO.

Tityi incontinentis: trecentæ catenæ cohibent Pirithoum amatorem *Proserpinæ*.

NOTES.

"by love, or tormented with groundless "apprehensions."

78. *Nequitiæ additus custos.*] That is, *Additur Tityo custos propter nequitiam.* The poet puts *custos* for *tortor*, and *additus* for *adpositus, adfixus.* We may further say, that *nequitiæ* is here substituted for *homini nequam*, as it is usual to say *scelus* for *sceleratus.*

ODE V.

Some are of opinion, that this ode was composed when Augustus formed the first intention of carrying his arms into Britain, in the year of the city 719. Others think that it was not written before the Parthians had restored to Augustus the ensigns taken in the battle against Crassus. On this supposition the design of Horace seems to have been, to praise Augustus

AUGUSTI LAUDES.

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.

ORDO.

Credidimus Jovem tonantem regnare cœlo: Augustus habebitur præsens Divus, Britannis gravibusque Persis adjectis imperio. Milesne

NOTES.

1. *Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem.*] This comparison between Jupiter and Augustus is exceedingly beautiful. The first, by his thunder, convinces us that he is the sovereign of heaven; the second, by his victories, makes it evident that he reigns supreme on earth.

2. *Præsens divus habebitur.*] *Præsens* is opposed to *cœlo*, as *habebitur to credidimus.* We believe that the one reigns supreme god in heaven, and we see that the other rules as a god on earth. This is to celebrate Augustus at the expense of Jupiter; a flattery but too common. The petty kings of India flattered Alexander after the same manner when they said to him, *Patrem Liberum atque Herculem fama cognitos esse, ipsum coram adesse cernique.* "That they knew nothing "of Bacchus and Hercules but by common "fame; but, as for him, he was before "their eyes, and they rejoiced at his pre-"sence." In Horace's time, the most refined flattery had been brought into use, and it was no easy matter to say any thing new in that way. A king whom we see and converse with, takes, without any difficulty, the place of a god, whom we do not see, in

ment; and Pirithous is still loaded with heavy chains, for presuming to make his *criminal* addresses *to Proserpine.*

NOTES.

Horace himself has put *superbia* for *superbus* in the ode, *O formosus adhuc*, &c.

79. *Amatorem trecentæ Pirithoum.*] The word *amatorem* makes all the beauty of these last two verses. That single epithet includes the whole history of this prince. He was the son of Ixion; his friend Theseus accompanied him to hell, to assist him in forcing thence Proserpine, of whom he was enamoured: but Pluto, forewarned of their scheme, retained them prisoners, and put them in chains. Theseus was afterwards delivered by Hercules.

ODE V.

for having subdued the Britons and Parthians by the mere terror of his arms. This he does with a great deal of art, by barely mentioning the former, and insisting chiefly on the latter; and raising the merit of the emperor's success, by a lively and ingenious description of the advantage which the same Parthians had over the Roman troops in the defeat of Crassus.

THE PRAISES OF AUGUSTUS.

THE thunder which roars over our heads makes us *firmly* believe that Jupiter reigns in heaven; and the victories which Augustus has obtained over the Britons and formidable Parthians, will make that prince acknowledged as the sovereign of the whole

NOTES.

the soul of an interested adorer.

2. *Habebitur.*] The great difficulty of this passage arises from the word *habebitur*; for it is certain, that the Romans had paid divine honours to Augustus before he thought of making an expedition against Britain; whence comes it then that Horace says, that Augustus shall be esteemed a god, now he had subdued the Britons and Parthians? The following observation, in my opinion, may tend to solve this difficulty. Augustus would not allow that they should raise temples to his honour in Rome; he permitted only that they might be built in the provinces; but upon this condition, that Rome should partake with him of that honour, and that these temples were consecrated *Romæ et Augusto. In nulla provincia nisi communi suo Romæque nomine templa recepit*, says Suetonius, chapter 52. This was the expedient which a false modesty made him devise, that he might not lose the whole; and that he might, by degrees, arrive at what was already offered him, but what he durst not yet accept; for he suffered a considerable interval to elapse before he allowed temples to be raised in honour of him at Pergamus and Nicomedia, as is related by Dio. I am of opinion therefore, that by the word *habebitur*, Horace alludes to this modesty of Augustus; as if he had said, Hitherto Augustus has refused to be acknowledged a god at Rome; but now, as he has added to his empire the Parthians and Britons, it will not be in his power to hinder it. His divinity will be acknowledged through the whole empire.

Milesne Crassi conjuge barbarâ
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium,
Proh curia inversique mores!
Consenuit socerorum in armis
Sub rege Medo, Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, et togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove et urbe Româ?
Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
Dissentientis conditionibus
Fœdis, et exemplo trahenti
Perniciem veniens in ævum,
Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes. Signa ego Punicis
Affixa delubris, et arma
Militibus sine cæde, dixit,
Derepta vidi: vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo brachia libero,

ORDO.

Crassi vixit turpis maritus *cum* conjuge barbara? Et proh curia moresque inversi! Marsus et Appulus consenuit in armis hostium socerorum sub rege Medo, oblitus anciliorum, *Romani* nominis, et togæ, æternæque Vestæ, Jove et urbe Roma incolumi? Provida mens Reguli caverat hoc, *Reguli, inquam,* dissentientis conditionibus fœdis, et exemplo trahenti perniciem in veniens ævum, si captiva pubes non periret immiserabilis. "Ego," dixit *ille*, "vidi signa *nostra* affixa delubris Punicis, "et arma derepta militibus sine cæde: ego "vidi brachia civium retorta libero tergo, por-

NOTES.

Temples will be raised to him at Rome as well as in the provinces, and the Romans will pay him those divine honours in public, which they already offer him in private.

3. *Adjectis Britannis.*] This expression may admit two different interpretations. The first is; after Augustus shall have subdued the Britons, and added them to his empire; the other, Augustus having subdued the Britons, &c. This diversity is so considerable, as entirely to change the face of the ode, according as one or other of these two senses may be fixed upon. In the first sense it can only be taken as an indirect exhortation to Augustus, to excite him to undertake a war against these two nations; and in the second it is an eulogium, a true panegyric upon him for having already vanquished them. Several commentators favour the first interpretation, because in the time of Horace the Romans had not subdued Britain, but left it to enjoy a profound peace, from the time of Julius Cæsar to the emperor Claudius, who was the first that triumphed over it. But this argument is of no force; for although, in the time of Horace, Augustus had not triumphed over Britain, yet he was considered as the lord and conqueror of it, because the people had sent to him to demand peace by their ambassadors. This is an undeniable truth founded upon a passage of Strabo, who in his fourth Book says, "But in my time "the principal men, having gained by their "ambassadors and submission the friend-"ship of Augustus, offered gifts in the "capitol, and made the Romans masters "of almost the whole island." This account of the matter is the more probable, because Augustus had subdued the Parthians nearly in the same manner.

9. *Marsus et Appulus.*] The Marsi, Apulians, and Samnites, were the flower of

earth. Did the *Roman* soldiers who fought under the conduct of Crassus, blush to become the husbands of strange women? Have the Marsi and Apulians been ashamed to grow old in the service of their fathers-in-law, our enemies? Where is now the grandeur of the *Roman* senate! What is become of the strict virtue of our ancestors! *What!* while Rome and the Capitol continue in their splendor, could they bear to live in subjection to the king of the Medes, forgetful of the sacred shields, of the *Roman* name and habit, and of the eternal fire of Vesta? This the wise *and brave* Regulus foresaw, and endeavoured to prevent, by refusing to submit to the dishonourable terms *offered him by the Carthaginians*, or to authorise by his example what would prove the ruin *of the Roman empire*, if he did not suffer the cowardly youth taken prisoners *by the Carthaginians* to perish, being unworthy of his compassion. "I have seen," said he *to the senate*, "the *Roman* standards hung up "in the temples of Carthage! I have seen the arms that our sol- "diers allowed to be taken from them without losing one drop of "blood *in their defence!* I have seen our Roman citizens, once-

NOTES.

the Roman troops. He had before mentioned the Marsi, Book 2. Ode last,

——— *Qui dissimulat metum*
Marsæ cohortis ———

in such a manner as shows that their courage made them terrible to their enemies.

10. *Anciliorum.*] In the reign of Numa a terrible pestilence spread itself over Italy, and at the same time made great havock in Rome. The citizens being overwhelmed with despair, Numa gave out that a brazen target had fallen into his hands from heaven, which, he was assured by the nymph Egeria, with whom he had a conference, was sent for the cure and safety of the city; and this was soon verified by the miraculous cessation of the sickness. He was advised to make eleven other targets, so like in their dimensions and form to the original, that in case there should be a design of stealing it away, the true one might not be distinguished or known from those which were counterfeited; by which means it would be more difficult to defeat the counsels of fate, in which it had been determined that, while this was preserved, the city should prove happy and victorious. This difficult work was very happily executed by one Veturius Mamurius, who made eleven others which Numa himself could not know from the first. They exactly fitted the elbow by their figure, and were thence called Ancilia, from ἀγκων, that part of the arm between the wrist and the elbow, upon which they carried the Ancilia.

11. *Æternæque Vestæ.*] Ancient mythology acknowledges two goddesses of that name, the one the mother, the other the daughter of Saturn. The first was the same with the Earth, and is sometimes called Cybele, and sometimes Pales; the second was Fire. It is of this last that Horace speaks here. She had a temple at Rome: her priestesses were all under a vow to preserve their virginity, and were called Vestal virgins; they had the care of the sacred fire, which they were obliged to keep perpetually burning, to denote that Vesta vigilantly attended to the preservation of the empire.

13. *Hoc caverat.*] Horace here celebrates in a very noble manner the gallant behaviour of Attilius Regulus, who, being taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, was sent to Rome, upon his parole, to treat of an exchange of prisoners. But knowing how disadvantageous this would be to the Romans, he earnestly dissuaded the senate from it, and, with an unparalleled greatness of soul, withstood the importunity of his nearest relatives, and returned to Carthage, though he was not ignorant of the tortures which awaited him.

Portasque non clausas, et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.
Auro repensus scilicet acrior
Miles redibit? flagitio additis
Damnum. Neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco;
Nec vera virtus, cùm semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus.
Si pugnat extricata densis
Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,
Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus;
Et Marte Pœnos proteret altero,
Qui lora restrictis lacertis
Sensit iners, timuitque mortem.
Hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
Pacem duello miscuit: ô pudor!
O magna Carthago, probrosis
Altior Italiæ ruinis!

ORDO.

" tasque non clausas, et arva populata nostro " Marte coli. Miles scilicet repensus auro " redibit acrior? Additis damnum flagitio. " Neque lana medicata fuco refert colores a- " missos; nec vera virtus, cum semel exci- " dit, curat reponi deterioribus. Si cerva ex- " tricata densis plagis pugnat, ille erit *etiam* " fortis, qui credidit se hostibus perfidis; et " *ille* proteret Pœnos altero Marte, qui iners " sensit lora lacertis restrictis, timuitque " mortem. Hic, inscius unde sumeret vi- " tam, miscuit pacem duello: O pudor! O " magna Carthago, altior probrosis ruinis " Italiæ!"

NOTES.

18. *Signa ego Punicis.*] Horace is here in such a violent transport, that he suddenly stops himself, and introduces Regulus as speaking. Nothing adds a greater grace and strength to poetry than transitions of this kind, when made with judgement and propriety. Horace, by making Regulus harangue the senate, and dissuade them from an exchange of prisoners, admirably preserves the character of that great man, and gives a very instructive model to those who at this day put speeches into the mouths of the great men of antiquity.

32. *Erit ille fortis.*] Even before the time of Regulus, the Romans had declared all those infamous who suffered themselves to be taken prisoners with their arms in their hands. Eutropius, Lib. II. *Tum Romani jusserunt captivos omnes, quos Pyrrhus reddiderat, infames haberi, qui se armis defendere potuissent, nec ante eos ad veterem statum reverti, quam victorum hostium occisorum spolia retulissent.* " Then the Romans decreed, " that the prisoners sent back by Pyrrhus " should be declared infamous, because they " had suffered themselves to be taken sword " in hand; and that they should not be re- " stored to their former privileges, until they " had slain those enemies who were so well " known to them, and could produce the " spoils which they had taken from them." Livy, speaking of those Romans who had chosen rather to remain in the camp, and be made prisoners, than follow the fortune of their fellow-soldiers who bravely attempted to open a passage to themselves through the army of their enemies, says in the same manner as Horace does, *Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque (nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt?* " How is it possible that these soldiers should " become good and faithful citizens? For, " as to bravery, they themselves cannot have " the confidence to lay claim to it."

"tenacious of their liberty, *loaded with chains*, and their hands "tied fast behind them! I have seen the gates of our enemies' "cities open, and those fields cultivated, which our troops had laid "waste. Our soldiers, when ransomed with money, will, no doubt, "return more courageous: *Not at all.* Ye would *only* add a fruit-"less expense to infamy. Wool, when once stained, can never "recover its former colour *and brightness*; nor does true valour, "when once foiled, care to be restored *to its former glory* by "cowards. You will as soon see a timorous hind that has escaped "her toils, return and attack the huntsmen, as see a soldier become "brave who has once surrendered himself a slave to his treacherous "enemies: just so will the wretch who was afraid of death, and "still carries the shameful marks of his chains in his arms, tread "on our enemies *the Carthaginians* in a second battle. This coward, "not knowing how to save his life otherwise, shamefully asked "quarter with his arms in his hands*. What a reproach was this "*to Rome! What glory to Carthage!* O great Carthage, who "hast raised thy power on the disgraceful ruins of Italy!"

* Mixed peace with war.

NOTES.

37. *Hic, unde vitam.*] This is a very bitter invective against all those soldiers who yielded themselves to the enemy, as if they had not known that life was to be defended by the sword, and not by prayers and entreaties; not by a cowardly submission, but by a brave resistance.

38. *Pacem duello miscuit.*] Not observing the difference between these, they confounded them both; for in the very field of battle they threw away their arms, which ought to be laid aside only in time of peace. In the heat of the fight they were inactive, and surrendered themselves to the enemy at that very time when they ought to have made the stoutest resistance.

39. *O magna Carthago.*] It is a piece of great art in the poet, to make Regulus conclude his speech with this strong and pathetic apostrophe.

41. *Fertur pudicæ conjugis.*] The poet here resumes the discourse; but in order rightly to comprehend his meaning in these four lines, it will be necessary to remark, that by *Capitis diminutio* the Romans understood any considerable alteration in a man's station and condition in life. Of these the chief was when he lost his liberty, together with his right of being a citizen. This was properly the condition of those who were taken by the enemy. Regulus, being in this situation, was considered as *diminutus capite*; he was no more a citizen, but a slave; no more a husband, because marriage was valid only between citizens; he could not be said to have any children, because the paternal authority was part of his right as a citizen; he had lost the dignity of senator, and it is for the same reason that he refuses to acknowlege his wife and children; all which is clearly explained by a passage of Eutropius: *Ille Romam cum venisset, inductus in senatum, nihil quasi Romanus egit, dixitque se ex illa die qua in potestatem Afforum venisset, Romanum esse desiisse: itaque et uxorem è complexu removit, et Romanis suasit ne pax Pœnis fieret.* "After he arrived "at Rome, and was introduced to the se-"nate, he did not consider himself as a Ro-"man, but declared, that from the day of "his being taken by the Carthaginians, he "had ceased to be a citizen; upon that ac-

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
A se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse vultum;
Donec labantes consilio Patres
Firmaret auctor nunquam aliàs dato,
Interque mœrentes amicos
Egregius properaret exsul.
Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet: non aliter tamen
Dimovit obstantes propinquos,
Et populum reditus morantem,
Quàm si clientum longa negotia,
Dijudicatâ lite, relinqueret,
Tendens Venafranos in agros,
Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.

ORDO.

Regulus, ut minor capitis, fertur removisse à se osculum conjugis pudicæ, natosque parvos, et torvus posuisse virilem vultum humi; donec auctor firmaret labantes patres consilio nunquam alias dato, exsulque egregius properaret inter amicos mœrentes.

Atqui sciebat quæ barbarus tortor pararet sibi: tamen dimovit propinquos obstantes, et populum morantem reditus, non aliter quam si relinqueret longa negotia clientium, lite dijudicatâ, tendens in agros Venafranos aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.

NOTES.

" count he refused the caresses of his wife, " and dissuaded the Romans from making " peace."

42. *Capitis minor.*] The construction is *minor ratione capitis*, and *caput* is here used for *status, vitæ conditio.* Regulus had not only lost his liberty, but also the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen.

43. *Et virilem torvus humi posuisse vultum.*] Interpreters have very much mistaken the sense of this passage. While the senators were deliberating upon what Regulus had said, Horace represents him as keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground, and regarding himself as one who was no longer a senator, but a slave; this is the reason why Eutropius says, *Nihil quasi Romanus egit.* And Cicero, in the third Book of his Offices, *Sententiam in senatu dicere recusavit, quod diceret, quamdiu jure jurando hostium teneretur, non esse se senatorem.*

46. *Nunquam aliàs dato.*] For no Roman ever gave so severe an advice against himself. There are two things to be considered in this action of Regulus; the counsel he gave, not to exchange the Carthaginian prisoners for the Roman, and his return to Carthage. Horace contents himself with making a beautiful description, and giving us a fine image of his return, but insists very much upon the advice he gave; and, no doubt, he had seen the following reflection of Cicero, who, in the third Book of his Offices, says, *Sed ex tota hac laude Reguli, unum illud est admiratione dignum, quod captivos retinendos censuerit; nam quod rediit nobis nunc mirabile videtur, illis quidem temporibus aliter facere non potuit: itaque ista laus non est hominis, sed temporum; nullum enim vinculum ad astringendam fidem jurejurando majores arctius esse voluerunt.* " What seems most worthy of our admira- " tion in the behaviour of Regulus, is the " advice he gave to retain the prisoners; for,

Thus spoke this great hero, who, looking on himself as no longer a Roman citizen, refused* to his chaste wife one *parting* kiss, and put his little sons away from him, keeping his countenance fixed upon the earth with *a noble* pride, until by his counsel, to which history cannot afford a parallel†, he brought the wavering senators to a fixed resolution; and then, without being in the least moved with the tears‡ and lamentations of his friends, he made haste to return into an exile the most glorious that ever was known§. This great man well knew what cruel tortures his barbarous enemies were preparing for him; yet, *deaf to all intreaties,* he forced his way through his relations, and through crowds of people who endeavoured to retard his departure, *and embarked for Carthage with the same serenity of countenance,* as if, after having brought the tedious affairs of his clients to a happy issue, he was going to retire *for a few days* into the agreeable plains of Venafrum or Tarentum‖.

* Is said to have refused. † Never given on another occasion. ‡ Amidst his lamenting friends. § The glorious exile made haste. ‖ Lacedæmonian Tarentum.

NOTES.

" as to his return to Carthage, it does indeed " appear to us a surprising thing, but at " that time he could not have acted other- " wise. The praise therefore of this is not " properly due to Regulus, but to the times " in which he lived; for our ancestors look- " ed upon an oath as the strongest tie to " bind men to fulfill their engagements."

49. *Atqui sciebat quæ sibi.*] He again follows Cicero, who says, *Neque vero tum ignorabat se ad crudelissimum hostem, et ad exquisita supplicia proficisci.*

51. *Dimovit obstantes propinquos.*] Bentley has very well confirmed this reading *propinquos,* by citing a passage from Cicero's first Book of Offices, which, it is probable, Horace had in his eye: *Primum ut venit* (Regulus) *captivos reddendos non esse in senatu censuit. Deinde cum retineretur ab amicis et propinquis, ad supplicium redire maluit, quam fidem hosti datam fallere.* The relatives of Regulus, and the great crowd of people that opposed his return, form a beautiful picture. Horace omits none of the remarkable circumstances which might serve to raise and beautify his subject; and this, according to Longinus, is almost an infallible way to arrive at the great and sublime.

54. *Dijudicatâ lite.*] For Regulus was a senator. Horace could not have given a more agreeable and pleasing idea of the tranquillity and cheerfulness which appeared in the countenance of Regulus, when he left the senate, to return to Carthage, than in the way he has taken to express himself here. He did not appear like a man who was going to put himself into the hands of cruel and merciless enemies, but like a senator, who, after having decided the affairs of his clients, went to pass some time at a country seat, that he might have some relaxation from political and juridical pursuits.

56. *Lacedæmonium Tarentum.*] He calls the city of Tarentum *Lacedæmonium,* because it was a colony of Lacedæmon. It was once a very powerful and opulent city, maintained a considerable fleet, and an army of 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse. But its prosperity was of no long duration; for in the second Punic war it lost its liberty, and became a Roman colony; it then enjoyed a tranquillity it had never known before, and was happier in this than it had been in its most flourishing condition.

ODE VI.

This ode is full of morality. Horace endeavours to persuade the Romans, that the contempt of religion and corruption of manners which at that time prevailed, were the sole cause of the calamities which affected Rome.

AD ROMANOS.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes Deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.
Dis te minorem quòd geris, imperas:
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Dî multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ.
Jam bis Monæses, et Pacori manus,
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Nostros, et adjecisse prædam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.
Penè occupatam seditionibus
Delevit urbem Dacus et Æthiops;
Hic classe formidatus, ille
Missilibus melior sagittis.

ORDO.

O Romane, *tu* immeritus lues delicta majorum, donec refeceris templa ædesque labentes Deorum, et simulacra fœda fumo nigro.
Imperas, quod geris te minorem Dis. Hinc refer omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Dî neglecti dederunt multa mala luctuosæ Hesperiæ. Jam Monæses, et manus Pacori, bis contudit impetus nostros non auspicatos, et renidet adjecisse prædam torquibus *suis* exiguis. Dacus et Æthiops pene delevit urbem occupatam seditionibus; hic formidatus classe, ille melior missilibus sagittis.

NOTES.

1. *Delicta majorum.*] The wisest among the heathens have acknowleged this truth, that children may suffer for crimes of their parents, and that always, till reparation is made, the posterity of the criminals are liable to the punishment due to the offence of their fathers. It is worthy of observation, that all religions seem to unite in this point, because in all religions the disposal of human events is referred to the gods.

3. *Ædesque labentes Deorum.*] The difference between *templa* and *ædes sacræ* was, that the first were places which had not only been dedicated to some deity, but were also consecrated by the augurs. *Ædes sacræ* were such as wanted that consecration.

ODE VI.

Few of the odes of Horace excel this for strength of thought, fine images, and beautiful expressions. It was composed after the defeat of Antony, about the year of the city 725.

TO THE ROMANS.

REMEMBER, Romans, *that* though you had no concern in the sacrilege of your ancestors, ye shall be punished for their crimes, if ye do not take care to repair the public edifices, *rebuild* the temples of the gods, and *restore* their statues, sullied with smoke, *to their former beauty*. *If* ye are the lords of the universe, *it is* because ye acknowledge your subjection to the gods. It is in a dependence on them that ye ought always to begin your enterprises; and to them ye should ascribe the success. It is in consequence of your contempt of the gods that unhappy Italy has so often felt the effects of their displeasure. Twice have the troops of Monæses and Pacorus baffled our inauspicious efforts, and glory that they have enriched their little collars with the Roman spoils. The Dacian, dexterous at throwing the *pointed* dart, and the Æthiopian, formidable for his numerous fleet, had almost destroyed Rome embroiled in civil fac-

NOTES.

4. *Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.*] This is an extremely beautiful passage. Horace, after having spoken of the temples that were burned down, next represents to the view of his countrymen the statues of the gods, as yet black and sordid with the smoke of the flames which had reduced their temples to ashes.

5. *Dis te minorem.*] These two lines contain an excellent moral; nothing is more likely to induce sovereigns to make a good use of their authority, than the consideration of a Superior Being, upon whom they have a more immediate dependence than their subjects have upon them.

9. *Jam bis Monæses.*] Horace here without doubt speaks of the two victories which the Parthians had obtained over the Romans, the one under the conduct of Monæses, and the other under the command of Pacorus. The difficulty is to know whether Crassus was vanquished by Monæses, who was one of the leading men of the court of Orodes. Historians are agreed that it was Surena who defeated Crassus. It is true that Surena is not a proper name, but a title of dignity; and therefore his proper name might have been Monæses. What serves to render this conjecture more probable is, that it agrees best with the general design of Horace, which was to show that the calamities of the Romans proceeded from a contempt of religion, for Crassus marched against the Parthians, notwithstanding the great number of bad presages both in the city and camp, which portended his ruin.

14. *Dacus et Æthiops.*] The army of Antony and Cleopatra, the Æthiopians and

Fecunda culpæ secula nuptias
Primùm inquinavere, et genus, et domos:
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui:
Mox juniores quærit adulteros
Inter mariti vina; neque eligit
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia, luminibus remotis;
Sed jussa coràm, non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor,
Seu navis Hispanæ magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emtor.
Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque, et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum, Annibalemque dirum;
Sed rustìcorum mascula militum

ORDO.

Secula *nostra*, fecunda culpæ, primum inquinavere nuptias, et genus, et domos: clades derivata hoc fonte fluxit in patriam populumque.

Virgo matura gaudet doceri motus Ionicos, et jam nunc fingitur artubus, et meditatur incestos amores de tenero ungui: mox quærit juniores adulteros inter vina mariti; neque eligit cui raptim donet gaudia impermissa, luminibus remotis; sed jussa surgit coram, *et* non sine conscio marito, seu institor vocat, seu magister navis Hispaniæ, pretiosus emtor dedecorum.

Juventus orta non his parentibus, infecit æquor sanguine Punico; ceciditque Pyrrhum, et ingentem Antiochum, Annibalemque dirum; sed mascula proles rusticorum militum, docta

NOTES.

Ægyptians; for Ægypt was comprised under the general name of Æthiopia.

19. *Hoc fonte derivata clades.*] It is very remarkable, that Horace ascribes all the calamities which had befallen Rome, and all its civil wars, to the great prevalence of adultery. In this he follows exactly the doctrine of Pythagoras, who demonstrates that nothing is more capable of drawing down innumerable calamities upon a state, than the confounding of families by adultery.

21. *Motus Ionicos.*] The Ionians were reputed the most voluptuous people of Asia. Their music, their dances, and poetry, were evident marks of their effeminacy and luxury.

24. *De tenero meditatur ungui.*] This is a Greek proverb, *de tenero ungui, de teneris unguiculis*, from their infancy. Cicero, writing to Lentulus, says: *Præsta te eum qui mihi a teneris, ut Græci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus.* "Approve yourself the same person that I have known you to be from "your infancy."

30. *Institor.*] Properly a merchant's factor.

31. *Navis Hispanæ magister.*] *Magister navis* signifies sometimes the commander, sometimes the pilot. But Horace here uses it for the merchant who trades with the ship. There was a great commerce maintained between Italy and Spain. The Spaniards carried to Rome a great supply of wine, and brought thence other merchandise.

tions. The present age, so very fruitful in vice, first stained our marriages *by frequent adulteries*, which corrupted our offspring and families; *and* from this, *as from a poisoned* fountain, sprang that deluge of vice which nearly overflowed not only Rome, but all Italy.

A virgin, fit for marriage, places her chief delight in learning the dances of the Ionians, and in imitating their gestures. Even from her very infancy she indulges herself in criminal amours, and is no sooner married, than she looks out for new gallants at the very table of her husband. And so far is she from being nice to whom she grants her favours privately, that she is not ashamed publicly to go along *with strangers*, even with the consent of her *wicked* husband; whether a *rich* factor desires her, or the master of a Spanish vessel, who buys this infamy at a very great price. Such parents did not give birth to the brave youth who dyed the seas with Carthaginian blood, cut to pieces *the troops of* Pyrrhus, *defeated* the great Antiochus, and *triumphed over* dreadful Hannibal. No; they were the manly offspring of robust soldiers, inured to till the ground with

NOTES.

32. *Dedecorum pretiosus emtor.*] The word *pretiosus* is here exceedingly beautiful; for it signifies one who buys at a dear rate, who spares no cost, which the Romans properly called *damnosus*.

33. *Non his juventus*, &c.] He proves here what he had advanced in the 17th verse, that families were corrupted by the frequency of adultery; and for that end, he gives us a view of the vast difference between the Romans of his time and the ancient citizens, who had stained the sea with the blood of the Carthaginians, and vanquished Pyrrhus, Antiochus, and Hannibal.

35. *Pyrrhum.*] The Tarentines, having entered into a war with the Romans, called to their assistance Pyrrhus king of Epirus, one of the descendants of Achilles, and the most celebrated commander of his time. He overcame in battle the consul Lævinus, but some time after was totally defeated by Fabricius and Curius, and forced to retire into Greece. He was afterwards killed by the blow of a tile, while he besieged Antigonus in Argos.

35. *Ingentem Antiochum.*] Antiochus was king of Syria and a great part of Asia Minor. When he had been importuned by Hannibal and the Ætolians to take up arms against the Romans, all his grandeur came to nothing in less than three years. He was overcome in a sea-fight by Æmilius Regillus; his land-forces were defeated by Acilius Glabrio, and afterwards by Cornelius Scipio. In fine, he was reduced to the necessity of concluding a peace upon the shameful conditions of abandoning Asia Minor, and delivering up Hannibal to the Romans.

37. *Sed rusticorum mascula militum.*] The Roman troops were chiefly composed of peasants, taken for the most part from the countries of the Marsi, the Apulians, and the Samnites. There is a beautiful passage of Varro upon this subject, in the beginning of his third Book upon Agriculture: *Viri magni nostri majores non sine causa præponebant rusticos Romanos urbanis; ut rure enim qui in villa vivunt ignaviores quam qui in agro versantur, in aliquo opere faciundo, sic qui in oppido sederent, quam qui rura colerent, desidiores putabant.* "It was not without reason that "those great men, our ancestors, preferred "such Romans as lived in the country, to "those who dwelt in the city. For as it is "observable in the country itself, that those "who keep to their houses are more given "to sloth, than such as accustom themselves to labour in the fields; they were "also of opinion that they who inhabited "the city were less fit for service and fatigue, than such as lived in the country." He has a passage yet more express in the be-

Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras, et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

ORDO.

versare glebas Sabellis ligonibus, et portare fustes recisos ad arbitrium severæ matris; ubi sol mutaret umbras montium, et demeret juga bobus fatigatis, agens amicum tempus abeunte curru.

Quid dies damnosa non imminuit? Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos progeniem vitiosiorem.

ODE VII.

This ode is full of gallantry, and appears to have been written upon a real, not a feigned subject, whatever the learned Torrentius may say to the contrary. Horace does indeed write to a lady. It seems moreover to be with a view of comforting her for the absence of her husband or lover, whose coming was retarded by contrary winds; but, towards the conclusion of the ode, we may discover, that this is only a pretext which the poet makes use

AD ASTERIEN.

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent vere Favonii,
Thynâ merce beatum,
Constantis juvenem fide

ORDO.

O Asterie, quid fles Gygen juvenem constantis fidei, quem candidi Favonii restituent tibi primo vere, beatum Thynâ merce? Ille, actus

NOTES.

1. *Asterie.*] This is a Greek name formed from the word ἀστὴρ, a star.

1. *Candidi restituent vere Favonii.*] *Favonius* is the same with the zephyr or west wind. Horace gives it the epithet of *candidus*, because it introduces the spring, and renders navigable the sea; as, on the other hand, he gives the contrary epithet to those

Sabine spades, employed in cutting wood *all day*, and carrying it home *in great loads* under the inspection of their rigorous mothers, when the sun, finishing his course, altered the shadows of the mountains, relieved the weary oxen of their heavy yoke, and gave repose to labourers. What alterations does not time * produce? Our fathers were worse than their ancestors; we are more wicked than our fathers; and our posterity will probably be yet more wicked than we are.

* Wasting time.

NOTES.

ginning of the third Book. He says, *Itaque non sine causa majores nostri ex urbe in agros redigebant cives suos, quod et in pace à rusticis Romanis alebantur, et in bello ab his tutabantur.* "It was therefore an argument "of great wisdom and judgement in our ancestors, that they dispersed their citizens "about the country, because the Roman "peasants served to nourish them in time "of peace, and defend them in time of "war."

38. *Sabellis ligonibus.*] This phrase serves to show that the soldiers themselves were of the country of the Samnites. *Sabellus* is a diminutive of *Samnis*, as *scabellum* of *scamnum*.

ODE VII.

of, and that his chief purpose is, to exhort her to continue faithful and constant to Gyges, and to oppose the attempts of her neighbour Enipeus, as her lover resisted the passion of his hostess Chloe. Horace here performs an act of friendship to Gyges. It is uncertain at what time this ode was composed.

TO ASTERIE.

Why, Asterie, do you lament the absence of young Gyges your faithful lover, whom the western gales will early in the spring restore to your embraces, loaded with the riches he has gained by his commerce to Bithynia? In his voyage home he was driven,

NOTES.

winds which occasion rain and tempests. Torrentius has excellently remarked that we ought not to interpret this passage of Horace, as if he meant that the zephyr would serve to bring Gyges into Italy from the east; for the zephyr would rather have detained him from it, as it was directly against him. Horace simply says, that the zephyrs will restore Gyges, because they calm the seas and introduce the spring. He speaks after the same manner in one of his epistles:

——*Te, dulcis amice, reviset*
Cum zephyris.

"My dear friend, Horace shall again see "you with the zephyrs;" that is, in the beginning of the spring. Those who think

Gygen? Ille, Notis actus ad Oricum
Post insana Capræ sidera, frigidas
Noctes, non sine multis
Insomnis lacrymis, agit.
Atqui solicitæ nuncius hospitæ,
Suspirare Chlöen, et miseram tuis
Dicens ignibus uri,
Tentat mille vafer modis.
Ut Prœtum mulier perfida credulum
Falsis impulerit criminibus, nimis
Casto Bellerophonti
Maturare necem, refert:
Narrat penè datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens;
Et peccare docentes
Fallax historias monet;
Frustra; nam scopulis surdior Icari
Voces audit, adhuc integer. At, tibi
Ne vicinus Enipeus
Plus justo placeat, cave;
Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
Æquè conspicitur gramine Martio,
Nec quisquam citus æquè
Tusco denatat alveo.

ORDO.

Notis ad Oricum post insana sidera Capræ, insomnis agit frigidas noctes, non sine multis lacrymis.

Atqui nuncius hospitæ solicitæ, dicens Chloen suspirare, et miseram uri tuis ignibus, vafer tentat *illum* mille modis. Refert ut mulier perfida impulerit credulum Prœtum maturare necem Bellerophonti nimis casto falsis criminibus; narrat Pelea pene datum *fuisse* Tartaro, dum abstinens fugit Hippolyten Magnessam; et fallax monet historias docentes peccare; *sed* frustra; nam *ille* adhuc integer, audit *illius* voces surdior scopulis Icarii *maris*.

At *tu* cave ne vicinus Enipeus placeat tibi plus justo; quamvis non alius conspicitur *in* gramine Martio æque sciens flectere equum, nec quisquam æque citus denatat Tusco alveo.

NOTES.

that Horace says *candidi Favonii* for *albus Notus*, *Leuconotus*, are greatly deceived; for *Favonius* is never taken for the south wind.

3. *Thynâ merce.*] That is, *merce Bithynâ.* This country was very proper, on account of its situation, for the commerce of Asia and Europe; being upon the Thracian Bosphorus, between the Pontus Euxinus and the Ægean sea.

5. *Gygen.*] This Gyges was a young Greek, and rich trader, who, according to some, had espoused Asterie a little before, and was gone to trade in Bithynia.

5. *Oricum.*] A maritime town in the north of Epirus.

6. *Post insana Capræ sidera.*] According to ancient fable, the goat which nourished Jupiter, was transplanted into heaven, and became a star. The same name is also given to the two smaller stars very near this. Horace calls them *insana*, furious, violent, because their rising is ordinarily followed by dreadful tempests.

10. *Chloen.*] This Chloe of Oricum, with whom Gyges lodged, had apparently the reputation of not being very prudent. This

by a strong south wind, raised by the stormy Goat-star, to Oricum; where, bathed in tears, he passes the cold *winter* nights without sleep, *because at a distance from you.* In the mean time, the busy confident of his love-sick hostess fails not *daily* to inform him of Chloe's passion for him, and of the violent flame your lover's beauty has kindled in her breast, trying by a thousand little artifices to seduce him. He represents to him how the perfidious Antea instigated the credulous Prœtus to hasten the death of over-chaste Bellerophon, by *laying* false crimes *to his charge.* He tells him, that Peleus was almost precipitated into Tartarus, for refusing to gratify the passion of Hippolyte the wife of Acastus. In short, this fiend recounts all the little stories he can think of to tempt him to vice, but in vain; for, more immoveable than the rocks of the Icarian sea, he hears his artifices, and continues proof against all of them. Be you also upon your guard, that your neighbour Enipeus may not have too great a place in your affections, though, in the field of Mars, there does not appear one who is so dexterous as he in the managing of the race-horse, or can swim with greater celerity across the Tiber *. Be sure to shut your gates early in

* The Tuscan river.

NOTES.

was what probably might occasion the fears of Asterie, and at the same time makes the fiction of the poet the more likely, who thereby intended to represent, in the strongest light, the fidelity of her husband. *Tuis ignibus* is for *tuis amoribus, tuo conjuge.*

13. *Prœtum.*] Bellerophon and Peleus, the one the son of Glaucus and the other the father of Achilles, were both the victims of calumny. They had the misfortune to inspire two queens with love, and the virtue to resist their importunities. Antea, the wife of Prœtus, king of Argos, and Hippolyte, the wife of Acastus, king of Magnesia, accused, the one Bellerophon, and the other Peleus, of attempting to seduce them. Prœtus was satisfied with removing Bellerophon to some distance from him, and sending him to Jobates, his son-in-law, king of Lycia, who ordered him to combat the Chimæra. Peleus was delivered to the Centaurs to be devoured by them; but he had the good fortune to overcome them, by means of a sword he had received from Vulcan.

18. *Magnessam Hippolyten.*] See the preceding note.

19. *Peccare docentes historias.*] Horace ingeniously feigns, that this confident of Chloe tried two ways to prevail with Gyges to yield to this lady's desire. First, he endeavoured to alarm him with the fate of Bellerophon and Peleus, who were exposed to the greatest dangers by their obstinate refusal in a like case. This method not answering his expectation, he next proposes to him the example of those who sacrificed their honour to pleasure. And these are what Horace calls histories which entice a man to the commission of what is criminal; as that of Paris and Helen, of Jupiter and Alcmene.

21. *Scopulis surdior Icari.*] The Icarian sea (of which we have already spoken upon the ode, *Mæcenas atavis*) is that part of the Archipelago, which lies between the islands of Nicæria, Samos, Cos, and the continent of Natolia. The great number of little isles and rocks wherewith it is filled, make it very dangerous to sail in it.

22. *At, tibi.*] This address to Asterie is very natural. He demands nothing of her but what is just and equitable; and there is ground to believe that she stood in need

Primâ nocte domum claude; neque in vias
Sub cantu querulæ despice tibiæ; 30
Et te sæpe vocanti
Duram, difficilis mane.

ORDO.

Claude domum *tuam* prima nocte; neque despice in vias sub cantu tibiæ querulæ; et mane difficilis *illi* sæpe vocanti te duram.

NOTES.

of his advice. Enipeus was a young stranger, of whom at this time we know very little.

29. *Primâ nocte.*] The Latins made use of *primus* and *postremus*, to mark the beginning and the end of the same thing. Virgil says, *primus mensis*, for the beginning of the month; *prima urbs*, the entrance of the city; *prima nocte* signifies, therefore, in the beginning of the night.

30. *Despice.*] This word serves very well to express what the Greeks meant by παρακυπτειν, which was properly to look from a window in such a manner as to see what was passing in the street, without being perceived themselves; and this was what courtezans did when they listened to their lovers. Aristophanes has admirably expressed this custom in one of his comedies, when he says; "Act not like the courtezans, who look "from their windows, and, if any one "perceives them, immediately retire; but "look down again, as soon as they think "they are no more observed."

30. *Querulæ tibiæ.*] This passage is very remarkable, because it serves to show, that the ancients made use of the flute at their serenades, when in the night they

ODE VIII.

Mæcenas, going to visit Horace, was surprised to find him busied in making preparations for a domestic entertainment. The poet here mentions the reasons, and invites him to share in it. It is not very difficult to decide

AD MÆCENATEM.

Martiis cœlebs quid agam Calendis,
Quid velint flores, et acerra thuris
Plena, miraris, positusque carbo in
Cespite vivo,

ORDO.

O Mæcenas, docte sermones utriusque linguæ, miraris quid *ego* cœlebs agam Martiis calendis, quid flores velint, et acerra plena thuris, carboque positus in cespite vivo.

the evening; and if you hear at your window the sound of his warbling flute, beware you look not down into the street: should he *reproach you with your insensibility, and* call you cruel, *let not that move you; but* continue *to treat him with an* inflexible *severity.*

NOTES.

uttered their complaints before their mistresses' gates; and this is the reason of his calling it *querula*, complaining.

32. *Duram, difficilis mane.*] M. Le Fevre has very judiciously remarked, that Horace should have said *duram, dura mane:* for this change of the word destroys entirely the figure, which he ought to have followed exactly. This is an error in propriety, which in all languages ought to be the rule of expression. Virgil has fallen into a mistake of the same nature, in the 4th Book of the Æneid:

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas,
Imprecor, arma armis.

To maintain the opposition, he ought, without question, to have written *fluctibus fluctus*, as in Ennius and Lucretius; for *undas* cannot be opposed to *fluctibus*, as *litora* to *litoribus*, or *arma* to *armis*. "May "their banks be always at war with our banks, "their surges with our surges, and arms "with our arms." All the beauty of this passage would be lost, if I should say, their surges with our waves. Those who are not sensible of the necessity or the justness of this expression, will give but a very mean idea of their taste for composition.

ODE VIII.

the time of its composition; for Horace himself informs us of it, where he speaks of the Cantabri and Parthians being overcome: it seems therefore with great probability to have been about the year of the city 730.

TO MÆCENAS.

MÆCENAS, who art not only master of the Latin, but also of the Greek language *, *and acquainted with the ceremonies of both nations,* you seem to be at a loss to determine what I, who am un

* Learned in both languages.

NOTES.

1. *Martiis cœlebs quid agam Calendis.*] On the first day of March the *matronal* festival was solemnised by the Roman ladies, in memory of the Sabine virgins, who, being forcibly detained by the Romans, made peace on that day between their fathers and husbands, when the two armies were on the point of engaging. The day was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. The matrons sacrificed on the Esquiline hill, and the husbands offered up particular sacrifices to Janus. Mæcenas therefore, going to see Ho-

Docte sermonés utriusque linguæ.
Voveram dulces epulas, et album
Libero caprum, prope funeratus
Arboris ictu.
Hic dies, anno redeunte, festus
Corticem astrictum pice dimovebit
Amphoræ, fumum bibere institutæ
Consule Tullo.
Sume, Mæcenas, cyathos amici
Sospitis centum, et vigiles lucernas
Profer in lucem: procul omnis esto
Clamor et ira.
Mitte civiles super urbe curas.
Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen:
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
Dissidet armis:
Servit Hispanæ vetus hostis oræ
Cantaber, serâ domitus catenâ:

ORDO.

Ego, prope funeratus ictu arboris, voveram dulces epulas, et album caprum Libero. Hic dies festus, anno redeunte, dimovebit corticem pice astrictum amphoræ, institutæ bibere fumum consule Tullo. Mæcenas, sume centum cyathos sospitis amici, et profer vigiles lucernas in lucem: omnis clamor et ira procul esto.

Mitte curas civiles super urbe. Agmen Cotisonis Daci occidit: Medus infestus sibi dissidet armis luctuosis: Cantaber *incola* oræ Hispanæ vetus *noster* hostis servit, domitus sera catena:

NOTES.

race, wondered what might be the cause of his preparations, he not being a husband. This is the foundation of the ode.

5. *Docte sermones utriusque linguæ.*] Horace here praises Mæcenas on account of his understanding both the Greek and the Latin; for though the Latin was the natural language of the Romans, yet it was taught in the public schools as well as the Greek.

6. *Voveram.*] There is ground to believe that this was the first time that Horace offered up this sacrifice; that is, it was probably the first March that followed that in which he was in so great danger of being crushed by the fall of a tree. Unless this be allowed, we shall find it difficult to account for the surprise of Mæcenas upon seeing the preparations.

7. *Caprum.*] The ancients usually sacrificed to the gods animals which they hated. Thus they sacrificed a goat to Bacchus, because it destroyed the vines. The victims to the celestial gods were white; those to the infernal, black.

11. *Amphoræ, fumum bibere institutæ.*] They exposed their wine to the smoke, in order to ripen it, and remove that harsh and unpleasant taste which new wine ordinarily has.

12. *Consule Tullo.*] L. Volcatius Tullus was consul with Augustus in the year of the city 720. But assuredly Horace does not speak of this consulship; for at that rate the wine would have been only of ten years, and of consequence could not have been said to be very old. M. Le Fevre has well remarked, that Horace speaks here of L. Volcatius Tullus, who was consul with M. Lepidus, a year before the birth of Horace, in the year of Rome 687. On this supposition, Horace might with reason boast, that the wine he invited Mæcenas to share of was very old, it being about 43 years.

married intend by these preparations on the first of March; what these flowers mean, these censers full of incense, and these coals burning on the verdant turf. *Know that* having narrowly escaped the danger of being crushed to death by the fall of a *cursed* tree, I vowed *to give my friends* a handsome entertainment *annually*, and *sacrifice* a white goat to Bacchus. This agreeable anniversary is to me a day of feasting and rejoicing; and I design to broach a hogshead of wine that has been mellowing ever since Tullus was consul*. *Dear* Mæcenas, come and drink *with us on this occasion* a hearty glass † to the health of your friend *Horace;* let us continue *our mirth with* the light of flambeaux till the rising of the sun, and suffer no clamour or wrangling to be heard among us. Disengage yourself for a time from the cares *which attend* the government of Rome, *as the causes of our fears are removed.* The troops of Cotison, king of the Daci, are cut to pieces. Our foes the Medes, divided among themselves, turn their arms against one another. The Cantabrians, our old enemies on the Spanish coast, are at length forced to submit; and the Scythians, with their bows unstrung,

* This holy day with the revolving year shall sever the cork, fixed with pitch, from a cask that began to drink in smoke, Tullus being consul. † A hundred cups.

NOTES.

13. *Cyathos amici sospitis centum.*] By *Cyathos amici sospitis*, Horace evidently means *Cyathos qui propter amicum sospitem liberentur;* "which they ought to drink for "the safety of their friend, rejoicing that "he has escaped so threatening a danger." He says after the same manner, Ode 19.

Da Lunæ propere novæ,
Da noctis mediæ, da, puer, auguris
Murenæ.

In like manner Theocritus calls the wine he was to drink to the health of his mistress, ακρατον ερωτος, *Vinum amoris*, the wine of love.

15. *Profer in lucem.*] Drinking all night the Romans called *Græcari*, because it was from the Greeks they had that custom. Hence Propertius says,

Sic noctem patera, sic noctem carmine, donec
Injiciat radios in mea vina dies.

"With wine and songs the jovial night
"I'll pass,
"Till morning dart its rays into my
"glass."

15. *Procul omnis esto clamor et ira.*] Mæcenas was of a mild and sweet disposition; he was very fond of company and conversation, and the innocent pleasures of the table, and at the same time a great enemy to noise and tumult; he could not bear those excesses and extravagances which were too common on these occasions. Horace here promises that he shall meet with nothing of this kind at his table, and that their mirth shall be interrupted by nothing that may be disagreeable to him. This is the true design of Horace; and as for the other interpretations that have been given of this passage, whatever may be said in defence of them, they are manifestly forced, and will appear at best to be no more than ingenious conjectures.

Jam Scythæ laxo meditantur arcu
Cedere campis.
Negligens ne quâ populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimiùm cavere; et
Dona præsentis rape lætus horæ, ac
Linque severa.

ORDO.

jam Scythæ meditantur cedere campis laxo arcu.
Tu in præsens privatus parce nimium cavere, negligens ne qua *parte* populus laboret; et lætus rape dona præsentis horæ, ac linque severa.

NOTES.

18. *Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen.*] Horace here calls Cotison a Dacian, and Suetonius calls him king of the Getes; both amount to the same thing, because both these people are often comprised under either name. Cotison had sided with Antony against

ODE IX.

This ode is a master-piece in its kind; and Horace has found out the secret of uniting the politeness of the courtier with the simplicity of the rural swain.

AD LYDIAM.

Horatius.

Donec gratus eram tibi,
Nec quisquam potior brachia candidæ
Cervici juvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.
Lyd. Donec non aliâ magis
Arsisti, neque erat Lydia post Chloen,
Multi Lydia nominis
Romanâ vigui clarior Iliâ.

ORDO.

Horatius.
Donec *ego* eram gratus tibi, nec quisquam potior juvenis dabat brachia *tuæ* candidæ cervici, vigui beatior rege Persarum.

Lydia.
Donec *tu* non magis arsisti aliâ, neque Lydia erat post Chloen, *ego* Lydia multi nominis vigui clarior Romanâ Iliâ.

NOTES.

1. *Donec.*] The better to enter into all the delicacy and finesse of this little poem, it will be necessary to take notice of two laws that were inviolably observed in dia-

think of nothing but to retire from our frontiers. *Look on yourself at present* as a private person, *and* be not too uneasy about the safety and well-being of the people, but chearfully embrace those hours of pleasure which at present offer*, and disengage yourself for a time from the weighty affairs of state.

* The gifts of the present hour.

NOTES.

Augustus. But it is impossible to determine precisely the event to which Horace refers: for it cannot be understood of the defeat of the Daci by Lentulus, that happening several years after this ode was composed.

23. *Laxo arcu.*] When the Scythians offered proposals for peace, or retired from the field of battle, they held their bows unstrung.

26. *Privatus.*] This single word occasions all the difficulty of this passage; for as Mæcenas was at that time governor of Rome, why should Horace call him a private man? M. Le Fevre has solved this difficulty, by observing, that the poet here makes use of a figure very common to him, and that he says *privatus*, understanding *factus*, or *quasi esses privatus*: Lay aside your public character, and the cares attending it, for some time, and consider yourself as only a private man.

ODE IX.

The precise time when he wrote it is not known; but it is certain that it was composed before the 25th, and after the 8th, 13th, and 23d of the first Book.

TO LYDIA.

HORACE.

WHILE I was agreeable to you, and no rival, more in your favour, was allowed to throw his arms round your snowy neck, I thought myself more happy than the king of the Persians.

L. While you had not a greater affection for another, and Chloe was not preferred to Lydia, Lydia's name was famous, nor did Ilia, the foundress of our empire, ever live in so great glory.

NOTES.

logues of this kind, which by the Greeks and Latins were called *Amoibea Carmina*. He that spoke last was bound to answer in the same number and sort of verse, and at the same time to speak quite the contrary, or rise upon what the other had said. It is evident that Horace has observed both these rules with great delicacy.

2. *Nec quisquam potior.*] *Potior*, more happy, better received, as in Ode 15. Book 5.

Non feret assiduas potiorem te dare noctes.

"He will not bear that you should spend "whole nights with a more happy rival." In the same manner Tibullus says, Eleg. 6. Book 1.

At tu qui potior nunc es.

4. *Persarum vigui rege beatior.*] In the time of Horace the Persians had kings of their own, but they were subject to the king of the Parthians; and (properly speaking) were a particular kind of governors, honoured

Hor. Me nunc Thressa Chloe regit,
Dulces docta modos, et citharæ sciens;
Pro quâ non metuam mori,
Si parcent animæ fata superstiti.
Lyd. Me torret face mutuâ
Thurini Calais filius Ornithi;
Pro quo bis patiar mori,
Si parcent puero fata superstiti.
Hor. Quid si prisca redit Venus,
Diductosque jugo cogit aheneo?
Si flava excutitur Chloe,
Rejectæque patet janua Lydiæ?
Lyd. Quanquam sidere pulchrior
Ille est, tu levior cortice, et improbo
Iracundior Adriâ,
Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

ORDO.

Horatius.

Chloe Thressa nunc regit me, docta dulces modos et sciens citharæ; pro qua non metuam mori, si fata parcent animæ superstiti.

Lydia.

Calais filius Ornithi Thurini torret me mutua face; pro quo patiar bis mori, si fata parcent puero superstiti.

Horatius.

Quid si prisca Venus redit, cogitque jugo aheneo *nos* diductos? *Quid* si flava Chloe excutitur, patetque janua Lydiæ rejectæ?

Lydia.

Quanquam ille est pulchrior sidere, tu es levior cortice, et iracundior Adriâ improbo, amem vivere tecum, libens obeam tecum.

NOTES.

with the royal title. It is not of them that Horace speaks here, but of the ancient kings of Persia, as of Cyrus and Darius, who were called King of kings; and it was a very ordinary proverb, Happier than the king of Persia, because no kings had ever been richer and more powerful than they were.

6. *Neque erat Lydia post Chloen.*] Lydia here outdoes Horace: he had said *gratus eram*, she says *arsisti;* he, *nec quisquam potior;* she, *neque erat Lydia post Chloen.* It is only necessary to compare these expressions, to see that Lydia was very ill used.

6. *Post.*] The use of these two prepositions *post* and *ante* merits our notice; for the Latins employed them very elegantly, to express preference or superiority, and the contrary; for example, *Lydia post Chloen*, to signify that Chloe was preferred to Lydia. Sallust expresses himself much after the same manner in his history of Catiline: *Facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.* "I acknowledge that the Greeks "have surpassed the Romans in eloquence, "and that the Gauls have excelled them in "valour."

8. *Romanâ vigui clarior Ilîâ.*] In answer to what Horace had said, *Persarum vigui rege beatior*, "I was happier than the king of "the Persians;" Lydia says,

H. But now I am Chloe's * slave, who sings so sweetly, and plays so admirably on the harp; for whom I would not refuse to die, if the fates would spare her *precious* life.

L. Young Calais' † breast and mine glow with mutual fires; for whom I would suffer death twice, if the fates would spare the charming boy ‡.

H. What if our first love should *once more* return, and we be bound a second time with stronger ties than ever ||—if fair Chloe should be cast off, and *dear* Lydia taken home again §?

L. Though Calais is more beautiful than the sun, and you lighter than cork *itself*, and more passionate than the Adriatic sea is stormy, yet with you I would choose to live, with you I would choose to die.

* Thracian Chloe. † Calais the son of Ornithus of Thurium. ‡ The boy alive.
|| A brazen yoke. § And the door be opened to rejected Lydia.

NOTES.

Romanâ vigui clarior Iliâ.

"I have lived in greater glory than ever "Roman Ilia did."

In reality, the felicity of the Persian kings was greatly inferior to the glory of Ilia, who had been the wife of Mars, mother of Romulus, and the foundress of the Roman empire. On this account Horace calls her Roman.

14. *Thurini Calais filius Ornithi.*] This Calais would at first sight seem to be different from Sybaris of Ode 8. and Telephus of Ode 13. Book I. Yet if we examine the matter attentively, there is pretty good ground to think that Sybaris is the same who is here called Calais, and that the last is the proper name, and the other a patronymic. What very much favours this conjecture is, that Sybaris and Thurinus signify the same thing; this last being an adjective derived from the name of a city in the extremity of Lucania, on the gulf of Tarentum, and which was anciently called Sybaris.

18. *Diductosque jugo cogit aheneo.*] There is some difficulty in finding out the true meaning of these words; for if Venus had formerly joined them by indissoluble ties, it is evident that they would have still continued to love each other, and thus the demand of Horace appears quite useless. This is what has made some people think that we ought to read *diductumque.* But upon examining the words more closely, it appears that there is no necessity to make any alteration in the reading, and that the real meaning of Horace is this: "If our former love should "revive, and Venus unite us by ties more "lasting than the first; would you still regret this Calais, for whose sake you say "you would cheerfully suffer death?" This sense is confirmed by the answer which Lydia herself returns to Horace, who does not simply say, "If that were the case, I would "live and die with you;" but, "I would live "and die with you the most contented and "happy creature in the world." It is the single word *libens* which points out this beautiful meaning, and discovers the delicacy of Horace, and the justness of his expression.

ODE X.

Hitherto we have seen but a fragment of one of those songs which lovers repeated at the gate of the fair, when admittance was refused. That fragment is in the 25th Ode of the first Book. But here we have an entire song, which Horace repeated at the gate of Lyce; and what renders it the more valuable is, that it is the only Latin one we have remaining of all antiquity. We are not very much enriched by the Greek antiquity; for all the entire remains of this kind are, two in the

AD LYCEN.

Extremum Tanaim si biberes, Lyce,
Sævo nupta viro, me tamen, asperas
Porrectum ante fores, objicere incolis
Plorares Aquilonibus.
Audis quo strepitu janua, quo nemus,
Inter pulchra situm tecta, remugiat
Ventis? et positas ut glaciet nives
Puro numine Jupiter?
Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente retro funis eat rotâ.

ORDO.

O Lyce, si nupta sævo viro biberes extremum Tanaim, tamen plorares objicere aquilonibus incolis me, porrectum, ante *tuas* asperas fores.

Nonne audis quo strepitu janua, quo *strepitu* nemus, situm inter pulchra tecta, remugiat ventis? et ut Jupiter glaciet nives positas numine puro?

NOTES.

1. *Extremum Tanaim.*] This is to express that part of the Tanais which was at the greatest distance from Rome, and of consequence the place of its source. The Tanais empties itself into the Palus Meotis; but the ancients were ignorant whence it derived its origin. Some thought it was from Mount Caucasus, others from the Riphean mountains; the opinion which prevails most at present is, that it takes its rise from a great lake; and this was the sentiment of Herodotus.

1. *Lyce.*] This was a Tuscan lady; or at least the daughter of a Tuscan, as appears by verse 12. It is against the same Lyce that Horace writes the 13th Ode of the fourth Book.

2. *Sævo nupta viro.*] One would be apt to think at first sight, that these three words were contrary to the intention of Horace; in as much as a lady, who is married to a cruel and barbarous husband, is usually very much disposed to hearken to the addresses of a lover: but we must regard this passage in quite another light. Horace would have us to know that Lyce's fear of a barbarous husband, could not prevent her from being touched with pity, and from lament-

ODE X.

works of Theocritus (Idyll. 3. and 24.), and one in Aristophanes. It is true that these two are sufficient to give a very clear idea of this custom, and make us sensible of the beauty of these songs, which were called παρακλαυσιθυρα, because they were sung before a gate that was shut. It is worth while to take notice that in singing them they made use of both the flute and the voice.

TO LYCE.

If you lived, Lyce, at the source * of the Tanais, *and were* married to a cruel *and barbarous* husband, you could not surely, without weeping, see me lying at your gate, exposed to the severity of the north winds. Do not you hear how your gate creaks with the *high* winds, how the grove planted round your beautiful villa rebellows the sound? Do not you feel how the pure and serene air congeals the snow that covers the earth? Lay aside therefore this disdain so disagreeable to Venus, lest you provoke that goddess to punish you for your obstinacy †. Remember that you were born of

* Drank at the source. † Lest the cord go backward while the wheel runs round

NOTES.

ing even in his presence, to see him stretched before her gate, during the severest nights of the winter.

3. *Porrectum ante fores.*] It is impossible but many of the graces of Horace must be lost to those who are unacquainted with the customs and modes of speaking in use among the Greeks. For example, in this passage there is a beauty which yields a real pleasure, when once it comes to be known. There were two ways of singing these poems, the one to sing them while they lay stretched on the ground, and the other to stretch themselves upon the ground after they had ceased to sing. Horace follows the first custom, and Theocritus, Idyll 3, the last; as does also Aristophanes. *Porrectus ante fores* therefore in Horace, is the same with the πεσων κειτομαι of Aristophanes and Theocritus; and there is no necessity for reading *projectum.*

8. *Puro numine Jupiter.*] Jupiter is often taken for the air, and in this idea of him Horace should have written *puro lumine;* but he preferred *numine,* because of the word *Jupiter;* for as Jupiter and the air are synonymous terms, so *numen* and *lumen* may be used as such likewise.

10. *Ne currente retro funis eat rotâ.*] Some are of opinion that Horace here means that kind of wheel which the ancients made use of, in order to enable their vessels to overcome the force of a current, and that we ought to translate the passage after this manner: Lay aside therefore this severity so disagreeable to Venus, lest, if the cord should break, you may be carried away by the strength of the current. But my explication is more agreeable to our way of speaking.

Non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrrhenus genuit parens.
O, quamvis neque te munera, nec preces,
Nec tinctus violâ pallor amantium,
Nec vir Pieriâ pellice saucius
Curvat; supplicibus tuis
Parcas, nec rigidâ mollior esculo,
Nec Mauris animo mitior anguibus.
Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquæ
Cœlestis patiens latus.

ORDO.

Pone superbiam ingratam Veneri, ne funis eat retro rota currente. Tyrrhenus parens non genuit te Penelopen difficilem procis.

Quamvis, O *Lyce*, neque munera nec preces *curvant* te, nec pallor amantium tinctus violâ, nec vir saucius Pieria pellice curvat te, *et hactenus fuisti* nec mollior rigida esculo, nec mitior animo anguibus Mauris, *jam tandem* parcas tuis supplicibus. Latus hoc non erit semper patiens liminis aut aquæ cœlestis.

NOTES.

11. *Non te Penelopen.*] Horace does not here say to Lyce, that she was not a Penelope; for, besides that this would not be at all to speak like a man of gallantry, it would moreover be entirely contrary to what follows. But he tells her, that, having sprung from Tuscan parents, she was not born to be a Penelope; for the Tuscans were a voluptuous race.

11. *Difficilem procis.*] The history of Penelope is well known. She frustrated all the attempts of her lovers, and maintained her virtue and chastity to the last, notwithstanding the absence of her husband.

14. *Pallor amantium.*] Paleness is one great mark of love, whence Ovid says,

Palleat omnis amans, color est hic aptus amanti,

"Every lover should be pale, for this "colour suits lovers exceedingly well." Sappho has not been forgetful of this circumstance, in the beautiful draught she has given us of that passion:

——— ——— χλωροτερη δε ποιας
Εμμι.

Tuscan parents, not to be another Penelope, who was so very difficult *of access* to her lovers. O though neither the presents nor prayers, nor paleness* of your admirers, nor *the affront* your husband *gave you in being* captivated with *the charms of* a Pierian girl, can move you *to pity;* O you who are not softer than a rigid *old* oak, nor milder in temper than Mauritanian serpents, show a little more favour to your suitors. This body† of *mine* cannot always bear *lying on* your hard threshold, or *being exposed to* the rain, *pouring down* from heaven *upon it.*

* Paleness dyed with a violet. † Side.

NOTES.

14. *Violâ.*] Thus Virgil says, *pallentes violas*, which Servius interprets, *amantium tinctas colore.*

15. *Nec vir Pieriâ pellice saucius.*] *Pieria* might possibly be the proper name of the courtezan with whom Lyce's husband had fallen in love; but it is more probable that *Pieria* is a patronymic, to denote that she was of Pieria, that is, of Thrace or Macedonia.

16. *Supplicibus tuis parcas.*] This passage is not without difficulty; for, as Horace had before said that this Lyce would not be influenced either by the presents or prayers of her lovers, and that she seemed even insensible to the affront her husband offered her in preferring another's charms, why should he say here, *supplicibus tuis parcas?* Torrentius is of opinion, that by *preces* he understands simple prayers and entreaties, and by *supplicibus* those lovers who addressed her on their knees; but this is far from being the true sense. Horace would make Lyce sensible that although neither the prayers nor presents of her lovers made any impression on her mind, and she still continued obstinate and inflexible, yet out of love to herself she ought to manage them with a little more lenity and gentleness, and not make them altogether desperate; that, as for himself, he would not be always of the humor to pass the night at her gate, and expose himself to the rigour of the season.

19. *Non hoc semper erit liminis.*] What Horace here denounces against Lyce actually came to pass some years after; for he wrote the 13th Ode of the fourth Book against her. From this it evidently appears that Horace could not have been very old when the present ode was written.

ODE XI.

The subject of this ode is common; but it must be acknowledged, that the poet knew how to give it an air of grandeur. The bad treatment he met with from Lyde was carried so far, that she would not even hear his verses sung. He endeavoured to vanquish her obstinacy by this poem, the sublimity of which almost equals that of Pindar. It consists of two parts; the first con-

AD MERCURIUM.

Mercuri, (nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo)
Tuque, testudo, resonare septem
Callida nervis,
Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et
Divitum mensis et amica templis;
Dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
Applicet aures;
Quæ, velut latis equa trima campis,
Ludit exsultim, metuitque tangi,
Nuptiarum expers, et adhuc protervo
Cruda marito.
Tu potes tigres comitesque sylvas
Ducere, et rivos celeres morari.
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
Janitor aulæ

ORDO.

O Mercuri, (nam docilis Amphion movit lapides canendo, te magistro) tuque, o testudo, callida resonare septem nervis, olim nec loquax neque grata, nunc amica et mensis divitum et templis; dic modos, quibus Lyde applicet obstinatas aures; *Lyde* quæ, velut equa trima, ludit exsultim *in* latis campis, metuitque tangi, expers nuptiarum, et adhuc cruda protervo marito.

Tu potes ducere tigres comitesque sylvas, et morari celeres rivos. Cerberus, janitor immanis aulæ, cessit tibi blandienti, quamvis

NOTES.

2. *Amphion.*] The poet, requesting Mercury to assist him in softening the insolence of Lyde, puts him very opportunely in mind of the story of Amphion, who was instructed by that god in the management of the harp. This Amphion was the son of Jupiter and Antiope. He so far soothed the savage and turbulent dispositions of mankind by the charms of poetry and music, that by his persuasion they were induced to build cities, and establish themselves into societies, governed by the same laws. On this foundation the poets have feigned that the very stones, moved by his harmonious accents,

ODE XI.

tains the invocation, and the praises of Mercury and the harp: the other comprehends the song which Mercury dictates to Horace; this song is no other than the fable of the Danaides, which the poet makes use of to put Lyde in mind that cruelty is punished even in hell; and thus he softens her insolence.

TO MERCURY.

O Mercury, who didst by thy divine precepts instruct the docile Amphion in the secret of giving motion to stones by the force of his music; and thou, my harp, that makest such a charming sound with seven strings, thou that formerly hadst neither harmony nor agreeableness, but art now much in request both at the tables of the great and in the temples of the gods, teach me such agreeable airs as may command the attention of the obstinate Lyde, who, like a wild young colt, frisks about the verdant meads, having never experienced the sweets of love, and, being as yet unfit for marriage, shuns the company of her lovers. Thou canst tame the *most savage* tigers, and make the very woods and forests to follow you; and thou canst suspend the current of the most impetuous rivers. Cerberus,

NOTES.

met together and ranged themselves in such a manner as to form the walls of Thebes, a city in Bœotia.

13. *Tu potes tigres.*] In the twelve following lines, which are extremely beautiful, the poet addresses his harp only. After the story of Amphion he brings in that of Orpheus, which is equally powerful to conquer the obstinacy of Lyde. The one animated rocks, the other rendered tigers and the most savage beasts tame and tractable; and both of them performed these prodigies by the charms of music and poetry. Orpheus, of whom Horace here speaks without naming him, was of Thrace, and excelled equally in poetry and music. These talents made him be taken for the son of Apollo and Calliope, one of the muses, and were the occasion of attributing to him all those prodigies which are related of him.

15. *Cessit immanis tibi blandienti.*] He has said the same of Bacchus, Ode 19. Book II.

Te vidit insons Cerberus.

Here he speaks of the story of Orpheus' descent into hell; where, by the fascination of his music, he so charmed the hard-hearted Pluto, as to obtain from him his dear Eurydice, whom, however, by his impatience he soon lost again.

Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus, atque
Spiritus teter, saniesque manet
Ore trilingui.
Quin et Ixion, Tityosque vultu
Risit invito: stetit urna paulùm
Sicca, dum grato Danäi puellas
Carmine mulces.
Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
Virginum pœnas, et inane lymphæ
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
Seraque fata,
Quæ manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
Impiæ, (nam quid potuere majus?)
Impiæ sponsos potuere duro
Perdere ferro.
Una de multis, face nuptiali
Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendidè mendax, et in omne virgo
Nobilis ævum:

ORDO.

centum angues muniant ejus caput furiale, atque teter spiritus saniesque manet *ex* ore trilingui. Quin et Ixion, Tityosque risit vultu invito: urna stetit paulum sicca, dum mulces puellas Danai grato carmine.

Lyde audiat scelus atque notas pœnas virginum, et dolium inane lymphæ pereuntis imo fundo, seraque fata, quæ manent culpas etiam sub Orco. Impiæ *virgines* (nam quid majus potuere?) impiæ potuere perdere sponsos duro ferro. Una de multis, digna face nuptiali, fuit splendide mendax in parentem perjurum, et virgo nobilis in omne ævum; quæ dixit juveni marito, "Surge,

NOTES.

17. *Furiale.*] Commentators have not observed either the beauty or force of this word. *Furiale* signifies here, after the manner of the Furies. Florus uses the same word, and in the same sense, in the 12th chapter of his first book. *Fidenæ, quia pares non erant ferro, ad terrorem movendum facilus armatæ, et discolorilus serpentum in modum vittis, furiali more processerant.* And chap. 12. Book III. *Atqui hæc Cæsarem atque Pompeium furialibus in exitium Reipublicæ facilus armavit.*

21. *Ixion.*] This prince was the son of Phlegias, king of the Lapithæ, a people of Thessaly. Jupiter took him into heaven, where he would have ravished Juno, if Jupiter had not introduced a cloud of the shape of Juno, upon which he begot the Centaurs. This is a true image of the vain and empty enjoyments of ambitious men. Jupiter afterwards cast him into hell, where, as a punishment of his impiety, he was tied fast to a wheel which perpetually turned round.

21. *Tityosque.*] See the remark upon the fourth Ode of this Book, verse 77.

22. *Risit.*] A certain commentator is of opinion that this metaphor is by far too strong, and inconsistent even with probability and good sense. But there is reason to think he has not thoroughly examined the passage, or understood what Horace intended to express by the word *risit.* The complaints and lamentations of Orpheus might be so tender and affecting as to render these unhappy wretches for some time insensible of torments, who might then discover in their countenances those marks of attention and joy, which are forward enough to show themselves in those who are lovers of music, and have a taste for mournful and passionate airs;

the frightful porter of the infernal palace, (whose head is surrounded, like those of the Furies, with a hundred serpents, and from whose terrible mouth flows a pestilential steam, and *sometimes* blood,) was forced to submit to the sweetness of thy notes. Even Ixion and Tityos, notwithstanding their torments, could not help discovering in their countenances marks of pleasure and joy, while they attended to thy song. The Danaides also, ravished with its sweetness, laid aside their urns, which, for some time, remained dry. Let Lyde observe the crime and remarkable punishment of these virgins, who are condemned to fill a leaky cask with water, which runs out at the bottom as fast as they pour it in *at the top*. *Let her also know that* the fates, though slow, have decreed to punish the guilty even in hell. Those impious wretches, (for what greater impiety could they commit?) *I say*, those impious wretches were so cruel as to plunge their daggers into the breasts of their *innocent* bridegrooms. One only of all that numerous race, who alone was worthy of the name of a bride*, gloriously deceived her perjured father, and thereby acquired immortal honour. "Arise, (said she to her young husband)

* Nuptial torch.

NOTES.

and it is upon these marks of joy, tenderness, and pity, that Horace has with so much propriety bestowed the epithet of laughter.

23. *Danai puellas.*] Danaus, the son of Belus, and king of Argos, had fifty daughters, whom he married on the same day to as many sons of his brother Ægyptus. See the story at length, Book II. Ode 14. v. 18.

25. *Audiat Lyde.*] In the beginning of his song he repeats the name of Lyde, to let her know that it was on her account chiefly that he sang what Mercury and his harp inspired.

29. *Quæ manent culpas.*] Interpreters have been in doubt whether the pronoun relates to *fata*, or ought to be joined to *virgines*. But they might easily decide this matter, did they but carefully examine the ode. It can relate only to *fata;* the invocation ends at this verse, and the song, which Horace demands of Mercury and his harp, begins at *Impiæ*. These transitions are very frequent.

31. *Impiæ.*] Besides that this repetition is extremely beautiful, the word is here taken in its proper signification. *Impius* is said of one who is destitute of those sentiments of tenderness and respect which we ought to have for our prince, our parents, our friends, and our country.

33. *Una de multis.*] Hypermnestra. Some authors relate that she was not the only one, but that Bibrice also saved her husband.

35. *Splendidè mendax.*] This is both a happy and noble expression. It is known that Danaus had made his daughters promise to slay their husbands the first night after their marriage.

35. *Et in omne virgo.*] The word *virgo* is used here, as elsewhere, to signify a married woman. But perhaps Horace introduces this word here, to explain a very remarkable circumstance in the history of Hypermnestra, who spared her husband Lynceus, only because he had spared her in not forcing her to break the vow by which she had bound herself to preserve her virginity.

Surge, quæ dixit juveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
Non times, detur; socerum et scelestas
Falle sorores,
Quæ, velut nactæ vitulos leænæ,
Singulos (eheu) lacerant: ego, illis
Mollior, nec te feriam, nec intra
Claustra tenebo.
Me pater sævis oneret catenis,
Quòd viro clemens misero peperci;
Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
Classe releget.
I, pedes quò te rapiunt et auræ,
Dum favet nox et Venus: i secundo,
Omine, et nostri memorem sepulchro
Sculpe querelam.

ORDO.

" surge, ne longus somnus detur tibi, unde
" non times; falle socerum et scelestas
" *meas* sorores, quæ (eheu!) lacerant *spon-*
" *sos* singulos velut leænæ nactæ vitulos:
" ego mollior illis, nec feriam te, nec tenebo
" *te* inter *hæc* claustra. Pater oneret me sæ-
" vis catenis, quod *ego* clemens peperci mi-
" sero viro; vel releget me classe in extre-
" mos agros Numidarum. I, quo pedes et
" auræ rapiunt te, dum nox et Venus favet
" *tibi*: i, secundo omine, et culpe querе-
" lam memorem nostri sepulchro *meo*."

NOTES.

37. *Surge.*] The following verses to the end of the ode, contain the speech of Hypermnestra to Lynceus. It is impossible to include, in fewer words, sentiments more

" arise quickly, that you may not be plunged into a long sleep by a " hand you least suspect; fly from the fury of my inhuman father " and cruel sisters, who now, alas, tear their husbands to pieces as " hungry lionesses do young heifers. But I, more merciful than " they are, will neither make the least attempt on your life, nor de- " tain you here. Let my barbarous father load me with chains, " because I spared the life of my unfortunate husband: let him " banish me to the remotest parts of Numidia; yet do you go, *save* " *yourself and fly*, whether by land or sea*, while Venus and the " night favour your retreat: go under fortunate auspices, and forget " not to engrave on my tomb an epitaph in memory of your great " regret, and my sincere affection†."

* Where your feet or the winds carry you. † A complaint in remembrance of me.

NOTES.

lively and tender. Our poet excels in speeches of this kind, as we have formerly remarked. Ovid, in his fourteenth epistle, writes much after the same manner:

Surge age, Belide, de tot modo fratribus unus:
Nox tibi, ni properas, ista perennis erit.

But Horace knew how to give his sentiments a more heroic and passionate turn, to make them agree with the lyric style.

45. *Me pater sævis.*] And it actually happened as she apprehended; for her father shut her up in close prison, as is related by Apollodorus; thus in Ovid she writes to Lynceus in the following manner:

Clausa domo teneor, gravibusque coercita vinclis.

Pausanias adds, that Danaus had even the confidence to accuse her before the judges, and endeavoured to procure her condemnation.

ODE XII.

Horace wrote this to Neobule to encourage her against the troublesome and peevish humour of an uncle, to advise her to take proper measures to allay her anxieties, and to justify her in the love she bore to Hebrus, who

AD NEOBULEN.

Miserarum est, neque amori dare ludum,
Neque dulci mala vino lavere; aut exanimari, metuentes patruæ verbera linguæ.
Tibi qualum Cythereæ puer ales,
Tibi telas, operosæque Minervæ
Studium aufert, Neobule, Liparæi nitor Hebri;
Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte,
Neque pugno, neque segni pede victus,
Simul unctos Tiberinis humeros lavit in undis;

ORDO.

Est miserarum neque dare ludum amori, neque lavere mala dulci vino; aut exanimari metuentes verbera patruæ linguæ.

O Neobule, ales puer Cythereæ aufert tibi qualum; nitor Hebri Liparæi, *aufert* tibi telas studiumque operosæ Minervæ; *Hebri, inquam, qui est* eques melior ipso Bellerophonte, victus neque pugno, neque segni pede, simul lavit unctos humeros in undis Tiberinis: idem etiam catus jaculari cervos fugientes per apertum,

NOTES.

1. *Miserarum est.*] Horace has not invented this expression. It is a common phrase; a mode of speaking which took place even in St. Jerome's time, who mentions it as the reproach of the ladies of that age; *Et quum viderint pallentem atque tristem, miseram vocant.* "And when they see a woman "pale and disconsolate, *i. e.* modest and reserved, they call her miserable." This indeed has been the language of every corrupt age. Plato tells us it was a common saying at Athens, that they who were regardless of sensual pleasures, were unhappy and unworthy of life.

1. *Neque amori dare ludum.*] This is a way of speaking somewhat remarkable, *dare ludum* instead of *indulgere, obtemperare,* to abandon one's self, to yield to. Plautus uses nearly the same way of speaking in his Bacch. Act v. Sc. 10.

Ego dare me ludum meo gnato institui, ut animo obsequium sumere possit. Æquum esse puto; sed nimis nolo desidiæ ei dare ludum.

"I will have some indulgence for my son; "it is reasonable that he should now and "then take a little pleasure. But I will "not at all allow that he should abandon "himself to that indolence and sloth which "love usually inspires."

In Titus Livius, Scipio calls love, *ludus ætatis: Si frui liceret ludo ætatis.* Lib. XXVI. 50.

3. *Patruæ verbera linguæ.*] Among the Romans the uncles had great authority over their nephews; and as it was very rarely that they treated them with the indulgence of a parent, their cross and peevish humour passed into a proverb, in such a manner,

ODE XII.

was a youth of a very graceful appearance, and, at the same time, excelled in all manly and warlike exercises.

TO NEOBULE.

IT is only for the unhappy to deny themselves the pleasures of love, and refuse to allay their anxieties with wine; or to live in continual fear of the lashes of a peevish uncle's tongue.

O Neobule, *Cupid*, the winged son of Cytherea, has made you throw aside your basket and your web: the arts of the industrious Minerva are no longer agreeable to you since you were charmed with the beauty of young Hebrus, who is a better horseman than Bellerophon *himself*, is always victorious in the public exercises, and, when he has anointed himself with oil, shows his great dexterity in swimming. How expert is he at rousing and then wounding

NOTES.

that the word uncle came to signify a censor, a rigorous overseer. Thus Horace himself, (Sat. 3. Book II.) says,

——*Ne sis patruus mihi*——

"Do not act the part of a rigid censor, "or behave like an uncle to me."

4. *Qualum.*] *Qualus* is a basket, or hamper, in which the ladies kept their spindles, &c.

5. *Tibi telas, operosæque Minervæ.*] Horace here tells us, that Neobule was incapable of applying her mind any more to work, on account of the love she had for young Hebrus. Sappho, addressing herself to her mother, speaks in the same strain: "Dear mo-"ther, I am no longer capable of applying to "work; a youth has kindled in my breast a "flame that gradually consumes me."

6. *Liparæi nitor Hebri.*] *Nitor Hebri*, the beauty of Hebrus, for the beautiful Hebrus. Lipara is one of the Æolian islands near Sicily.

7. *Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte.*] Torrentius has very well remarked, that this way of speaking, *Nitor Hebri eques melior Bellerophonte*, is without example; and M. le Fevre has gone so far as to pronounce it vicious and inexcusable. For although the Greeks sometimes say, *Vis Herculis, Vis Priami*, for Hercules or Priam; yet they never took the liberty to say, *Vis Herculis erat melior imperator quàm Theseus;* and this is almost the same thing, or rather somewhat more bold, to say, *Nitor Hebri eques ipso melior Bellerophonte.* A famous critic has endeavoured to amend this by transposing the lines; but the remedy is worse than the disease; for Horace, in describing the address of Hebrus, in the exercises of the Campus Martius, follows the order of the exercises themselves; as they never threw themselves into the Tiber but after running, wrestling, mounting the horse, or some such violent exercise.

Catus idem per apertum fugientes
Agitato grege cervos jaculari, et
Celer alto latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum.

ORDO.

agitato grege, et celer excipere aprum latitantem alto fruticeto.

QDE XIII.

Those who have thoroughly examined the turn and inimitable simplicity of this description which Horace gives us of the fountain of Blandusia, have acknowleged that it is one of the prettiest of its kind. Great poets have a power of conferring immortality on what they please, and raising in their successors a curiosity about things that, had it not been for them, would have been quite overlooked. As long as Horace's reputation lasts, that is,

AD FONTEM BLANDUSIÆ.

O Fons Blandusiæ, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis hœdo,
Cui frons turgida cornibus
Primis, et Venerem et prœlia destinat,
Frustra; nam gelidos inficiet tibi
Rubro sanguine rivos
Lascivi soboles gregis.
Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ
Nescit tangere: tu frigus amabile

ORDO.

O fons Blandusiæ splendidior vitro, digne dulci mero, non sine floribus, cras donaberis hœdo, cui frons turgida primis cornibus, destinat et Venerem et prœlia frustra; nam soboles lascivi gregis inficiet tibi gelidos rivos rubro *suo* sanguine.

Atrox hora flagrantis Caniculæ nescit tan-

NOTES.

1. *Fons Blandusiæ.*] Blandusia was properly a small extent of land in the country of the Sabines. This fountain was situated at the foot of mount Lucretilis, now mount Libretti. It was usually called Digentia.

2. *Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus.*] The difficulty of this passage is to know, whether the words *non sine floribus*, are properly connected with *mero*, or relate to the following verse; *Cras donaberis hœdo, non sine floribus.* The first seems to be most natural and likely; Horace hereby explains to us a very solemn custom of the ancients, which was, when they intended to make libations, to fill the cup entirely, and crown it with flowers. Servius, upon the first Book of the

the stags as they fly along the open *plain!* nor does he want *either* activity *or courage* to surprise the furious wild boar as he lies concealed in his shady thicket.

ODE XIII.

as long as poetry shall be had in honour, the memory of this fountain shall remain; and it shall be named with those which the descriptions of antiquity have rendered most famous. One thing which serves very much to heighten the value of this ode, is, that it furnishes us with a very curious example of the sacrifices that were usually offered to fountains.

TO THE FOUNTAIN OF BLANDUSIA.

FOUNTAIN of Blandusia, clearer than crystal, and who art so worthy *to have libations* of sweet wine made to you *in cups adorned* with flowers; to-morrow I intend to sacrifice a kid to thee, which, being proud to feel its horns already budding, thinks only of love, and how to fight its rivals, but in vain; for the salacious animal shall dye thy transparent waters with its vermilion blood. The burning heat of the dog-star shall not affect thee; and *when it is*

NOTES.

Æneid, says, *Antiqui coronabant pocula, et sic libabant:* "The ancients crowned their "cups, and then made libations." In like manner Virgil himself, speaking of Anchises, who was preparing to make a libation, says:

——— *Magnum cratera corona*
Induit, implevitque mero:

"He crowned a great vessel with flowers, "and filled it with wine."

3. *Donaberis hædo.*] We have here the description of a sacrifice which Horace promised to make to this fountain, that is, to the divinity that presided there, and rendered that spring sacred. In the third Book of Ovid's Fasti, Numa offers a sacrifice to a fountain, in a manner that very much resembles this, except that he sacrifices a sheep, instead of which Horace here promises a goat:

——— *Fonti rex Numa mactat ovem*
Plenaque odorati disponit pocula Bacchi.

Plena pocula odorati Bacchi, can signify nothing else but *pocula floribus coronata, merum cum floribus.* The passage of Ovid should therefore be translated thus: "King "Numa sacrificed a sheep to this fountain, "and ranged along the borders of it cups "full of wine, crowned with flowers." Hence we may understand a custom of which Horace does not make any mention; and that is, that after having sacrificed a sheep or a goat, and poured out a little

Fessis vomere tauris
Præbes, et pecori vago.
Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
Saxis, unde loquaces
Lymphæ desiliunt tuæ.

ORDO.

gere te; tu præbes amabile frigus tauris fessis vomere, et pecori vago.
Tu quoque fies *unus* nobilium fontium, me dicente ilicem impositam cavis saxis, unde lymphæ tuæ loquaces desiliunt.

NOTES.

wine, to make libations, they ranged along the edges of the fountain the cups with the wine that remained, to invite the god of that fountain to come and drink of it.

9. *Atrox hora Caniculæ.*] Nothing can express more happily the insupportable heat of

ODE XIV.

Augustus set out from Rome in the month of June, and in the year of the city 727, intending to make an expedition against the British isles. The natives, foreseeing the storm that was ready to break upon them, entreated him by their ambassadors to desist from his purpose. The prince suffered himself to be overcome by their submission, and then turned his arms against Spain. He defeated the Cantabrians and Asturians, and returned to Rome about 730, after an absence of three years. Horace in this

DE REDITU AUGUSTI.

Herculis ritu modo dictus, ô plebs,
Morte venalem petiisse laurum,
Cæsar Hispanâ repetit penates
Victor ab orâ.
Unico gaudens mulier marito
Prodeat, justis operata Divis;

ORDO.

O plebs, Cæsar modò dictus petiisse laurum venalem morte, ritu Herculis, *jam* victor repetit penates ab Hispanâ orâ.
Mulier gaudens unico marito prodeat, ope-

NOTES.

1. *Herculis ritu modo dictus, ô plebs.*] These first four verses are more difficult to be understood than at first sight they seem. This comparison of Augustus with Hercules

most sultry and scorching, thou wilt always afford *an agreeable shade and* refreshing coolness to our wearied oxen, and to the cattle that feed in our valleys. Thou shalt be ranked among the most celebrated fountains, when I have once sung the groves that cover the hollow rocks from which thy waters flow with a sweet and agreeable murmur.

NOTES.

the dog-star, which Horace elsewhere calls *æstuosa impotentia*. A late commentator has taken the liberty to substitute *aura* instead of *hora*. It is an easy matter to make his own words militate against him: *Qui legunt aura non satis meminere textus Horatiani, Variisque mundum temperat horis.*

13. *Fies nobilium.*] That is, *fies unus è numero nobilium fontium*. This ellipsis is very elegant, and agreeable to the genius of lyric poetry.

15. *Loquaces lymphæ.*] Murmuring waters, that made an agreeable noise, by reason of their fall from a higher to a lower place. *Desilit* answers to the Greek word καταλλεται, *deorsum cadit*, it falls downward.

ODE XIV.

ode celebrates the emperor's return, as he had before done his departure in the ode, *O Diva gratum*. It would seem as if this ode had been composed the very day that the prince made his entry into Rome The poet, after having given a description of the public ceremonies of that festivity, retires to his domestic entertainment, that he may rejoice with his friends; and declares he will enjoy himself with the utmost tranquillity.

ON THE RETURN OF AUGUSTUS *FROM SPAIN.*

ROMANS, our *august* prince, who we lately said was gone, like another Hercules, in quest of laurels which he could only obtain at the price of his blood, has on this day returned to his palace from Spain, crowned with victory. Let Livia, to whom her husband only is dear, *now* make her appearance, *and*, having sacrificed to her do-

NOTES.

is not barely an effect of the poet's enthusiasm, but is drawn from some remarkable resemblance in the lives of those two heroes. For a dangerous illness which befell Augustus in Spain, some months before his return, gave occasion to the people of Rome, who were very much alarmed at this sickness, to compare him to Hercules, and to say, that his fortune was the same with that hero's, who by his death only had obtained the recompense and honours due to his virtue. It is upon this account that he calls these honours *laurum morte venalem*.

2. *Morte venalem.*] It is not till after death, that great men obtain the recompense due to their labours; the envy inse-

Et soror clari ducis, et decoræ
Supplice vittâ
Virginum matres, juvenumque nuper
Sospitum. Vos ô pueri, et puellæ
Jam virum expertæ, malè ominatis
Parcite verbis.
Hic dies verè mihi festus atras
Eximet curas: ego nec tumultum,
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Cæsare terras.
I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas,
Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si quâ potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.

ORDO.

rata justis Divis; et soror clari ducis, et matres virginum juvenumque nuper sospitum, decoræ supplice vittâ.

O pueri, et puellæ jam expertæ virum, parcite vos male ominatis verbis. Hic dies vere festus mihi eximet atras curas: ego nec metuam tumultum, nec mori per vim, Cæsare tenente terras.

I, puer, pete unguentum, et coronas, et cadum memorem Marsi duelli, si quà testa potuit

NOTES.

parable from their high station and exalted merit, often prevents them from enjoying it while on earth. The word here used has been already explained in the first remark; and I believe what is there said will make it sufficiently evident, that those who think we ought to read, *Marte venalem*, have quite mistaken the thought of Horace, and been insensible of the beauty of the expression.

5. *Unico gaudens mulier marito.*] If the word *mulier* is supportable in this ode, it is without doubt only as it introduces the praise of the chastity and virtue of a wife who loved her husband only. It is in this manner that Horace here points out Livia without naming her. Although she was one of the most beautiful women in the world, her wisdom was yet far superior to her beauty.

6. *Justis operata Divis.*] After having made those domestic sacrifices, which it was her duty to offer up before appearing in public. This passage is very remarkable, and few commentators have understood the true meaning of it. The Latins made use of the words *operari* and *facere* (as the Greeks of ῥέζειν) instead of *sacrificare*. But the greatest difficulty is to know what we are to understand by *justis Divis*. A learned interpreter is of opinion that it signifies those who have been acknowledged as gods by common consent; but Torrentius has clearly shown that this explication is by no means to be admitted; for Horace would never have been so imprudent as to tell Livia, that she must not sacrifice to strange gods. By *justis* therefore we may understand, just, equitable, as the old scholiast has very well observed. *Justis*, says he, *quia victoriam et reditum Cæsari merenti dederint.*

7. *Soror clari ducis.*] Octavia, the sister of Augustus, was married first to Caius Marcellus, and afterwards to Marc Antony. By her first husband she had Marcus Marcellus, and by Antony two daughters named Antonia. Octavia at this time had been about six years the widow of Antony her second husband. We must take care not to confound this princess with another of the same name, who was also the sister of Augustus, she being as well as this the daughter of Caius Octavius, but by a former wife, whose name was Ancaria.

8. *Et decoræ supplice vitta.*] After Horace had addressed Livia and Octavia, he next turns to the ladies of quality that were properly called matrons, and advises them to

mestic gods, *show her gratitude publicly*, accompanied by *Octavia* the sister of our renowned conqueror, and the *Roman* ladies with sacred fillets round their heads, whose sons have escaped the fury of the war. Ye young men, and ladies who have been lately married, beware of uttering any thing that may obstruct our joy. This day, *which is* truly a day of rejoicing to me, will dispel all gloomy cares. While Cæsar reigns, I neither fear a civil nor a foreign war *. Go, boy, bring me perfumes and garlands; and *let me have* a bottle of the wine that was put in casks during the Marsian war, if there be a cask that has escaped the plunder of Spartacus.

* A tumult nor to die by force.

NOTES.

follow these two princesses to the procession which they were to make in gratitude to the gods for the care they had taken of Augustus.

10. *Sospitum.*] He here addresses himself to the mothers of those young Romans who had followed Augustus into Spain, and had escaped all the dangers of that bloody war. Marcus Lollius, Plotius Numida, and Julius Florus, were of that number, not to mention Marcellus and Tiberius. This campaign proved very unfortunate to many: whence Horace, after having spoken of those families whose children had escaped the dangers of that war, makes mention of those who regretted the losses they had sustained by it. He requires of the first that they should pay due acknowledgements to the gods, and prays the latter to smother for a time their just griefs, that they might give no interruption to the festivity.

10. *Vos ô pueri, et puellæ.*] Torrentius tells us, that he cannot comprehend why Horace here joins the young women newly married with the boys; that it was more common and more reasonable to join them with the young girls, and that therefore there must be some error in the reading, which he thinks ought to be corrected in the following manner:

—— Vos pueri et puellæ et
Jam virum expertæ.

But this is exceedingly harsh. Perhaps Horace joins here the ladies newly married with the boys, because, having neither the age nor authority of mothers, they could not be joined with Livia and Octavia. And he names them preferably to the girls, because they had a greater concern in that feast, as their husbands had returned in safety with Augustus, or remained in the army secure from all danger.

11. *Malè ominatis.*] Some manuscripts have *malè nominatis.* The sense, even according to this reading, is still the same; for *malè nominata verba*, are *verba infelicia, infausta*, unlucky words, which the Greeks called ουκ ονομαστα.

12. *Parcite verbis.*] *Parcere verbis malè ominatis* is precisely *favere linguis.* The reader may consult the remark on the second verse of the first ode of this book.

13. *Hic dies vere mihi festus.*] Of all the feasts that are celebrated in honour of our prince, those only are truly such, which are the effect of our love and gratitude.

13. *Atras curas.*] The fears and inquietudes with which they had been tormented during the absence and indisposition of Augustus, and the anxieties which had been occasioned by hearing that so many enemies were in arms against him.

14. *Ego nec tumultum.*] By *tumultus* Horace properly understands the civil wars. One cannot better understand this passage, than by the following one of ode 15th, book 4th.

Custode rerum Cæsare, non furor
Civilis, non vis eximet otium.

Furor civilis is the same with what he here calls *tumultus*; and *vis*, in each of the passages, signifies war with foreign enemies.

18. *Marsi duelli.*] *Marsi* for *Marsici.* Horace here speaks of the war which was commonly called *bellum sociale*, the war

Dic et argutæ properet Neæræ
Myrrheum nodo cohibere crinem :
Si per invisum mora janitorem
Fiet, abito.
Lenit albescens animos capillus,
Litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ.
Non ego hoc ferrem calidus juventâ,
Consule Planco.

ORDO.

fallere Spartacum vagantem. Et dic Neæræ argutæ *ut* propèret cohibere crinem myrrheum nodo : si mora fiet per invisum janitorem, abito. Albescens capillus lenit *meos* animos, *quondam* cupidos litium et rixæ protervæ. Ego calidus juventâ, Planco consule, non ferrem hoc.

NOTES.

with the confederates, and *bellum Italicum*, the war of Italy. He calls it the war with the Marsi, because it was begun by that people, who were headed by one Popedius. This war occurred about 26 years before the birth of Horace; and joining these 26 years to the 42 years of his age, we shall find that this wine was about 68 years old when he wrote this ode.

19. *Spartacum.*] Sixteen or seventeen years after the war with the confederates, the Romans were obliged to sustain that of Spartacus, born in Thrace, who, putting himself at the head of a small number of gladiators, and having increased his party by the adjunction of many slaves, who flocked to him from all quarters, furiously ravaged Italy. Horace could not better describe the desolation he made, than in seeming to question whether so much as a single vessel of wine had escaped the pillage of that gladiator. But we ought not here to overlook the ad-

Desire also Neæra, who sings so charmingly, to hasten hither as soon as she has bound up her hair and perfumed it*. If her surly porter should refuse you immediate access, *make no noise, but* return†. My hairs begin now to grow grey through age, which has extinguished that heat of youth which some time ago was ready to resent the least affront; but in the consulate of Plancus, when my blood ran warm, I would not have borne it.

* Perfumed hair. † Go away.

NOTES.

dress and dexterity of Horace, who, in simply making mention of old wine, finds means to give so strong a representation of the disorders occasioned by these two wars, in order to make his countrymen sensible of the great difference between the commotions which then prevailed, and the tranquillity which they enjoyed under the sway of Augustus.

21. *Argutæ Neæræ.*] This was apparently some stranger, as we may easily collect from her name. She was remarkable for her fine and clear voice; for this is the force of the epithet *argutæ*, it signifying the same with *canoræ*.

22. *Myrrheum nodo cohibere crinem.*] By *Myrrheus crinis* he means, hair perfumed with essence of myrrh. Virgil says, *Crines myrrha madentes*, hair perfumed with myrrh. Tibullus uses a similar mode of expression in his fourth elegy, *Myrrhea coma.*

28. *Consule Planco.*] Horace was born under the consulship of L. Manlius Torquatus, about the year of the city 688; and this L. Munatius Plancus, whom he mentions here, and who is the same with him to whom he addresses the seventh ode of the first book, was consul in the year of the city 711, so that Horace at this time was not quite 23 years of age.

ODE XV.

This ode is wholly satirical. Horace designed it against Chloris, the mother of Pholöe. It is impossible to determine the time of its composition. There

IN CHLORIM.

Uxor pauperis Ibyci,
Tandem nequitiæ fige modum tuæ,
Famosisque laboribus:
Maturo propior desine funeri
Inter ludere virgines,
Et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
Non, si quid Pholöen satis,
Et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectiùs
Expugnat juvenum domos,
Pulso Thyas utì concita tympano.
Illam cogit amor Nothi
Lascivæ similem ludere capreæ:
Te lanæ prope nobilem
Tonsæ Luceriam, non citharæ, decent,

ORDO.

Uxor pauperis Ibyci, tandem fige modum tuæ nequitiæ, famosisque laboribus: *jam* propior maturo funeri, desine ludere inter virgines, et spargere nebulam stellis candidis.

O Chlori, si quid satis decet Pholoën, non et *decet* te. filia *tua* rectius expugnat domos juvenum, uti Thyas concita tympano pulso. Amor Nothi cogit illam ludere similem lascivæ capreæ: lanæ tonsæ prope nobilem Luceriam decent te vetulam, non *vero* ci-

NOTES.

1. *Uxor pauperis Ibyci.*] Courtezans, when they began to grow old, that they might continue their infamous commerce with the greater impunity, usually wedded themselves to some sordid wretches, as this Ibycus, who were not so properly their husbands as their slaves. *Pauperes eligunt*, (says St. Jerome) *ut nomen tantum virorum habere videantur, qui patienter rivales sustineant, si mussitaverint, ilico prejiciendi.* Thus the very first line of this ode is as satirical as any thing can be imagined to be; and Horace, in calling Chloris the wife of the wretched Ibycus, gives us an idea of her debaucheries, and points her out by her profession.

8. *Filia rectius.*] As young men often disguised themselves in the night to go and visit the courtezans, and to force open their houses, if they refused them entrance; the courtezans, on the other hand, sometimes did the same, that they might be admitted into the houses of the young men; and this, in all probability, is what Horace means here, when he says that Pholoe stormed the young men's houses. For it is impossible to find either good sense or justness in this passage,

ODE XV.

is, however, reason to think that it was written after the 33d of the first Book, and the 5th of the second.

TO CHLORIS.

O CHLORIS, the wife of poor Ibycus, at length set bounds to your lewdness, and give over your infamous intrigues. Since you are fit only for the grave, forbear to dance in company with young ladies, and to mix with these bright stars *so dark and black* a cloud. Every thing that becomes Pholöe, does not now, Chloris, become you. It is more suitable for your daughter to force her way into young gentlemen's chambers*, like a bacchanal roused by the sound of the timbrel. The love she has for Nothus makes her play like a wanton kid: but, as for you, you are fit for nothing but the spindle and distaff†: in such an advanced age, it does not become you to play on

* Houses. † The wool clipped near noble Luceria becomes you.

NOTES.

if we explain it figuratively. Bentley has confirmed this explication by two citations, which plainly prove that the women sometimes were so bold, as to force the gates of their lovers, if they refused to open them. The first is from Seneca, who says, in the preface to his fourth Book of Natural Questions, *Crispus Passienus sæpe dicebat, adulationi nos opponere, non claudere ostium, et quidem sic, quemadmodum amica solet, quæ si impulit grata est, gratior si effregerit.* The other is from *Plautus, Mil. Glor. Act.* 4. *Sc.* 6. The courtezan Acroteleutium says,

——————— *Durare nequeo*
Quin eam intro. Mi. *Occlusæ sunt fores.*
Ac. *Effringam.* Mi. *Sana non es.*

10. *Pulso Thyas uti concita tympano.*] Anacreon, describing a young girl who disguised herself, says: "A young lady who "had the finest feet in the world, danced to "the sound of the guitar, and held in her "hand a rod environed with verdant flowers." It is well known that the Bacchantes had ordinarily no other arms than the thyrsus. Horace therefore compares Pholoe to one of the Bacchantes, because perhaps in some masquerade she had appeared in the same equipage with the young lady described by Anacreon.

11. *Illam cogit amor Nothi.*] In Book first, Ode 33, and Book second, Ode 5, Horace speaks of this Pholoe as a young girl as yet unacquainted with the force of love. This proves evidently that the ode now before us followed the two others in point of composition.

13. *Te lanæ.*] Horace tells Chloris that she ought now to employ herself in works of labour and industry, that being the ordinary fate of courtezans; when they grew old, they were reduced to the necessity of gaining a livelihood by their hands. Tibullus, in the sixth Elegy of his first Book, says,

Nec flos purpureus rosæ,
Nec poti vetulam fæce tenus cadi.

ORDO.

tharæ, nec purpureus flos rosæ, nec cadi poti tenus fæce.

NOTES.

Nam quæ fida fuit nulli, post victa senecta
Ducit inops tremula stamina torta manu.

" For she who during her youth had " proved faithless to all her lovers, being " at last overtaken with old age, was reduced " to the necessity of supporting herself by " her industry, and yet was incapable of " avoiding the severest poverty."

14. *Luceriam.*] Luceria was an ancient and considerable city in Daunian Apulia. Its pasturage was excellent. Strabo remarks,

ODE XVI.

This ode is a mixture of satire and morality. The first part of the ode is against avarice, where Horace represents the mischiefs that usually arise from riches. But this does not seem to be his principal design: he only seeks, by that reference, an occasion to thank Mæcenas for the small country-seat he

AD MÆCENATEM.

Inclusam Danäen turris ahenea,
Robustæque fores, et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ, munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris,
Si non Acrisium, virginis abditæ
Custodem pavidum, Jupiter et Venus
Risissent; fore enim tutum iter et patens,
Converso in pretium Deo.

ORDO.

Turris ahenea, robustæque fores, et tristes excubiæ vigilum canum, satis munierant Danaen inclusam ab nocturnis adulteris, si Jupiter et Venus non risissent Acrisium pavidum custodem virginis abditæ; *sciebant* enim iter fore tutum et patens Deo converso in pretium.

NOTES

1. *Inclusam Danäen.*] Acrisius, the last king of Argos, being warned by an oracle that he should be deprived of his kingdom, and put to death by his grandson, resolved, if possible, to hinder his daughter Danae from having any children, and thus prevent the accomplishment of what the oracle had foretold. The better to effect this, and cut her off from all commerce with men, he ordered her to be shut up in a strong tower, all the avenues whereof were guarded with the greatest care. But his precautions proved

the lute, to wear a garland of roses, or drink your glass in turn till you see the bottle out*.

* To the dregs of the cask.

NOTES.

that the wool which grew upon the sheep of this country, was much finer than that of Tarentum, though not altogether so white.

16. *Nec poti vetulam.*] There is no reason to make any alteration in these words; for such as are of opinion that we should read *sed poti*, have not entered into the meaning of Horace, who here speaks of those debauches of which courtezans were usually guilty, and of which we have an example, Ode 36, Book first.

Neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threicia vincat amystide.

ODE XVI.

was pleased to make him a present of, and to assure him, that he esteemed himself more happy in the possession of that small territory, than if he had bestowed upon him the government of one of the most opulent provinces.

TO MÆCENAS.

A TOWER of brass, and iron† gates, with surly mastiffs *before them* continually upon the watch, were *surely* guard sufficient to keep Danäe secure from her midnight gallants, had not Jupiter and Venus smiled at Acrisius, the timorous guardian of the secreted virgin, well knowing that the way would be plain and easy to a god changed into a shower of gold. Gold makes its way through the midst of guards

† Strong.

NOTES.

ineffectual. His brother Proteus, in a short time, found means to gain admittance into the tower, and pay his addresses to Danae, who even suffered voluntarily the caresses of her uncle, in hopes of being delivered from the tyranny of her father. The child that sprang from this commerce was named Perseus, who, after going through a great variety of adventures, at last punished the cruelty of Acrisius, and converted him into a stone, by presenting to him the head of Medusa; and because Proteus had corrupted the keepers of the tower with gold, this gave rise to the fable that Jupiter, descending in the form of a shower of gold, fell into Danae's lap, and that Perseus was the son of that god.

6. *Pavidum.*] This epithet explains the whole history of Acrisius, and the reason which induced him to shut up his daughter; he was apprehensive of being slain by his grandson.

Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo. Concidit auguris
Argivi domus, ob lucrum
Demersa excidio. Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. Munera navium
Sævos illaqueant duces.
Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam,
Majorumque fames. Jure perhorrui
Latè conspicuum tollere verticem,
Mæcenas, equitum decus.
Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
A Dîs plura feret. Nil cupientium

ORDO.

Aurum amat ire per medios satellites, et, potentius ictu fulmineo, perrumpere saxa. Domus auguris Argivi, demersa excidio, concidit ob lucrum. Vir Macedo diffidit portas urbium muneribus, et subruit reges æmulos. Munera illaqueant sævos duces navium. Cura famesque majorum sequitur crescentem pecuniam.

O Mæcenas, decus equitum, jure perhorrui tollere *meum* verticem late conspicuum. Quanto plura quisque negaverit sibi, *tanto* plura feret à Diis.

NOTES.

6. *Jupiter et Venus.*] This contrast is exceedingly beautiful. On the one side, Acrisius, diffident, anxious, vigilant, takes what he thinks the most effectual measures to prevent all access to his daughter; on the other side, Jupiter and Venus, calm, serene, and sure of success, smile at his fruitless precautions.

8. *Converso in pretium Deo.*] Horace follows here the most common and ancient opinion, that Jupiter changed himself into a shower of gold. Those who have been of opinion that he only made a shower of gold to fall, to procure him a more ready admission, and that he afterwards entered in the form of a man, have grounded their belief upon a passage of Terence, and an explication of it by Donatus.

10. *Potentius ictu fulmineo.*] Horace tells us, that gold is more powerful than thunder; and perhaps he might in this have a regard to what philosophers have written, that thunder penetrates but a very small way into the earth, whereas gold will level the loftiest mountains. One may read upon this the beginning of the 33d Book of Pliny.

11. *Concidit auguris Argivi domus.*] He here speaks of Amphiaraus, who had espoused Eriphyle, the sister of Adrastus, king of Argos. This Amphiaraus was an excellent soothsayer; and, as he knew he must die if he should engage in the war of Thebes, he refused to follow Adrastus and Polynices thither, who used all their endeavours to persuade him to it. Polynices, thinking that the most probable way to accomplish his design, would be to gain the wife of Amphiaraus by presents, made an attempt, and met with success. For she by her persuasions prevailed with her husband to go to the war, who was swallowed up the very first day, together with his chariot, by an earthquake. Alcmeon his son revenged his death, by killing his mother Eriphyle; and he again was slain by his uncles in revenge of their sister. In fine, his brother Amphilochus perished before Thebes. Thus Horace had good reason to say, that the avarice of one woman proved the entire ruin of that house.

13. *Diffidit urbium portas vir Macedo.*] Philip, the son of Amyntas, and king of Macedon, was one of the greatest captains of Greece. He learned the art of war under the famous Epaminondas, and engaged in it afterwards with great success against the Pho-

and sentinels, and, more powerful than thunder, breaks through the *hardest* rocks. The love of gold* was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befel the house of the augur *Amphiaraus*. The king† of Macedon, by *means of his* presents, found an entrance into the most impregnable cities, and defeated the *most powerful* monarchs his rivals. Presents soften even *the* savage *tempers of* commanders of ships. *Every day's experience demonstrates that* the increase of wealth serves only to increase our cares, and nourish our *ambition and* avarice‡. *It is for this reason, dear* Mæcenas, who art the honour *and glory* of the equestrian order, *that* I have always dreaded the consequences of pomp and grandeur§. The more one moderates his desires‖, the greater *riches* shall he obtain of heaven¶. My great am-

* Gain. † The man. ‡ Care, and a desire of more, follow increasing money.
§ To lift my head to be seen afar. ‖ Denies to himself. ¶ The gods.

NOTES.

censes, the Thracians, Peonians, Illyrians, Bœotians, and Athenians. But he was not more remarkable for his conquest by the sword, than for the success of his negotiations, and for carrying all before him by means of his pensioners; of which he always maintained a great number in the several states of Greece; and this is what gave rise to the expression which Horace here makes use of. The oracle of Apollo had advised him to fight with weapons of gold, if he intended to prevail effectually over his enemies; which direction that politic prince ever after made his rule, and followed faithfully. Hence it was his usual maxim, as related by Cicero, that no fortress was impregnable in which there was an entrance large enough to admit a mule laden with gold: *Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat, in quæ modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere.*

15. *Munera navium.*] A learned interpreter, in rendering this passage, joins *munera* with *navium*, as if Horace had said that the profits of the vessels, that is, the advantages arising from commerce with foreign countries, usually gain the captains. Nothing can be more remote from the intention of the poet, who here finds fault with such captains as had, in several instances, been negligent of their duty, because they had suffered themselves to be corrupted.

17. *Crescentem sequitur.*] Hitherto the poet has proved, by examples drawn from ancient fable and history, that honour and fidelity are not proof against the charms of gold. He adds here two other evils which riches usually occasion; they augment our anxieties, and increase our desires. *Majorum*, in the following verse, relates to *bonorum*, which is understood; otherwise Horace ought either to have said *pecunias* in the preceding verse, or *majoris* in this.

19. *Latè conspicuum tollere verticem.*] Horace was not naturally inclined to aspire at high things, although the regard Mæcenas had for him, might easily have procured him the most considerable advantages. He took a wiser course, by imitating his illustrious protector; who, although he might easily have attained the highest dignities of the republic, satisfied himself with the rank of a Roman knight.

20. *Mæcenas, equitum decus.*] Horace calls Mæcenas the ornament and glory of the equestrian order, on account of those great qualifications which distinguished him from others, and because, being the favourite of Augustus, he was satisfied with that honour, and made his friends reap all the advantage of it.

21. *Quanto quisque sibi.*] The latter part of this ode is not the least beautiful; it is properly an explanation of the celebrated maxim of Epicurus reported by Seneca, *Magnæ divitiæ sunt, lege naturæ, composita paupertas.* When one has wherewith to supply the necessary wants and exigencies of life, other things may easily be dispensed

Nudus castra peto, et transfuga divitum
Partes linquere gestio,
Contemtæ dominus splendidior rei,
Quàm si quidquid arat non piger Appulus
Occultare meis dicerer horreis,
Magnas inter opes inops.
Puræ rivus aquæ, sylvaque jugerum
Paucorum, et segetis certa fides meæ,
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ
Fallit, sorte beatior.
Quanquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
Nec Læstrygoniâ Bacchus in amphorâ
Languescit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis
Crescunt vellera pascuis;
Importuna tamen pauperies abest;
Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
Contracto meliùs parva Cupidine
Vectigalia porrigam,

ORDO.

Ego nudus peto castra cupientium nil, et transfuga gestio linquere partes divitum, splendidior dominus rei contemtæ, quam si dicerer occultare meis horreis quidquid non piger Appulus arat, *ego interim* inops inter magnas opes.

Rivus aquæ puræ, sylvaque paucorum jugerum, et certa fides segetis meæ, fallit fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ, *ut sim* beatior sorte *quam ille*. Quanquam nec Calabræ apes ferunt mella mihi, nec Bacchus languescit *mihi* in amphorâ Læstrygoniâ, nec vellera pinguia crescunt *mihi in* Gallicis pascuis; tamen importuna pauperies abest; nec, si velim plura, tu deneges dare.

Melius porrigam parva *mea* vectigalia con-

NOTES.

with; sound reason allows no other demands, and every thing we aim at beyond this, is only to gratify an inordinate desire. *Sibi* therefore here stands for *cupiditati, avaritiæ*.

22. *Nil cupientium.*] Any one may easily discover, that Horace, by opposing such as moderate their desires, *nil cupientium*, to the rich, *divitum*, gives in a very few words a stroke of praise to Mæcenas, and of satire to those who made their court to him. This favourite of his prince, this dispenser of his graces, contented himself through his whole life with the honour of being a Roman knight, and employed all his interest and credit with Augustus to satisfy the desires of the great, and procure them the most honourable offices and employments. When the poet tells us that he ranks himself among those who moderate and restrain their desires, he gives us to understand, that he follows the example of Mæcenas; and when he adds, that he quits the part of the rich, it is as much as if he had said, that he would not resemble those insatiable courtiers, who, though already loaded with honours and preferments, yet do not cease to importune the prince and his minister, that they may obtain still more.

25. *Contemtæ dominus splendidior rei.*] I am surprised that this passage hath appeared so difficult to interpreters. Horace calls his small possessions *res contemta*, not with reference to himself, for that would be a ridiculous supposition, but in regard of others, who despised them, and did not envy him the enjoyment of them.

26. *Quidquid arat non piger Appulus.*]

bition at present is to quit the party of the great, and to range myself among those who are at due pains to restrain all immoderate desires, more content and more rich in the possession of a small inheritance, which I never solicited, than if I should treasure up in my granaries all the corn of Apulia collected by its industrious inhabitants, and yet, *like most courtiers*, be poor in the midst of so great plenty. The splendid monarch of fertile Africa would have difficulty to conceive, how, with a fountain of clear water, a wood of a few acres, and a small field of corn which always answers my expectation, I should enjoy more real happiness than he. Though I have no Calabrian bees making honey for me, no rich Formian wines mellowing in my casks, nor flocks feeding in the fertile plains of Gaul to enrich me with their fleeces, yet am I preserved from the inconveniencies of poverty; and were I *not content with what at present I enjoy, but* desirous of more, *I know, Mœcenas*, you would not deny it me. But, moderating my desires, I am able to pay my small taxes with greater ease than if, reigning over both

NOTES.

Apulia was very fertile, and the inhabitants were a laborious people; whence he elsewhere says of them, *Perusta solibus pernicis uxor Appuli.*

31. *Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ fallit.*] This is a way of speaking used frequently among the Greeks, *fallit*, λανθανει, *latet.* The rich and powerful monarch of fertile Libya can hardly conceive. The principal difficulty of this passage consists in these two words, *sorte beatior.* But this difficulty disappears, if you compare the translation with the order of construction, which clears the sentence of that confusion into which Dacier, Sanadon, and most of the commentators, have thrown it.

34. *Nec Læstrygoniâ Bacchus in amphorâ.*] The Lestrygons were an ancient people of Sicily, who, coming thence into Italy, settled themselves in Campania, and built the city *Formia*, which was also from them called *Læstrygonia.* By *Læstrygonia amphora* therefore, Horace means Formian wine, which was the finest in Italy.

39. *Contracto melius*, &c.] A man who has but small possessions to draw his subsistence from, and who is satisfied with them, without eagerly grasping after more, is more careful to improve them, and draw a greater value from them in proportion, than those who possess large estates, and are always seeking to acquire new ones. The one may be said to enjoy his small revenue, because he knows how to set bounds to his desires; the other continually aims at more, and can never be satisfied.

40. *Vectigalia porrigam.*] Among the Romans there were two kinds of tribute; the one called properly *Tributum.* This was the money paid by every citizen according to his abilities; and this tribute was either ordinary or extraordinary. The last was called *Temerarium tributum*, and was levied only in pressing exigencies. The other kind, which was called the uncertain tribute, and *Vectigal*, consisted of what they called *Portorium*, *Scriptura*, and *Decuma.* The *Portorium* was a duty imposed upon all goods and wares imported and exported. The *Scriptura* was a tax laid upon pastures and cattle. The *Decuma* was the quantity of corn which the farmers were obliged to pay to the Roman state, commonly the tenth part of their crop. But, besides this, which they properly termed *Frumentum decumanum*, and which was farmed by the publicans, hence called *Decumani*, we read of the *Frumentum emptum*, and *frumentum æstimatum*, both taken up in the provinces. The *Frumentum emptum* was of two sorts, either *decumanum*

Quàm si Mygdoniis regnum Halyattici
Campis continuem. Multa petentibus
Desunt multa. Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parcâ, quod satis est, manu.

ORDO.

tracto cupidine, quam si continuem regnum Halyattici Mygdoniis campis. Multa desunt petentibus multa. Bene est *ei* cui Deus obtulit, quod satis est, parca manu.

NOTES.

or *imperatum;* the former was another tenth, paid upon the consideration of such a sum as the senate had determined to be the price of it, who rated it so much a bushel at their pleasure. The *Frumentum imperatum* was a quantity of corn equally exacted of the provincial farmers after the two-tenths at such a price as the chief magistrate pleased to give. *Frumentum æstimatum* was a corn-tax required by the chief magistrate of the pro-

ODE XVII.

Horace writes this ode to Ælius Lamia, to exhort him to sweeten and avoid the rigour of the season by a liberal indulgence, which was the course he himself always followed. The ode is very simple, but at the

AD ÆLIUM LAMIAM.

Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
(Quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
Denominatos, et nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos)
Auctore ab illo ducis originem,
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur

ORDO.

Æli, nobilis ab vetusto Lamo (quando et ferunt priores Lamias denominatos esse hinc, et omne genus nepotum per memores fastos) ducis originem ab illo auctore, qui princeps di-

NOTES.

1. *Æli.*] This is the same Ælius Lamia of whom mention is made in the 36th ode of the first Book. The Ælii were divided into seven or eight families, all plebeian; but very ancient and illustrious, on account of the great offices which they had enjoyed. The person here addressed had commanded in the army of Augustus against the Cantabrians, and

Lydia and Phrygia, *I were bound to pay a great tribute.* Those who are desirous of *possessing* much, *find* their wants still multiply upon them. Happy is he to whom God has given what is just sufficient * *to pass through life with honour.*

* God has given with a sparing hand.

NOTES.

vince for his private use, and the occasions of his family. This was commonly compounded for in money, and on that account took its name *ab æstimando*, from rating it at such a sum of money. After Augustus had made a division of the provinces between himself and the people, the annual taxes paid by the provinces under the emperor were called *Stipendia;* and those which were gathered in the people's provinces, *Tributa.*

41. *Regnum Halyattici.*] By Halyatticus, Horace here means Crœsus, who was the son of Halyattes, and king of Lydia in Asia Minor, a great and powerful kingdom. He was at last overcome by Cyrus, himself taken captive, and his kingdom made a part of the Persian empire.

43. *Obtulit.*] This word expresses Horace's meaning much better than *dedit*, which seems to imply prayers and importunities, whereas *obtulit* marks a benefit granted without solicitation; which highly augments the merit of it. Horace in this again makes his court to Mæcenas.

ODE XVII.

same time very natural. It is probable that Lamia was at this time removed from the city to some one of his country-seats. It is impossible to determine the precise time of its composition, but it seems to have been written after the 26th and 36th of book first.

TO ÆLIUS LAMIA.

ÆLIUS, illustrious descendant of ancient Lamus (for it appears by our chronicles, that from him your ancestors had this name, which has descended to all their posterity), from that prince you derive your origin, who, having established at Formia the seat of a great empire, reigned over *the country bordering on the* Liris, which flows

NOTES.

was also one of the *triumviri monetales*, or masters of the mint, as appears from some ancient medals yet extant. From the family of the Ælii sprang also that of the Antonines.

1. *Lamo.*] This Lamus was, according to some, the son of Neptune, and king of the Lestrygons in Latium, who, as Hesychius reports, gave his name to that country.

5. *Auctore ab illo ducis originem.*] Heinsius was the first who corrected this passage, by reading *ducit* instead of *ducis.* And Bentley is the first who said that *genus* is not an accusative, but the nominative with which *ducit* agrees; and that the parenthesis ought to be continued to *latè tyrannus.* This remark of Bentley is very ingenious, and does him a great deal of honour. However, *ducis* is

Princeps, et innantem Maricæ
Litoribus tenuisse Lirin,
Latè tyrannus. Cras foliis nemus
Multis, et algâ litus inutili,
Demissa tempestas ab Euro
Sternet, aquæ nisi fallit augur
Annosa cornix. Dum potes, aridum
Compone lignum. Cras genium mero
Curabis, et porco bimestri,
Cum famulis operum solutis.

ORDO.

citur tenuisse mœnia Formiarum, et late tyrannus *tenuisse* Lirin innantem litoribus Maricæ. Tempestas demissa ab Euro cras sternet nemus multis foliis et litus algâ inutili, nisi annosa cornix augur aquæ fallit *me*. Compone *igitur* aridum lignum, dum potes. Cras curabis genium mero et porco bimestri, cum famulis solutis operum.

NOTES.

continued here, and consequently the parenthesis as formerly, the sense being the same.

6. *Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur.*] Horace here manifestly follows Homer, who calls Formia the city of Lamus, giving us by this to understand, that Lamus had formerly reigned there. Strabo seems to be of a contrary opinion, when he says that it was built by the Lacedemonians: but he only means it was rebuilt and re-peopled by the Lacedemonians, who changed its name of Læstrygonia into that of Formia.

7. *Et innantem Maricæ litoribus tenuisse Lirin.*] The river Liris, descending from the Apennines, separates Latium from Campania, and takes its course towards Minturnæ, a city at a small distance from Formia. After it passes by Minturnæ, it runs on to Marica. Lamus built a mole in this part of it, and rendered it navigable. This is the plain meaning of a passage which has not hitherto been explained.

7. *Maricæ.*] Marica was not far from the mouth of the Liris; and here it was that Marius was found concealed. It was also near a little wood, which Strabo represents

along the shores of Marica. *I warn you that,* unless the crow, that always foretells the approach of rain, deceive me, to-morrow a violent tempest, excited by a raging east wind, will strew the earth with the leaves of trees, and cover the coast with weeds. *Make the best use therefore of this advice, and* gather in your wood while it is yet dry. To-morrow, surrounded with your domestics, who will not then have an opportunity of working, you may regale yourself with a *fine* young pig *, and *a glass of good* wine.

* A pig two months old.

NOTES.

as situated below Minturnæ. This grove was worshiped by all the country round about, and there is good ground to think that it was consecrated to Circe, who after her death was called Marica.

12. *Aquæ nisi fallit augur.*] The crow presages rain when it sings, or flies alone by the edge of the sea, or banks of a river. Thus Virgil says,

Tum cornix rauca pluviam vocat improba voce,
Et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena.

14. *Cras genium mero curabis.*] This expression signifies no more than, you shall indulge yourself, you shall make merry. Plautus, speaking of a miser, says very pleasantly in a contrary sense; *Cum geniis suis belligerare.* The ancient mythology which made gods of every thing, deified in a manner all mankind from the very moment of their birth, by ascribing to every one a particular genius. They were of opinion that this god, which is nothing but the soul, was born and died with us, governed our horoscope, and was different according to our inclination and tempers.

16. *Operum solutis.*] We ought not to conclude from this that the day following was to be a festival. Horace only means that the badness of the weather would prevent the people from applying themselves to work.

ODE XVIII.

The Romans believed that the god Faunus passed from Arcadia into Italy on the 13th of February, and that he did not return thither before the 5th of December. They offered sacrifices to him at his departure, as well as on his arrival. Horace, being at his country-seat, composed this hymn to be sung at the feasts of December, which were particularly called Faunalia.

AD FAUNUM.

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
Per meos fines et aprica rura
Lenis incedas, abeasque parvis
Æquus alumnis;
Si tener pleno cadit hœdus anno,
Larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina crateræ; vetus ara multo
Fumat odore.
Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
Cùm tibi Nonæ redeunt Decembres;
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus;
Inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
Spargit agrestes tibi sylva frondes;

ORDO.

Faune, amator Nympharum fugientum, incedas lenis per meos fines et aprica rura, abeasque æquus parvis alumnis; si tener hœdus cadit pleno anno, nec larga vina desunt crateræ sodali Veneris; *si* vetus ara fumat multo odore.

Cum Nonæ Decembres redeunt tibi, omne pecus ludit herboso campo, festus pagus vacat in pratis cum otioso bove. Lupus errat

NOTES.

1. *Faune.*] The same with Pan.

1. *Nympharum fugientum amator.*] Faunus was a very amorous god, whence he hath been called Inuus and Incubus. The ancients designed by this to express the fertility of the earth.

2. *Et aprica rura.*] Horace calls his dwelling-house among the Sabines *aprica rura*, because it was open to the rising and setting sun, and that the mountains served as a fence to it from the north and south.

3. *Lenis.*] Theocritus has represented the god Pan as a very passionate and wrathful deity, Idyl. i. Horace here prays him to pass over his lands with a spirit of meekness. It was always usual, when a god left any country, city, or house, to pray that

ODE XVIII.

It consists of two parts: the first contains the prayers of the poet; the second, the blessings conferred by the god, and the public rejoicing of the people. Perhaps, there is nothing in it sublime; but the whole is of an exquisite taste, the design well laid and equally well executed, the versification sweet and flowing, the thoughts are natural, the images pleasant, and the expression easy and elegant.

TO FAUNUS.

FAUNUS, who takest so great pleasure in chasing the nymphs who fly from you, as I have never failed sacrificing a kid to you at the end of every year, nor spared offering large quantities of wine so friendly to Venus, and burning much incense on your venerable altar; *the favour* I beg *is*, that you will pass gently over my fields, and that your retreat may prove no way hurtful to my tender flocks. On the Nones of December, which are consecrated to you, our cattle wanton on the verdant plain, the oxen enjoy repose in the *flowery* meads; and your festival is celebrated by the whole population of the village. The lambs, *secure of your protection*, wander without fear through the midst of the wolves; the forests drop their leaves to strew the way for you, and the swains take a pleasure to

NOTES.

he would not depart in anger, or leave behind him marks of his hatred and displeasure in those places which he forsook.

3. *Abeasque.*] In order rightly to understand this ode, and especially the passage now before us, we must call to mind that the ancients feigned, that a great number of their gods passed the winter in one place, and the summer in another. Faunus was one of these; he came into Italy in February, and returned to Arcadia in December; a sacrifice was offered to him upon his arrival, and another at his departure. It is easy to discern that this fiction is founded upon a natural reason, viz. that in Italy, the earth begins to open in February, and shuts in December.

3. *Parvis æquus alumnis.*] It was commonly believed, that Faunus was the cause of the phantoms and spectres which disturbed the repose of infants during the night; and on this foundation interpreters have been of opinion, that Horace here entreats Faunus to be favourable to the children of his domestics. Nothing could have been worse conceived than this; for, by *alumnis*, Horace evidently understands the young of his flocks. They now more than ever stood in need of the protection of Faunus, on account of the approach of the winter, which is always very dangerous.

6. *Veneris sodali.*] Horace calls the cup *sodalis Veneris*, the companion of Venus, because there is great affinity between Venus and Bacchus, and one stands in need of the assistance of the other. Horace does

Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram. 15

ORDO.

inter audaces agnos; sylva spargit agrestes frondes tibi; fossor gaudet ter pepulisse invisam terram pede.

NOTES.

not adopt this expression merely as an ordinary epithet; but he employs it by design, as it could not but be pleasing to a god who was naturally very amorous.

10. *Nonæ Decembres.*] The Nones of December, that is, the fifth of the month. This day was sacred to Faunus, in whose honour a solemn festival took place whenever it recurred.

13. *Inter audaces agnos.*] This phrase is inexpressibly beautiful. Horace intended to acquaint Faunus, that they had so great a confidence in his protection, that they suffered their flocks even to venture amidst the wolves, without fear of harm. One of the distinguishing marks of the power of any

ODE XIX.

When Licinius Murena was chosen augur, Telephus, being in company with Horace, would discourse of nothing but the ancient history of Greece; but Horace interrupts him by singing this ode, in which he tells him, that he ought rather to think of procuring some excellent wine, and of

AD TELEPHUM.

Quantum distet ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patriâ non timidus mori,
Narras, et genus Æaci,
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:
Quo Chium pretio cadum
Mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
Quo præbente domum, et quotâ
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.

ORDO.

O Telephe, narras quantum Codrus, non timidus mori pro patria, distet ab Inacho, et *narras* genus Æaci, et bella pugnata sub sacro Ilio: taces *autem* quo pretio mercemur cadum Chium, quis temperet aquam ignibus, quo præbente domum, et quotâ *horâ* caream frigoribus Pelignis.

NOTES.

1. *Ab Inacho Codrus.*] Inachus founded the realm of Argos in the year of the world 2093, about the time of the patriarch Abraham; and Codrus, who was the last king of Athens, devoted himself for the service of his country in the year of the world 2882, in the time of Saul, and about a hundred years after the Trojan war. It is easy to see from this computation, that from Inachus to Codrus there are 789 years.

2. *Pro patria non timidus mori.*] Codrus was the son of Melanthus, who was de-

dance and beat the earth, which they esteem their greatest enemy*, *as it creates them so much fatigue and labour.*

* Hated earth.

NOTES.

god, was to make the lambs dwell in safety with the wolves. Hence the prophet Isaiah, to denote the power of the Messiah, and the peace and happiness which his coming would introduce among mankind, makes use of this circumstance: *Habitabit lupus cum agno*, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb:" *Et lupus et agnus pascentur simul*, "And the wolf and the lamb shall feed together."

14. *Spargit agrestes tibi sylva.*] In Italy, the trees began to drop their leaves about the month of December, and Horace manages that circumstance with great art, in representing the woods themselves as touched with the divinity of Faunus, and despoiling themselves of their leaves, that they might strew the way under his feet.

ODE XIX.

giving orders at whose house, and at what hour, they should meet together to drink to the health of the new augur, and express their joy for the honour which had so lately been done to one of their best friends. This is the true subject of the ode.

TO TELEPHUS.

TELEPHUS, you amuse yourself in inquiring what space of time intervened betwixt Inachus and Codrus, *the prince* who had the courage to lay down his life for his country; you set before our view the whole race of Æacus, and give us an account of the battles fought before *the* sacred *walls of* Troy; but you do not inform us at what rate we may purchase a cask of Chian wine; who will heat the bath* for us; in whose house we shall meet together; and in what manner we may guard ourselves from the *present* violent cold.

* The water with fire.

NOTES.

scended from Neleus king of Pylos, and the first of that race who had reigned at Athens in place of Thymetes, the natural son of Demophoon the son of Theseus. In the time of this Codrus, the Athenians were at war with the Dorians; and Codrus, understanding that the oracle had predicted that the Dorians could not conquer if they should slay the Athenian king, disguised himself, and entering into the hostile camp, wounded one of the soldiers, who, having no apprehension that he was the king of Athens, in revenge slew him. Thus did Codrus nobly die for the honour and safety of his country.

4. *Sacro sub Ilio.*] Some interpreters have been of opinion, that Horace calls Ilion sacred, instead of great, after the manner of the Hebrews, who used to say a sacred mountain, a mountain of God, instead of a great mountain, and also in imitation of the Greeks, who have used the word ἱερὸς in the same sense; but this does not seem very probable.

Da Lunæ properè novæ,
Da noctis mediæ, da, puer, auguris
Murenæ: tribus aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates: tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia,
Nudis juncta sororibus.
Insanire juvat: cur Berecynthiæ
Cessant flamina tibiæ?
Cur pendet tacitâ fistula cum lyrâ?
Parcentes ego dexteras
Odi: sparge rosas; audiat invidus
Dementem strepitum Lycus,
Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.
Spissâ te nitidum comâ,
Puro te similem, Telephe, vespero,

ORDO.

Puer, da propere *poculum* novæ Lunæ, da *alterum* mediæ noctis, *et* da *tertium* auguris Murenæ: pocula miscentur tribus aut novem cyathis commodis. Vates qui amat musas impares attonitus petet ter ternos cyathos. Gratia, juncta nudis sororibus, metuens rixarum prohibet tangere supra tres.

Juvat *me* insanire: Cur flamina tibiæ Berecynthiæ cessant? Cur fistula pendet cum tacita lyra? Ego odi dexteras parcentes: *puer*, sparge rosas; invidus Lycus, et vicina *nostra* non habilis seni Lyco audiat *nostrum* dementem strepitum.

Telephe, tempestiva Chloe petit te nitidum

NOTES.

There is better reason to think that Horace calls it sacred after Homer, because its walls were built by the gods, and it was filled with a great number of temples, in which many sacrifices were daily offered.

8. *Peligni careant frigoribus.*] The Peligni were a people of Italy, whose country was mountainous, and of consequence exceedingly cold. Hence Horace uses the expression, *Pelignum frigus.*

9. *Da Lunæ properè novæ.*] It would seem as if this ode had been composed at table. Horace continues his discourse, and, without taking notice of the answer of Telephus, proposes a drinking-bout, meaning that they ought not any longer to defer the celebration of that feast. The ode has that natural and easy turn which men of a polite taste and knowlege of the world usually give to all they say. *Da Lunæ novæ*, viz. *poculum.* Horace drinks to the new-moon, because without doubt Murena had been appointed augur in the time of it.

10. *Auguris Murenæ.*] The college of augurs, instituted at Rome by Numa, consisted at first of four augurs, all patricians; but this honour being afterwards granted to the plebeians, five others were added, and at last, Sylla increased their number to fifteen. They were in great reputation and authority, and their function was looked upon as one of the most important in the commonwealth, because it was in their power to render fruitless all the resolutions and designs of the senate and people. There is therefore no reason to wonder that Horace expresses so great joy at the election of his friend Murena to this office.

11. *Murenæ.*] This Murena was the brother of Proculeius, and brother-in-law of

Come, boy, give me *a glass that I may drink* to the new moon, *a second* to the night, *and a third to the health of our new* augur Murena. Let every man's cup contain no more glasses than nine, and not less than three. The poet who makes his court to the muses, will *not at all hesitate* in his enthusiasm *to* drink a cup containing nine glasses *to their honour;* but the sister-graces, fearful of quarrels, will not allow *their favourites* to exceed three. As for me, I am resolved to be merry to-day. Why cease the breathings of the Phrygian flute? Why will not some one or other give us a tune on that harp and flute that hang there*? I cannot bear to see any body idle. Boy, strew *the room with* roses; let jealous Lycus and *his mistress,* our neighbour, who hates the company of that old dotard, burst with spite to hear how merry we are†. *We know,* Telephus, *that* your long hair, and transcendent beauty, shining

* Why does that flute hang there with the silent harp? † Our mad noise.

NOTES.

Mæcenas. Probably he was advanced to the dignity of augur when Augustus was taken ill in Spain, about the end of the year 729, or the beginning of 730. Perhaps he might be raised to it by the choice of Augustus. It is well known that such strokes of generosity were very common in this prince. He made Plancus censor who had borne arms against him, and saw without the least chagrin one of his enemies nominated to the prætorship by a senator; and he himself appointed Lucius Sestius to succeed him in the consulship, although he had been one of the most zealous partisans of Brutus.

13. *Qui musas amat impares.*] The poets might drink nine cups at a time, because they followed the number of the muses; but those who designed to follow the graces must drink only three at a time, because that was their number. The passage is extremely beautiful; and it is easy to discover the whole mystery of it. It also contains a very delicate praise of Murena. In drinking either three or nine cups to that augur, they made their court both to the muses and the graces, who had joined in concert to advance him, he being a favourite of them both.

16. *Berecynthiæ tibiæ.*] The Berecynthian flute is the same with the Phrygian, which was employed in the feasts of Cybele. Horace, at this time, demands the Phrygian flute rather than any other, because it was more proper for those occasions of joy in which religion was somewhat concerned.

24. *Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.*] There is no mention made any where else of this Lycus; so that it is impossible to determine who he was. As for the other person here mentioned, ancient interpreters seem to think it was his wife; but it is more probable that it was his mistress, and the sequel seems to confirm this conjecture.

25. *Spissâ te nitidum comâ.*] These four last verses arise from the love which Lycus had to his neighbour. But Horace does not connect them with what precedes; for, besides that he ordinarily despised these connexions, such unforeseen transitions are extremely graceful, especially in songs made at table, where a gaiety and sprightliness usually prevail that cannot be confined to the exact rules of method, and a continued train of reasoning.

26. *Telephe.*] This is the same Telephus of whom mention is made in the 13th Ode of the first Book, and the 11th of the fourth.

Tempestiva petit Chloe:
Me lentus Glyceræ torret amor meæ.

ORDO.

spissâ comâ, te similem puro vespero: lentus amor meæ Glyceræ torret me.

NOTES.

27. *Tempestiva petit Chloe.*] This is the same Chloe of whom Horace was enamoured, as appears from the 23d Ode of the first Book, where Horace also calls her *tempestiva;* by

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ODE XX.

The beauty of this ode consists in the justness of the expression, and in the natural image which Horace exhibits of a woman whose young lover was in danger of being taken from her, and whom he compares to a lioness that had

AD PYRRHUM.

Non vides quanto moveas periclo,
Pyrrhe, Gætulæ catulos leænæ?
Dura post paulò fugies inaudax
Prœlia raptor,
Cùm per obstantes juvenum catervas
Ibit insignem repetens Nearchum;
Grande certamen, tibi præda cedat
Major, an illi.
Interim dum tu celeres sagittas
Promis, hæc dentes acuit timendos,
Arbiter pugnæ posuisse nudo
Sub pede palmam
Fertur, et leni recreare vento
Sparsum odoratis humerum capillis;
Qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut aquosâ
Raptus ab Idâ.

ORDO.

Pyrrhe, non vides quanto periculo moveas catulos Getulæ leænæ? *Tu*, inaudax raptor, paulo post fugies dura prœlia, cum *illa* repetens insignem Nearchum ibit per obstantes catervas juvenum: grande certamen, *utrum* major præda cedat tibi, an illi.

Interim, dum tu promis celeres sagittas, et hæc acuit dentes timendos, arbiter pugnæ fertur posuisse palmam sub nudo pede, et recreare leni vento humerum sparsum capillis odoratis; qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut *Ganymedes*, raptus ab Ida aquosa.

NOTES.

1. *Non vides quanto moveas periclo.*] The poet begins with an allegory: you are not sensible of the danger to which you expose yourself, by tearing from a lioness her young.

with greater brightness than the stars in the night, have touched the heart of young Chloe; as for me, I burn, *I own*, with the love which I still retain for Glycera.

NOTES.

which we may conclude, that that ode was composed but a little time before this.

28. *Glyceræ.*] This is the same Glycera whom Tibullus loved.

ODE XX.

lost her young. It is not easy to determine the time when it was written; but there is reason to think that he was not, at the time, very much advanced in years.

TO PYRRHUS.

PYRRHUS, do not you see that you expose yourself to *as* much danger, *by taking away young Nearchus from his mistress, as you would* by robbing a lioness of her whelps? In a little time, like a cowardly ravisher, you will decline the engagement, when you see her pressing through crowds of youths in quest of her pretty Nearchus. But while you are preparing your nimble arrows, *and* she is collecting all her strength*, *Nearchus*, the judge of the combat, *indifferent which of you may prove victorious*, is said to have put under his naked foot the palm which he had in his hand, and refreshed in the fanning wind his shoulders, that were adorned with his perfumed locks, *when he appeared* not inferior in beauty *even* to Nireus, or *Ganymede, whom Jupiter* carried off from *mount* Ida that abounds with springs.

* Whetting her terrible teeth.

NOTES.

and, immediately afterwards, he proceeds to the story itself, and speaks of the lady who passes through the crowd of her lovers to run after the beautiful Nearchus.

5. *Cùm per obstantes juvenum catervas.*] When Horace says that this lady shall run after her Nearchus through crowds of young men that shall oppose her course, he would have us to understand that she would neglect all her other lovers for the sake of Nearchus alone. This sense appears to me incomparably more beautiful than what the generality of interpreters have put upon it.

7. *Tibi præda cedat major, an illi.*] There is not perhaps in all Horace a passage more difficult than this for the expression. It is certain that very few have seen the beauty and delicacy of it. Horace says, *tibine præda major cedat an illi*, for *tibine potius præda cedat an illi, Tune potius prædam adipiscare, &c.* Instead of putting the comparative adverbs *magis* or *potius*, he has used the comparative *major*, which he makes the adjective of *præda*. This is an exceedingly happy turn.

10. *Hæc dentes acuit timendos.*] Through the whole of the ode Horace presents this woman, under the image of a lioness: it is for this reason that he speaks of her teeth.

ODE XXI.

Messala was included in the proscription ordered in the first year of the triumvirate, that is, in the year of the city 711; but the triumvirs, dreading his courage, erased his name from the list of the proscribed. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, the troops that remained of their party demanded the young Messala for their general. He refused the command, and joined himself to Octavius, who immediately created him augur, and lieutenant to Agrippa in the war against Pompey. In fine, he was colleague with Octavius in the consulship in the year 723; and in that quality he officiated at the battle of Actium. Horace was acquainted with Messala from the time they had been both together in the army of Brutus and Cassius; and,

AD AMPHORAM.

O NATA mecum consule Manlio,
Seu tu querelas, sive geris jocos,
Seu rixam et insanos amores,
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum;
Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum
Servas, moveri digna bono die;
Descende, Corvino jubente,
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negliget horridus.

ORDO.

O pia testa, nata mecum consule Manlio, seu tu geris querelas, sive jocos, seu rixam et insanos amores, seu facilem somnum; quocunque nomine servas lectum *vinum* Massicum, digna moveri bono die, descende, Corvino jubente, promere vina languidiora. Ille, quanquam madet Socraticis sermonibus, non horridus negliget te. Virtus prisci Catonis

NOTES.

1. *Nata.*] For *impleta*, to denote that the wine it contained was put into it during that consulate.

2. *Seu tu querelas, &c.*] The different effects which are here ascribed to wine, arise from the different temperament and constitution of those who drink it.

5. *Quocunque lectum nomine.*] In order to determine the true meaning of this passage, which has produced such a variety of conjectures, it will be sufficient to give a bare explication of the terms. *Massicum lectum* signifies the finest Massic wine. Among the best writers, *nomen* is often taken for the reason, the cause, the effect, as it would be an easy matter to prove. Horace therefore, after having spoken in general of the good and bad effects of wine, prays his cask to produce nothing but what was good. This is the meaning of the epithet *lectum*; and

ODE XXI.

upon his return to Rome, was desirous of renewing an acquaintance which might be so advantageous to him. Messala telling Horace one day, that he intended to sup with him, the poet, to show how sensible he was of the intended honour, wrote this ode, in which, by a poetical and ingenious fiction, he desires his cask to furnish him with the most excellent wine, that he might entertain handsomely a person of such consequence. The effects of this liquor are described in a very agreeable manner; the versification is extremely fine; and the expressions are chosen with a justness and propriety of taste, that discover the excellency of Horace's genius.

TO HIS CASK.

DEAR cask, filled under the consulship of Manlius, the same year I was born*, whether you are pregnant with sadness or joy, quarrels and the most furious transports of love, or soft *and sweet* repose; on whatever account it is that you preserve this choice Massic wine, you must be broached on this joyful day; come then, since Corvinus commands, let us taste of your most exquisite liquor. Although he hath imbibed the philosophy of Socrates, he is no enemy to thee. Cato†, that rigid censor, often warmed *and excited* his virtue by

* Born with me, Manlius being consul.

† Even the virtue of ancient Cato is said to have been often warmed with wine.

NOTES.

what tends to confirm it, is the passage in the following verse, *moveri digna bono die.* A bottle of Massic wine chosen from among the best, is proper to appear on a day of rejoicing.

7. *Descende.*] The Romans had their wine-cellars at the top of the house, that their wines might ripen sooner by the smoke.

9. *Socraticis sermonibus.*] The philosophy of Socrates, the academic philosophy. This was that philosophy which served most to open the mind, and form the judgement. On this account Horace has elsewhere put it for the basis and foundation of good sense and reason. Messala Corvinus was not only an eloquent pleader, but also a thorough master of this philosophy.

9. *Madet.*] For knowledge and wisdom are considered as rivers which water the mind and render it fruitful. The ancients often employed the word *madere* in this sense. But it is here more happily used than in other places, because he speaks of drinking.

10. *Horridus.*] Those sciences which require profound study, usually inspire with a distant and forbidding air. Epicurus was the only person among the ancients, who had the secret to refine and humanize philosophic virtue: I say, Epicurus, and not Epicureans in general, the greatest part of whom dege-

Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.
Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro : tu sapientium
Curas et arcanum jocoso
Consilium retegis Lyæo :
Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis,
Viresque ; et addis cornua pauperi,
Post te neque iratos trementi
Regum apices, neque militum arma.
Te Liber, et, si læta aderit, Venus,
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiæ,
Vivæque producent lucernæ,
Dum rediens fugat astra Phœbus.

ORDO.

narratur et sæpe caluisse mero.

Tu plerumque admoves lene tormentum ingenio duro: tu retegis curas et arcanum consilium sapientium jocoso Lyæo: tu reducis spem viresque mentibus anxiis; et addis cornua pauperi, post te neque trementi iratos apices regum, neque arma militum.

Liber, et Venus si læta aderit, Gratiæque segnes solvere nodum, vivæque lucernæ producent te, dum Phœbus rediens fugat astra.

NOTES.

nerated very much from the precepts of their master.

11. *Narratur et prisci Catonis.*] Some think this is meant of Cato of Utica, because

wine. You *know how to* tame the most intractable disposition by an agreeable violence; you alone have the art to make our wise *and grave* senators discover their anxieties, and reveal their most secret thoughts after a cheerful glass: you restore hope and life to the most disconsolate soul, and give courage to the poor, who, after your favours, are not afraid either of the formidable power of kings, or of their guards. Dear cask, may Bacchus, and Venus, provided she be in good humour, together with the Graces, those inseparable sisters, prolong our pleasures at the light of these flambeaux, until Phœbus return and make the stars disappear.

NOTES.

it is reported of him, that he often spent the evening in drinking; but it is not probable, that in that case Horace would have used the word *narratur*, because he himself might have been an evidence of that point, Horace being twenty years old when Cato of Utica slew himself. It is yet less likely that he would have employed the word *priscus*. Assuredly Horace designed Cato the censor, who was called *Priscus* before he obtained the name of Cato. For although he was the most sober man of his time, and drank nothing but water at the wars, and at home the same wine with his slaves, yet toward the end of his life, especially when he was in the country, he loved to be merry in the company of his friends, who were frequently invited to pass the evening with him.

13. *Tormentum ingenio admoves.*] This expression, *admovere tormentum*, is of the same import with *adhibere vim*, used by him in another place, and is a metaphor taken from war, when they advanced all the batteries and all the machines to give an assault.

21. *Si læta Venus.*] Horace invites Venus, provided she come in good humour; for she often occasions quarrels.

ODE XXII.

This whole ode has the air of a thanksgiving, which Horace offers to Diana, for the assistance which one of his mistresses had received from that goddess in some very pressing necessity. The verses are flowing,

IN DIANAM.

Montium custos nemorumque virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho,
Diva triformis!
Imminens villæ tua pinus esto,
Quam, per exactos ego lætus annos,
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
Sanguine donem.

ORDO.

O virgo custos montium nemorumque, Diva triformis, quæ ter vocata audis puellas laborantes utero, adimisque *eas* letho; pinus imminens villæ esto tua, quam ego, per exactos annos, lætus donem sanguine verris meditantis ictum obliquum.

NOTES.

1. *Montium custos nemorumque.*] The woods, mountains, and rivers, properly belonged to Diana, whence Horace here calls her the guardian of them. Yet it must not be forgotten that *custos* very often signifies an inhabitant.

2. *Quæ laborantes utero puellas.*] Diana, among the ancients, presided over women in

ODE XXII.

and the cadence remarkably fine; but the time of its composition is unknown.

TO DIANA.

CHASTE *Diana*, guardian of the groves and mountains, thou triple divinity, who, being invoked under thy three mysterious names, givest assistance to those that are in labour, and preservest them from death; I dedicate to thee the lofty pine that shades my country-seat, and promise to sprinkle thy altar yearly with the blood of a young boar, who already whets his tusks ready for an engagement.

NOTES.

child-bed, under the names of Juno, Lucina, Ilithyia, and Genitalis. This fiction was designed to mark the powerful influence of the moon.

3. *Ter vocata.*] Horace mentions the number three, either because that number was mysterious, or on account of the principal names under which the women invoked Diana in child-bed, of which we shall speak more fully on the secular poem.

4. *Diva triformis.*] Diana was called by the Latins *Triformis*, and by the Greeks τριμορφος, on account of the three different appearances of the moon, the increase, the full, and the decrease of the moon.

5. *Imminens villæ tua pinus esto.*] Horace, without question, took a great pleasure in calling to mind the favour he had received from Diana. This is evident from his consecrating to her a tree which shaded his house, and which he might see from his windows. The pine was commonly made sacred to Cybele and Isis. Horace here consecrates it to Diana; for Diana, Isis, Cybele, Venus, Ceres, &c. are only different names of the several attributes of the same divinity.

ODE XXIII.

Interpreters are generally of opinion that Horace wrote this ode to his housekeeper in the country, because she complained that she had not the liberty of offering great and splendid sacrifices. In order to remove this discontent, he tells her, that the most simple sacrifices, when offered with

AD PHIDYLEN.

Cœlo supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente Lunâ, rustica Phidyle;
Si thure placâris et hornâ
Fruge Lares, avidâque porcâ;
Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
Fecunda vitis, nec sterilem seges
Rubiginem, aut dulces alumni
Pomifero grave tempus anno.
Nam, quæ nivali pascitur Algido
Devota, quercus inter et ilices,
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
Victima, pontificum secures
Cervice tinget. Te nihil attinet
Tentare multâ cæde bidentium,

ORDO.

O rustica Phidyle, si *tu*, nascente Luna, tuleris manus supinas cœlo; si placaris Lares thure et horna fruge, avidaque porca; nec fecunda vitis sentiet Africum pestilentem, nec seges *sentiet* sterilem rubiginem, aut dulces *tui* alumni *sentient* tempus grave pomifero anno.

Nam victima devota *Diis*, quæ pascitur *in* Algido nivali inter quercus et ilices, aut *quæ* crescit in herbis Albanis, tinget secures pontificum cervice. Nihil attinet te coronantem par-

NOTES.

1. *Cælo supinas si tuleris manus.*] This was the ordinary gesture of those who prayed. If they addressed the heavenly gods, they raised their hands in such a manner that the palms were turned towards heaven; and this is the proper signification of *manus supinas*. Virgil says,

Multa Jovem manibus supplex orasse supinis;

which is equivalent to what he says elsewhere, *duplices tendens ad sidera palmas*. The prophet David calls this *expandere manus*, *Si expandimus manus nostras ad deum alienum;* and Tertullian, *expandere manus*, *Expansis manibus orabas*, and *manus aperire*. Lucretius calls it *pandere palmas*. But, when they addressed the infernal gods, the palm of the hand was turned towards the earth, as if to avert an evil.

7. *Rubiginem.*] Huet ingeniously accounts for blight or mildew in corn thus: The drops of dew, says he, being collected, are like so many convex burning-glasses,

ODE XXIII.

pure hands and an upright heart, are as effectual to bring down the blessing of the gods, as the most magnificent offerings. This conjecture, if not exactly the truth, has at least a great air of probability, and serves to throw light upon the whole piece.

TO PHIDYLE.

INDUSTRIOUS Phidyle, if at every new-moon you are not unmindful with uplifted hands to make your addresses to heaven; if you offer up incense, and *a portion of* the fruits of the season to your household gods, and sacrifice a pig unto them, your fertile vines shall not be destroyed by the pernicious south-west wind, nor shall your crop be blasted; and the tender offspring of your flocks shall escape all the dangers of the autumn. The victims that feed in the forests of mount Algidus, or those that are nourished in the pasture-grounds of Alba, are reserved *for public sacrifices* to be slain by the priests*. It does not at all belong to you to solicit your domestic deities by

* Shall stain the axes of the priests with *the blood of* their necks.

NOTES.

which, when heated by the rays of the sun, contract a caustic quality that burns the grain, fruits, flowers or leaves, on which they lie.

8. *Grave tempus.*] The autumn is here called a dangerous season, on account of the maladies which usually reign during that time, especially in the south parts of Italy, where the great summer-heats are succeeded by the south wind, which is very moist and humid. Horace here uses *annus pomifer* for the autumn, as he has used *annus hybernus* for the winter in the ode, *Beatus ille*, &c.

9. *Algido.*] Mount Algidus was so called *ab algore*, from the coldness of the air on the top of it, occasioned by its height.

12. *Pontificum secures.*] He means that such victims as these were reserved for the public sacrifices made by the priests, which ought to be more magnificent than those offered by private persons, who should always proportion their expense to their circumstances. Cato says, *Per eosdem dies Lari familiari pro copia supplices.*

13. *Te nihil attinet tentare.*] Some interpreters have taken this passage, as if Horace had said, that we ought to proportion the sacrifices to the greatness of the gods, and that these domestic gods being of a lower rank, the sacrifices offered to them ought to be so likewise. But this would have been an impious sentiment. Horace says to Phidyle, that it did not belong to her, who was an inconsiderable housekeeper, to offer up victims that were reserved for the axes of the pontiffs, that is, that were destined for public sacrifices; but that less splendid offerings would be equally acceptable from her.

14. *Bidentium.*] Festus says that *bidens* signifies properly a sheep that has two teeth longer than the rest; and this is confirmed by Hyginus, who writes that the sacrifice called *bidens*, should have eight teeth, and that it ought to have two of these longer

Parvos coronantem marino
Rore Deos, fragilique myrto.
Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumtuosa blandior hostia
Mollibit aversos Penates
Farre pio, et saliente micâ.

ORDO.

vos Deos rore marino fragilique myrto, tentare *illos* multa cæde bidentium.

Si manus *tua* immunis tetigit aram, hostia sumtuosa non mollibit aversos Penates blandior farre pio et mica saliente.

NOTES.

than the rest, that thereby it may appear to be already in an advanced age. This conjecture seems to me more probable than that mentioned by Gellius, who says, he had read in some work upon religious subjects, that they anciently used *bidennes* for *biennes*, and that in process of time the word had been corrupted, and instead of *bidennes* they had taken *bidentes*. It is farther to be observed, that *bidens* was not confined to sheep, but was extended to all other kinds of beasts, and that it is in this last sense Horace here uses it.

15. *Parvos Deos.*] This is said in opposition to what precedes. The pontiffs sacrificed to the tutelar gods of Rome, of their country, of the empire, victims that were nourished in the finest pasture-grounds; as for you who sacrifice only to deities of a lower rank, to rural or domestic gods, who preside only over a small country-seat, they are satisfied with your humble offerings, if made with a pure and upright heart.

15. *Coronantem marino rore.*] These crowns were very much in use in the sacrifices offered to domestic gods. They not only crowned the gods themselves, as we see it expressed here, but offered the sacrifice of these crowns, wherewith they also adorned the baskets used on these occasions, Tibullus, Eleg. 10. Book 1.

Hanc pura cum veste sequar, myrtoque canistra
Vincta geram, myrto vinctus et ipse caput.

" I will follow the sacrifice in a habit free
" from the least stain: I will bring with me
" baskets crowned with myrtle, wherewith
" I will also adorn my own head.

17 *Immunis aram si.*] This passage has very much perplexed interpreters. *Immunis* cannot signify empty, but innocent, pure; for how can those hands be said to be empty that offer to the gods barley, salt, &c.? It was a kind of proverb, *Mola salsa litare quibus victima non est:* Those who cannot offer victims, will not fail to obtain of the gods what they desire, if they make them only an offering of barley mixed with salt; for there was no person so poor but might afford this, which they called properly *mola salsa*. Upon this is founded the following passage of Pliny, in the preface which he addresses to the emperor Vespasian: *Diis lacte rustici multæque gentes supplicant, et mola salsa tantum*

a great number of victims; present them with crowns of myrtle and rosemary*, *and they will be abundantly pleased with your offering*. If you approach their altar with pure hands, though you offer but a homely cake, and a few grains of salt, this will be more effectual to appease their anger, than *if they were presented with* the most costly sacrifices.

* Crowning them with rosemary and tender myrtle.

NOTES.

litant qui non habent thura; nec ulli fuit vitio Deos colere quoquo modo posset: "Those who "live in the country, and many whole nations, make offerings of milk unto the "gods; and such as cannot afford victims "are not rejected, though they present them "only with barley and salt; nor was it ever "imputed to any as a crime that they honoured the gods in the way their circumstances would admit." Hierocles, upon the first verse of Pythagoras, relates a very remarkable answer of Apollo. A man who had sacrificed a whole hecatomb, but at the same time was destitute of all sentiments of piety and religion, wanted to know of the god how his sacrifice had been received: the god answered; "The humble offering "of barley made by the celebrated Hermione, "has been acceptable in my sight." On this subject Epictetus has given a very wise precept; "In libations, sacrifices, and offerings, every one ought to follow the "usage of his country, and make them "with a pure and sincere heart, without "carelessness, indifference, irreverence, or "parsimony, and, at the same time, without "a sumptuousness beyond what a man's circumstances will bear."

19. *Aversos Penates.*] The provoked household gods who turn away their eyes; for the countenances of the gods are a mark of their protection.

20. *Farre pio, et saliente micâ.*] Thus Tibullus says,

———*Omina noctis*
Farre pio placant et saliente sale.

"They expiated the dreams of the night "with barley and salt."

The Latins called this *mola salsa*, and the Greeks ουλοχυτης.

Pio.] *Pius* here is not to be considered simply as an epithet; it is a reason to prove what the poet says: for Horace would intimate that this humble offering when made with piety, was better received by the gods than the most magnificent sacrifices without it. Socrates speaks nearly in the same manner, in his second Alcibiades, that the gods regard only the disposition of our minds, and not our processions and sacrifices; and that nothing is more pleasing to them than wisdom and piety. This Persius has admirably expressed in the following lines of the second satire:

———*Quin damus—superis—*
Compositum jus fasque animi, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto?
Hoc cedo ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo.

ODE XXIV.

It is the prerogative of lyric poets to instruct agreeably, and at the same time with dignity. The ode usually begets a respect to moral truths by the sublimity of its sentiments, the majesty of the numbers, the boldness of the figures, and the force of the expression; and prevents a distaste by its brevity, the variety of turns, and the choice of ornaments, which a skilful poet knows how to employ with propriety. Among a

IN AVAROS.

Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiæ,
Cæmentis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis, et mare Apulicum;
Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Campestres melius Scythæ
(Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos)

ORDO.

Licet occupes tuis cæmentis omne Tyrrhenum et Apulicum mare, opulentior intactis thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiæ; tamen si dira Necessitas figit *suos* clavos adamantinos summis *tuis* verticibus, non expedies animum metu, *non expedies* caput laqueis mortis.

Campestres Scythæ, quorum vagas domos plaustra rite trahunt, vivunt melius *te* et rigidi

1. *Intactis.*] For this ode was written before Ælius Largus had marched with an army against the Arabians, which happened in the tenth consulship of Augustus.

2. *Indiæ.*] This is a region of Asia, which takes its name from the Indus, whose source is in mount Taurus. This river runs from north to south along Persia and India, and empties itself into the gulph of Indus by five channels.

3. *Cæmentis.*] See the remarks upon the first Ode of this Book.

5, 7. *Figit adamantinos clavos.*] Most commentators esteem this to be a metaphor taken from the custom of fixing a nail every year in the walls of their temples, that they might thereby know the number of their years. But I think it is rather an allusion to the method soldiers take in pitching their tents, which they do by driving long hard spikes into the earth.

6. *Summis verticibus.*] By *summis verticibus* the poet here means those magnificent edifices, those splendid buildings, which the Romans raised along the Adriatic and Tuscan seas. He says, that if once cruel Necessity fixes her residence in these august structures, nothing will strengthen the minds of the inhabitants against fear, or secure them from the attacks of death. In this way of conceiving the matter, the idea is both just and beautiful.

ODE XXIV.

great number of performances of this kind which Horace has left behind him, the present ode is not the least valuable. It consists of three parts. In the first he exposes the vices of the age, in the second he discovers their causes, and in the third he prescribes the remedies which were to be applied in order to remove them.

AGAINST THE COVETOUS.

WERE you master of greater treasures than are to be found in Arabia and rich India, *whither the Roman arms have* not yet reached; were the coast of the Tuscan and Adriatic sea, covered with magnificent buildings, all belonging to you, if the cruel Fates once determine the ruin *of you and* of these lofty edifices*, you will not be able to deliver your mind from fear, or rescue yourself from the snares of death. The wild Scythians, who often carry their moveable houses on waggons, and the Getæ, though rude *and unpolished,* are far more

* If cruel Necessity fixes her hard spikes in these lofty roofs.

NOTES.

8. *Non mortis laqueis.*] Horace here represents Death as armed with a net, which she throws over the head of those whom she attacks. This idea was without doubt borrowed from the gladiators who were called *retiarii*, who were armed with a net, in which they endeavoured to entangle the head of their adversary, and then with their *fuscina*, or trident might easily dispatch him. The *secutor* was armed with a buckler and a helmet, whereon was the picture of a fish in allusion to the net. His weapon was a scymetar, or *falx supina.* He was called *secutor*, because if the *retiarius*, against whom he was always matched, should happen to fail in catching with his net, his only safety lay in flight, so that in this case he plied his heels as fast as he could about the place of combat, till he had put his net in order for a second throw: in the mean time this *secutor* or follower pursued him, and endeavoured to prevent his design. Possibly after all, Horace in this may have only made use of a figure common in all languages, which by the word *net* frequently express what a man cannot avoid. Thus in the prophecy of Ezekiel God says, that he would stretch his net over the king of Jerusalem: *Extendam rete meum super eum, et capietur in sagena mea.* Chap. xii. 13. and, in Hosea, *Expandam super eos rete meum, tanquam aves cœli descendere faciam eos*, vii. 12. It is thus that Solomon speaks of the nets of death, Prov. xxi. 6. *Qui congregat thesauros lingua mendacii, vanus et excors est, et impingetur ad laqueos mortis.*

9. *Campestres Scythæ.*] These people had neither cities nor villages; they lived always in the country, and contented themselves with a kind of moveable houses that could be easily transported with them, when they intended to change their habitation. Horace, in the line immediately following, calls them *vagas domos.* Justin says of these wandering tribes, *Sine tecto munimentoque, pecorà et armenta habent. Aurum et argentum perinde aspernantur ac reliqui mortales adpetunt.*

Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt;
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ;
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.
Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens;
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero.
Dos est magna parentium
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas:
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.
O quisquis volet impias
Cædes, et rabiem tollere civicam;
Si quæret pater urbium
Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrenare licentiam,
Clarus postgenitis; quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
Quid tristes querimoniæ,
Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
Quid leges, sine moribus
Vanæ, proficiunt? si neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,

ORDO.

Getæ, quibus immetata jugera ferunt liberas fruges et Cererem; *quibus* nec cultura longior annua placet, et *apud quos* vicarius recreat æquali sorte *alterum* defunctum laboribus.

Illic mulier innocens temperat privignis carentibus matre: nec conjux dotata regit virum, nec fidit nitido adultero. *Illic* virtus parentum est magna dos, et castitas certo fœdere metuens alterius viri: *illic* et peccare *est* nefas, aut pretium est mori.

O quisquis volet tollere impias cædes, et rabiem civicam; si quæret subscribi statuis pater urbium; andeat refrenare indomitam licentiam, clarus postgenitis; quatenus (heu nefas!) odimus virtutem incolumem, invidi quærimus *eam* sublatam ex oculis.

Quid tristes querimoniæ *proficiunt*, si culpa non reciditur supplicio? Quid proficiunt leges, vanæ sine moribus?

Si neque pars mundi inclusa fervidis caloribus, nec latus mundi finitimum Boreæ, nives-

NOTES.

12. *Immetata quibus jugera.*] As these people lived in common, they did not distinguish the lands by boundaries or limits. Virgil, speaking of the age of Saturn, says:

happy than you. The earth, without being marked out by boundaries, affords them, in great plenty, the gifts of Ceres. Their toil never continues longer than one year; and he who has once accomplished his time, never fails of being relieved by a successor, who comes in his turn to undergo the same fatigue and cares. Among them, step-mothers, by an innocence of manners *to which we are entire strangers*, never attempt to injure the children of a former marriage. The wives do not attempt to domineer over their husbands because of their superior fortunes, and are always on their guard against the arts and allurements of lovers. The best fortune their daughters can have, is to inherit the virtue of their parents, to be strictly chaste, and inviolably attached to their husbands, and to esteem infidelity to them a crime so heinous, as to deserve to be punished with death. Ah! where is the man that will put an end to our *frequent* impious murders, and stop the fury of our civil war? Is he desirous of having statues erected with this glorious inscription, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY? He must have the courage to oppose that unbounded licentiousness which at present so much prevails. By this conduct only can he expect to procure the esteem of future ages. As for us, alas! we are so envious and wicked, that we bear an implacable hatred to great and good men while living, and yet, *so unaccountable is our conduct*, that no sooner are they dead, than we, without ceasing, regret and lament them. To what purpose are our heavy complaints, unless we check vice by an adequate punishment? What good end can our laws answer, if we neglect to regulate our lives by them? Though the merchant, *always greedy of gain*, is not discouraged by the scorching heat of the torrid zone, or by the coldness of the north, where the snow is

NOTES.

Nec signare quidem, aut partiri limite campum
Fas erat; in medium quærebant.

21. *Dos est magna, &c.*] There are four things that demonstrate the great happiness of the matrimonial state among the Scythians; the virtuous education which children received from their parents, the woman's great attachment and regard to her husband, the horror they had of conjugal infidelity, and the rigor of the laws that punished that crime with death.

21. *Parentium virtus.*] The virtue of parents must probably have a good effect upon their children. Hesiod laments, that in his time men were solicitous to have a set of dogs and horses of a good breed, but that they did not scruple to marry the daughters of vicious parents, if they could procure a good dowry. This is an unhappiness attending all those who place their sovereign good in riches.

25. *O quisquis volet impias.*] These two verses manifestly prove, that this ode was written during the civil wars. Augustus, very soon after this, merited the honours of which Horace here speaks. Bentley makes a very good remark upon this, that *quisquis* ought to be divided, *O quis quis.* This repetition of *quis* has a great force and energy, and makes us sensible, that the thing here spoken of is very difficult, and what can be effected by no less than a hero.

Duratæque solo nives
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora navitæ;
Magnum pauperies opprobrium, jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati,
Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ:
Vel nos in Capitolium,
Quò clamor vocat et turba faventium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas, et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiam mali,
Mittamus. Scelerum si bene pœnitet,
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa, et teneræ nimis
Mentes asperioribus
Formandæ studiis. Nescit equo rudis
Hærere ingenuus puer,
Venarique timet; ludere doctior,
Seu Græco jubeas trochо,
Seu malis vetitâ legibus aleâ;
Cùm perjura patris fides
Consortem socium fallat et hospitem,

ORDO.

que duratæ solo, abigunt mercatorem; *si* callidi navitæ vincunt horrida æquora; *si* pauperies *nunc* magnum opprobrium jubet et facere et pati quidvis, deseritque viam virtutis arduæ: nos mittamus vel in Capitolium, quo clamor et turba faventium vocat, vel nos *mittamus* in mare proximum gemmas, et lapides, et inutile aurum, materiam summi mali.

Si bene pœnitet *nos* scelerum, elementa pravi cupidinis eradenda sunt, et mentes *nostræ* nimis teneræ formandæ *sunt* asperioribus studiis.

Ingenuus puer rudis nescit hærere equo, timetque venari, doctior ludere, seu jubeas Græco trocho, seu malis aleâ vetitâ legibus; cum perjura fides patris fallat consortem

NOTES.

35. *Quid leges, sine moribus.*] He joins these, because laws without manners are of no effect, and manners are not durable or of continuance, but when they are strengthened and confirmed by the laws. It is for the same reason that in another place he says, *Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas.* There is a remarkable passage in the 34th Book of Livy: *Aut moribus aut legibus injuncta.*

45. *Vel nos in Capitolium.*] After having discovered the causes of those evils that affected his country, *viz.* Avarice and a dread of poverty, he next points out the remedies that ought to be applied in order to redress them. But this passage has not been well understood by commentators when they imagined, that Horace, in exhorting them to bring all their riches into the capitol, had in his eye what the Roman ladies had done once before, when they brought all their jewels to the capitol, to supply the pressing exigencies of the republic; or that he speaks in this

frozen to the earth; though our skilful mariners, *for gain*, dare brave the stormy main; though poverty is esteemed by some the greatest reproach, and, rather than be poor, they will do or suffer any thing, and forsake the arduous paths of virtue itself; *shall we therefore do so? No;* let us rather carry our gold, jewels, and precious stones, the source of all our evils, to the Capitol, where we are invited by the acclamations of the people, *and there offer them to Jupiter;* or let us throw them to the bottom of the sea. If we are really touched with a sense of our crimes, we ought quite to root out the cause of avarice to which we are so prone, and accustom our youth betimes to laborious exercises. Our young quality are better skilled in *the mean diversions of* turning an iron hoop stuck with rings, as the Greeks do, or throwing the dice, though forbidden by law, than in *the manly exercises of* riding or hunting, while their perfidious fathers deceive their friends and acquaintances, and

NOTES.

manner, because it was customary with the citizens to commit their treasures for security to the temples. The first opinion is insupportable. Horace by that would destroy what he intended to establish. And the second is not less so, because the advice really given is to divest themselves entirely of the riches, and not to lay them up in places of security. Theodorus Marcilius is the only person who has given the true sense of this passage; for he has very well remarked that Horace counsels the Romans to consecrate to Jupiter all their gold and other riches. It was a very ordinary thing to consecrate gold and valuable jewels to the gods: this was often practised by private persons, by the senate, and by the emperors, as Suetonius relates of Augustus. *Utpote qui in cellam Capitolini Jovis sedecim millia pondo auri, gemmasque ac margaritas quingenties H. S. una donatione contulerit.*

51. *Eradenda Cupidinis pravi.*] He calls riches *elementa cupidinis*, because they are the principle and cause of avarice.

52. *Et teneræ nimis asperioribus.*] It was not sufficient to eradicate avarice. Horace farther advises his countrymen to be more careful in educating their children; not to breed them up in idleness which is the mother of all vices, but to accustom them to laborious exercises, to inure them to all kinds of fatigue, and to teach them not to look upon poverty as a reproach.

57. *Seu Græco jubeas trocho.*] The trochus has been often thought to be the same with the top, or else of a like nature with our billiards: but both these opinions are now exploded. The trochus was properly a hoop of iron stuck with rings. The boys and young men used to whirl this along, as our children do wooden hoops, directing it with a rod of iron having a wooden handle; which rod was called by the Grecians ἐλατὴς, and by the Romans, *Radius*. There was need of great dexterity to guide the hoop right. In the mean time, the rings, by the noise which they made, not only gave the people notice to keep out of the way, but contributed very much to the diversion of the boys.

58. *Vetitâ legibus aleâ.*] All games of hazard were forbidden at Rome by the laws, especially the game of dice. Such as gave themselves up to it, and were discovered, were very often imprisoned. Yet there was one exception from these laws; and that was, that every one was permitted to play at them during the Saturnalia. But these laws were not sufficient to restrain this practice at other times, nor is this much to be wondered at, since the emperors themselves were com-

Indignoque pecuniam
Hæredi properet. Scilicet improbæ
Crescunt divitiæ; tamen
Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.

ORDO.

socium et hospitem, properetque pecuniam indigno hæredi. Scilicet improbæ divitiæ crescunt; tamen nescio quid semper abest curtæ *eorum* rei.

NOTES.

monly professed admirers of it. Augustus himself played unreasonably, without any regard to the time of the year. But the great master of this art was Claudius, who,

break through the laws of hospitality to enrich their unworthy heirs. Indeed, ill-gotten or unnecessary wealth seems to accumulate rapidly; but its possessors have still some wants which they wish to gratify, and still complain of their scanty means of indulgence.

NOTES.

by his constant practice, gained so much experience as to compose a book on the subject. Hence Seneca, in his sarcastical relation of that emperor's apotheosis, when after many adventures he has brought him to hell, makes the infernal judges condemn him (as the most proper punishment in the world) to play continually at dice with a box that had the bottom out; which kept him always in hopes, and yet every time balked his expectations.

ODE XXV.

It was not the design of Horace, in this ode, to praise Augustus; he only wished to intimate that he intended to employ the happy moments of his enthusiasm in celebrating that prince, and transmitting to posterity an account of those renowned and truly heroic actions, which had already raised him to an

AD BACCHUM.

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
Plenum? quæ in nemora, aut quos agor in specus,
Velox mente novâ? quibus
Antris, egregii Cæsaris audiar
Æternum meditans decus
Stellis inserere, et concilio Jovis?
Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
Indictum ore alio. Non secus in jugis
Exsomnis stupet Evias,
Hebrum prospiciens, et nive candidam

ORDO.

O Bacche, quo rapis me plenum tui? In quæ nemora, aut in quos specus, velox agor mente nova? *Ex* quibus antris audiar meditans inserere æternum decus egregii Cæsaris stellis et concilio Jovis?

Dicam insigne recens, *et* adhuc indictum ore alio. Evias exsomnis in jugis non secus stupet

NOTES.

3. *Velox mente novâ.*] As if Bacchus had suddenly changed the genius of the poet, and rendered it, in some measure, divine, that it might be equal to the majesty of the subject.

4. *Egregii Cæsaris.*] Torrentius is of opinion that this may be understood of Cæsar; but I cannot bring myself to be of this mind. Without doubt he speaks of Augustus, whom he calls *egregius Cæsar*, Ode 6. Book I. Cicero, speaking of Augustus, gives him the same title, Epist. 25. Book 12. *Puer enim egregius præsidium sibi primum, et nobis, deinde summæ reipublicæ comparavit.* And indeed this epithet is both very beautiful and noble; for it signifies properly what is separated from the rest on account of its excellence. Thus the fattest lambs are, in Scripture, called *Agni e grege;* that is, *agni egregii.*

6. *Stellis inserere.*] Very few have observed the force and beauty of this word *inserere.* For it does not signify what Catullus calls *ad cœlum vocare;* he does not mean that he would raise Augustus to the skies by his verses. That prince had been already consecrated; and Horace says, that he would speak of that consecration, that he would describe it in such a manner that they might believe Augustus already ascended to heaven. *Inserere* is here put for *insertum dicere, ita ut inseri videatur.* It is thus that he says, Ode 19th, Book II. *Iterare mella* for *ita describere ut iterum lahi videantur.* This figure is

ODE XXV.

equality with the gods, although he yet dwelt among men. We ought therefore to consider this ode as a prelude to the praises of Augustus, and the preparative to them: it is full of an enthusiasm truly poetic.

TO BACCHUS.

BACCHUS, whither do you hurry me thus full of your divinity? Into what caves, into what woods, am I transported, by the impetuous sallies of a new enthusiasm? What echoes shall resound the songs I compose to the immortal glory of great Cæsar, celebrating his reception into heaven, and his admission to the *supreme* council of Jupiter? I design to sing of actions great in themselves, and such as have never been performed or sung by any other person. My soul is seized with the same admiration and astonishment that a Bacchanal feels when, just awakened from a deep sleep on the top of a mountain, she discovers around her the

NOTES.

both beautiful and sublime. Virgil uses it in his sixth eclogue:

Tum Phaetontiadas musco circumdat amaræ
Corticis, atque solo proceras erigit alnos.

That is, *circumdatas Phaetontiadas et erectas alnos describere:* and he does it in such a manner as would make one believe that they saw the miracle take place, as Servius has remarked: *Mira autem canentis laus, ut quasi non factam rem cantare, sed ipse eam cantando facere videatur.*

6. *Et concilio Jovis.*] *Concilium* signifies an assembly. In some editions it is *consilio.* I know very well that these two words *consilium* and *concilium,* have been often mistaken the one for the other; but it is a matter of indifference which of the readings should be preferred; for Augustus could not be admitted into the assembly of the gods, without being at the same time of the counsel of Jupiter, the one being manifestly a consequence of the other. A *council* is convoked for the purpose of taking *counsel.*

7. *Dicam.*] Sure of the protection and favour of the god who inspired him, he promises himself nothing but what is sublime and marvellous. The poet frequently uses *dicere* for *canere:*

Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma
Prosiluit dicenda.

7. *Insigne, recens, adhuc indictum ore alio.*] This is not to be understood only of the new manner in which these things were to be celebrated, but of the things themselves. It would seem as if the words *indictum ore alio* served only to explain *recens;* but this is not at all the case; for Horace might have spoken of things that would have appeared new to the Romans, which yet had been celebrated by the Greeks; this is the reason that, after

Thracen, ac pede barbaro
Lustratam Rhodopen. Ut mihi devio
Ripas et vacuum nemus
Mirari libet! ô Naïadum potens,
Baccharumque valentium
Proceras manibus vertere fraxinos;
Nil parvum, aut humili modo,
Nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,
O Lenæe, sequi Deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

ORDO.

prospiciens Hebrum, et Thracen candidam nive, ac Rhodopen lustratam pede barbaro. Ut libet mihi devio mirari ripas et vacuum nemus!

O potens Naiadum, Baccharumque valentium manibus vertere proceras fraxinos; loquar nil parvum, aut humili modo, *loquar* nil mortale. O Lenæe, periculum est dulce sequi Deum cingentem *sua* tempora viridi pampino.

NOTES.

having promised he would speak of things entirely new, he adds, 'and which have never yet been mentioned by any other;' that is, the Greeks themselves have never said any thing that resembles them. Horace, without doubt, here alludes to the verses sung by those who followed the statue of Bacchus.

8. *Non secus in jugis.*] This gives the reason of the promise he had made, 'I will speak of things marvellous and extraordinary.' For, says he, I am sensible of the same movements of admiration and fear which the Bacchantes feel, when, in their processions, they have reached the summits of the mountains, and discover thence Hebrus, Thrace, and mount Rhodope. Does not Horace in some measure disconnect his thoughts, that he may the better imitate the style, and maintain the character, of a man inspired by the gods?

11. *Ac pede barbaro lustratam Rhodopen.*] Rhodope was a mountain of Thrace, and the most ordinary place of rendezvous for the Thracian Bacchantes; whence Horace writes *pede barbaro lustratam.*

18. *Dulce periculum est.*] There was some

river Hebrus, the snows of Thrace, and mount Rhodope, the place of rendezvous of all the barbarians when they celebrate their solemn feasts. What inconceivable pleasure do I enjoy while I am in these unfrequented paths, admiring the steep rocks and solitary groves! Powerful being, who rulest over the Naiads, and Bacchanals, who, with their nervous arms, can tear up by the roots the loftiest pines, *aid me with your protection*, that I may utter nothing low or mean, but, *on the contrary*, what is great and worthy of immortality. *My enterprise may appear rash and dangerous, but* it is a pleasant kind of danger, *great Bacchus*, to follow the steps of a god whose temples are *always* crowned with a verdant vine-branch.

NOTES.

kind of pride in the promise which Horace had made, to say nothing but what was marvellous and sublime, nothing that should be subject to death. And as the ancients were persuaded that all bold words, to use their own terms, all words of vanity, were usually followed by some degree of punishment, they took care to soften them. This is what Horace does here with a fine address; for he says to Bacchus: "I know it is dangerous to promise such great things; but the danger is pleasant, when we follow a god whose head is always adorned with a vine-branch." By this he would have us to understand, that he was not afraid of any bad consequences from his great promises, as he had made them only in a dependence on his protection.

19. *Lenæe.*] *Lenæus* is an ordinary surname of Bacchus. It is derived from the Greek word ληνος, which signifies a press: from this word the Bacchantes have been called *Lenææ*; the feasts of Bacchus, *Lenæa*; and the month in which they are celebrated, *Lenæon*, which answers in part to our October.

20. *Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.*] Commentators explain this passage two different ways; either 'who is himself crowned with a vine-branch,' or 'who crowns his followers with it.' The first explication seems to me most likely; for Horace always designs Bacchus in this manner, as in Ode 8th, Book fourth:

Ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber, vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

"It is Bacchus who, adorned with a verdant vine-branch, crowns all our wishes with a happy success."

ODE XXVI.

Horace had been too long a slave to the most foolish of all the passions. He here takes a resolution of breaking his chains. The ode is short, but is full of vivacity and sentiment.

AD VENEREM.

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus,
Et militavi non sine gloriâ:
Nunc arma defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit,
Lævum marinæ qui Veneris latus
Custodit. Hìc, hìc ponite lucida
Funalia, et vectes, et arcus
Oppositis foribus minaces.
O, quæ beatam, Diva, tenes Cyprum, et
Memphim carentem Sithoniâ nive,

ORDO.

Ego vixi nuper idoneus puellis, et militavi non sine gloria: nunc hic paries qui custodit lævum latus Veneris marinæ, habebit *mea* arma barbitonque defunctum bello. Hic, hic ponite funalia lucida, et vectes, et arcus minaces foribus oppositis.

O Diva, quæ tenes beatam Cyprum, et Memphim carentem nive Sithonia, O regina, semel

NOTES.

1. *Vixi puellis nuper.*] *Nuper*, that is, before the age of forty; for at that age Horace gave over his amours and gallantry.

2. *Et militavi.*] For love is carrying on a kind of war; Ovid says,

Militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido.

4. *Hic paries habebit.*] The ancients were accustomed, when they quitted the profession of war, to consecrate their arms to Mars. The like practice was observed in other professions. Horace makes choice of the altar of Venus for this ceremony, and hangs up his armour on the left side of the goddess, that is, on the eastern wall of the temple. The statues of the gods were placed in such a manner, that they looked towards the south; thus the eastern, which was accounted the happiest side of the temple, was upon their left hand.

5. *Marinæ Veneris.*] Augustus placed in the temple of Julius Cæsar the Venus of Apelles, where that goddess was represented as rising from the sea. Possibly it is of that temple and picture that Horace speaks here.

7. *Et vectes, et arcus.*] Dr. Bentley raises here a very considerable difficulty. He asks why Horace, in this place, makes mention of bows. Did the youth make use of them to force open a gate when shut against them? This is the reason why he thinks this verse stands in need of correction, and that we ought to read,

Et vectes securesque;

ODE XXVI.

When it was composed is uncertain; but it seems to have been written after the 23d of the first Book, and the 9th of this; about the forty-second year of Horace's age.

TO VENUS.

NOT long ago I acquitted myself with honour in the service of the ladies, and fought not without glory *under Cupid's banner.* Now on that wall of the temple which covers the left side of Venus *emerging out* of the sea, will I hang up my arms and my harp discharged from that war. *Boys,* here place the flambeaux, here the levers and bows wherewith I used to force the gates that opposed my entrance. O goddess, who art adored at Cyprus, and at Memphis, where the serene air is never obscured with snow, great queen, *the favour I beg of you is, that you would* for once

NOTES.

for these axes were very proper to break open a gate, and were commonly employed for this purpose, as is evident from Theocritus, Plautus, and Virgil. Nothing can prove more strongly that the received reading is authentic, than this supposed restitution. These bows are not mentioned here without reason: the flambeaux and levers were to burn and force open the gates, and the bows were intended to repulse those who should attempt to defend them. Thus when soldiers lay siege to a city, they have not only engines to assault the walls, but also weapons to annoy those who are upon the ramparts. Horace follows the same idea here.

9. *O, quæ beatam.*] The four following verses consist of the prayer which Horace offers up to Venus, and have nothing common with what precedes. The thought is very natural and delicate; but it makes one apt to suspect that Horace was no true convert. After having declared that he had renounced love and gallantry, after having consecrated his arms to Venus, he addresses his prayer to her; and instead of a solemn and irrevocable oath to absent himself for ever from the object of his passion, he only complains of Chloe's obstinacy, and prays the goddess to punish her.

10. *Memphim.*] Venus was adored in several cities of Egypt, but especially at Memphis, where there was a very beautiful temple consecrated to her. Strabo, in his 17th book, says: There is at Memphis a temple belonging to Venus, a Grecian goddess. Some say it is the temple of the moon. It is no difficult matter to reconcile these two opinions, as Venus and the Moon were but one and the same divinity.

10. *Carentem Sithoniâ nive.*] The mountains of Thrace are covered with snow during the greatest part of the year, which renders that climate extremely cold. Our poet therefore had good reason to say, *nix Sithonia,* for *nix perfrigida;* this is a poetical expression where the species is taken for the genus, which Horace does very often. It is probable that the reason why the poet mentions particularly the cold of Thrace, is, because Chloe was of that country. He calls her, in another place, *Thressa Chloe.*

Regina, sublimi flagello
Tange Chloen semel arrogantem.

ORDO.

tange arrogantem Chloen sublimi flagello.

NOTES

11. *Sublimi flagello.* Horace here gives Venus a whip, which is something very re-

ODE XXVII.

Lælia Galla, a lady of distinction in Rome, had married Postumus. The happiness of this union was interrupted, in the year 731, by the departure of Tiberius for the east, whence he did not return before the year 735. Postumus was fixed upon by the emperor to attend him while he visited the provinces of Asia, and in his expedition into Armenia, where that young prince had it in his charge to replace Tigranes upon the throne. Propertius reproached Postumus for having so soon abandoned his new spouse, and addressed to him upon that subject the eleventh Elegy of the third Book. Some time after, the same poet wrote a second piece in favour of Galla, which is the third of the fourth Book. It is an epistle which that lady writes to her husband. This made an impression upon the mind of Postumus, who gave Galla liberty to come and accompany him. As she was upon the point of departing in order to embark, Horace, who had no other connexion with her than that of an honest and respectful friendship, takes occasion to address this ode to her; where, after having wished her favourable auspices, he represents to her the danger of the sea to which

chastise the haughty *and disdainful* Chloe, with *a* severity *that may revenge all the affronts I have received from her* *.

* With a whip lifted high.

NOTES.

markable; he prays that goddess to raise her whip high to strike Chloe, that the blow may be the more violent. Perhaps he only says, *sublimi flagello tange*, instead of *sublimis tange flagello;* as Tibullus in the 8th Elegy of his first Book,

Hanc Venus ex alto flentem sublimis Olympo Spectat.

"Venus, from the top of Olympus, saw her drowned in tears."

ODE XXVII.

she was going to expose herself. Afterwards he launches forth into the history of Europa, to intimate that it was not the business of ladies to venture themselves upon the sea, but that the adventure of that princess turned to her advantage, and that in such a case she ought not to give herself up to the same sentiments of despair as Europa, who very unseasonably lamented an event which made her mistress to the sovereign of the gods. This explication is only founded on conjecture; but these conjectures are so natural, so well connected, and throw so great a light upon this whole piece (the most difficult perhaps of all the odes of Horace), that I am easily induced to believe, that this representation of the matter bears a very great resemblance to truth. Hereby this ode is not only freed from the obscurity wherewith it hath been covered hitherto; but also does honour to the poet, and seems to equal some of his best performances. The history of Europa, although a little too long, is nevertheless well conducted; and the speech of that unfortunate princess is full of the most passionate and lively eloquence.

AD GALATEAM NAVIGATRUAM.

Impios parræ recinentis omen
Ducat, et prægnans canis, aut ab agro
Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,
Fetaque vulpes;
Rumpat et serpens iter institutum,
Si per obliquum similis sagittæ
Terruit mannos. Ego cui timebo
Providus auspex,
Antequam stantes repetat paludes
Imbrium divina avis imminentum,
Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
Solis ab ortu.
Sis licet felix ubicunque mavis,
Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas;
Teque nec lævus vetet ire picus,
Nec vaga cornix.
Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion: ego quid sit ater
Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.
Hostium uxores puerique cæcos
Sentiunt motus orientis Austri, et
Æquoris nigri fremitum, et trementes
Verbere ripas.

ORDO.

Omen parræ recinentis ducat impios, et prægnans canis, aut rava lupa decurrens ab agro Lanuvino, fetaque vulpes; et serpens rumpat *eorum* iter institutum, si similis sagittæ per obliquum terruit mannos.

Ego auspex providus *ei* cui timebo, suscitabo prece ab ortu solis oscinem corvum, antequam avis divina imbrium imminentum repetat stantes paludes.

Galatea, sis licet felix ubicunque mavis *esse*, et vivas memor nostri, neque picus lævus, nec vaga cornix vetet te ire.

Sed vides quanto tumultu pronus Orion trepidet: ego novi, quid sit ater sinus Adriæ, et quid albus Iapyx peccet. Uxores puerique hostium sentiant cæcos motus Austri orientis, et fremitum nigri æquoris, et ripas trementes verbere.

NOTES.

1. *Impios parræ recinentis.*] Horace, in this ode, makes mention of three sorts of auspices, which (beside many others) were in use among the Romans; *ex avibus*, from birds; *ex quadrupedibus*, from four-footed beasts; and *ex anguibus*, from serpents. He begins with those from birds, whence they had the name of *auspices*, from *avis*, and *specio*, the root of *conspicio*. Some birds furnished them with observations from their chattering or singing, others from their flying. The former they called *oscines*, the latter *præpetes*: of the first sort were crows, pyes, owls, &c. of the other, eagles, vultures,

TO GALATEA, WHO WAS PREPARING FOR A VOYAGE.

MAY *voyages of* impious men be *always* accompanied with *unlucky presages; may they hear* the voice of an ill-boding bird, or *be met by* a pregnant bitch, *by* a tawny wolf descending from the mountains*, or a fox just ready to bring forth her young; may a serpent also, springing like an arrow across the road, frighten their horses, and stop their journey! As for me, when any person is dear to me, and, by reason of my skill in augury, I have ground to be apprehensive about him; before the crow that forebodes an approaching storm betakes herself to the marshes, I pray the gods to send a raven from the east, *to make him alter his resolution.* But, *as you have so great a desire to go,* Galatea, may you prosper whereever you go, and be sure always to preserve a remembrance of your friend Horace†; may no unlucky pye, or strolling crow, prevent your voyage. But do not you see the setting Orion portends a dreadful tempest? *believe me,* I know *by melancholy experience* the sudden storms that often swell the Adriatic sea, and *have felt* the treachery of the Apulian winds. May the wives and children of our enemies feel the violent and dreadful commotions‡ occasioned by the south-wind when it rises; *let them be exposed to* the fury of the sea when it rages most, and dashes its tumultuous waves against

* Territory of Lanuvium. † And live mindful of me. ‡ Dark commotions.

NOTES.

buzzards, and the like. What bird it was that the ancients called *Parra,* is yet a point of dispute; Dacier acknowledges himself unable to determine it; he only takes notice that different commentators give different accounts of it, some taking it for a wren, others for a lark; but that, for the understanding of the passage, it is sufficient to know, that it was an unlucky bird.

2. *Prægnans canis.*] These three verses speak of auguries drawn from quadrupeds, which were usually called *pedestria auspicia.* It was counted an unlucky presage to meet on the way a bitch big with young. I am of opinion we ought not to seek a reason for a thing which was founded on some casual and very uncertain accident; for such was the foundation of all the augurics and auspices of the ancients, who carried their superstition this way to an incredible length.

3. *Lanuvino.*] Lanuvium was a small town on the Appian way; Horace mentions it rather than any other place, because Galatea must pass through it as she went to embark.

6. *Similis sagittæ.*] Horace refers to a kind of serpent mentioned by Pliny in the twenty-third chapter of his eighth book: *Jaculum ex arborum ramis vibrari, nec pedibus tantum cavendos serpentes, sed et missili volare tormento.*

11. *Oscinem corvum.*] For the raven was of the number of birds called *oscines,* that furnished observations from their croaking, especially to discover the alterations in the atmosphere; whence Pliny, Book XVIII. chap. 35, says: *Corvi singultu quodam latrantes, seque concutientes, si continuabunt, ventos; si vero carptim vocem resorbebunt, ventosum imbrem.*

Sic et Europe niveum doloso
Credidit tauro latus, et scatentem
Belluis pontum, mediasque fraudes
Palluit audax:
Nuper in pratis studiosa florum, et
Debitæ nymphis opifex coronæ,
Nocte sublustri nihil astra præter
Vidit et undas:
Quæ simul centum tetigit potentem
Oppidis Creten; Pater, ô relictum
Filiæ nomen, pietasque! dixit
Victa furore.
Unde? quò veni? levis una mors est
Virginum culpæ. Vigilansne ploro
Turpe commissum? an vitiis carentem
Ludit imago
Vana, quæ portâ fugiens eburnâ
Somnium ducit? meliusne fluctus
Ire per longos fuit, an recentes
Carpere flores?

ORDO.

Sic et Europe credidit latus *suum* niveum tauro doloso, et *ante* audax, palluit pontum scatentem belluis, mediasque fraudes: nuper studiosa florum in pratis, et opifex coronæ debitæ nymphis, vidit nihil præter astra et undas nocte sublustri: quæ simul tetigit Creten potentem centum oppidis, victa furore, dixit, "O pater, nomen relictum "filiæ, pietasque *relicta!* Unde? quo "veni? Una mors est levis culpæ virginum. "Vigilansne ploro turpe commissum? An "vana imago ludit *me* carentem vitiis, quæ "fugiens porta eburna ducit somnium? "Meliusne fuit ire per longos fluctus, an "carpere recentes flores? Si quis nunc "dedat mihi iratæ juvencum infamem,

NOTES.

20. *Iapyx.*] The west-north-west wind. This wind was favourable to those who intended to sail from Italy into Greece or Egypt; and this was what encouraged Galatea in her resolution to embark. On this account Horace was desirous of making her apprehend some treachery in that wind; and it is in this sense that we are to understand the word *peccet*, which is exceedingly expressive and well chosen. The Romans made use of the verb *peccare*, to express any alteration from better to worse. The Greeks have done the same with their ἁμαρτάνειν.

21. *Cæcos motus orientis Austri.*] He says, *cæcos motus*, for *ignotos*; for the motions of the winds are beyond our knowledge. It is possible also that Horace may here have put *cæcos*, instead of *nocturnos*, because the south winds rage with greater violence in the night than in the day. Pliny says, *Noctu Auster, interdiu Aquilo vehementior.*

25. *Sic et Europe.*] Galatea was preparing to embark, because the weather appeared to be settled, and the sea calm and serene, for at that time the wind was west-north-west, which was the most favourable she could desire for her voyage. And Horace tells her that Europa was deceived in the same manner by her bull. The sea was calm and smooth, and the bull so tame and familiar, that the princess imagined she had not the least cause to fear, and that she might with the greatest security venture herself upon his back, to take the air and divert herself. But it was not long before she found that she had great cause to repent of her boldness, when she lost sight of the land, and could see nothing but the sea and the

the trembling shores*. *Remember, Galatea, the fate of* Europa, *who* was so credulous as to trust her charming person† to a deceitful bull; but the rash *princess* soon grew pale on seeing the ocean crowded with monsters, and herself so grossly imposed on. Lately she was gathering flowers in the *pleasant* meads, and was employed in composing garlands for her *companion*-nymphs; *but* now, *involved* in *frightful silence and* a gloomy night, she could discover nothing but the *glimmering* stars, and surface of the deep‡. When she arrived in the isle of Crete, famous§ for its hundred cities: "O "father," cried she, transported with rage, "a name by which I can "no longer justly address you, as I, once your *beloved* daughter, "have violated my duty towards you! *Good gods!* whence came I, "or where am I? One death is too slight a punishment for such "a crime as mine. *But after all,* am I really awake? Have I "really done an infamous action to occasion these tears? or is it "only a phantom escaped through the ivory gate, that sports with "my innocence, and inspires me with a delusive dream? Is it "possible that I have preferred the danger of crossing such a vast "extent of sea, to the pleasure of gathering the new-blown flowers?

* The banks trembling with the lash of its waves.

† Thus also did Europa trust her snowy side.

‡ The waters.

§ Powerful.

NOTES.

heavens. This is the only true sense of this comparison, the justness whereof has not hitherto been sufficiently understood.

25. *Europe.*] Europa was the daughter of Agenor king of Phœnicia, and sister of Cadmus. Herodotus relates, that the Cretans having heard great boasts of the beauty of that princess, carried her away by force, to marry her to their king; and conducted her to Crete in a vessel that was named the Bull, and which was adorned with the figure of that animal. On this foundation the poets have changed Jupiter into a bull, and made him carry off Europa by that stratagem.

33. *Centum potentem oppidis Creten.*] Virgil, in the third book of the Æneid, says,

Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.

"The people of Crete inhabit a hundred "cities, which are so many powerful and "opulent kingdoms." See our prose translation of Virgil.

Homer calls it in the Odyssey, εννεακοσιπολιν, an island that had ninety cities; and in the Iliad, εκατομπολιν, that had a hundred cities; but it is necessary to remark, that in the Iliad Homer speaks of Crete, as it was in his own time, and that in the Odyssey he introduces Ulysses speaking of it as it was at the time of the Trojan war; for at that time it had only ninety cities, the other ten, which were in the time of Homer, being built by the Dorians who followed Althemenes.

34. *O relictum filiæ nomen.*] *Nomen,* in this passage, refers to *pater.* Europa intimates that she had forfeited, by her misconduct, all right to call Agenor by the name of father. Torrentius has remarked, that Ariadne speaks much after the same manner in Ovid:

Nam pater et tellus justo regnata Tonanti,
Prodita sunt facto nomina cara meo.

"For my father and my country, these "dear names, have I betrayed by this cri-"minal action."

37. *Unde? quò veni?*] It is worth while to take notice of the manner in which Horace treats this subject. The first ideas which he makes to arise in the mind of Europa, are those of a father whom she has aban-

Si quis infamem mihi nunc juvencum
Dedat iratæ, lacerare ferro, et
Frangere enitar modo multùm amati
Cornua monstri.
Impudens liqui patrios Penates :
Impudens Orcum moror. O Deorum
Si quis hæc audis, utinam inter errem
Nuda leones!
Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas, teneræque succus
Defluat prædæ, speciosa quæro
Pascere tigres.
Vilis Europe, pater urget absens;
Quid mori cessas? potes hac ab orno
Pendulum zonâ bene te secutâ
Lædere collum.
Sive te rupes et acuta letho
Saxa delectant; age, te procellæ
Crede veloci, nisi herile mavis
Carpere pensum,

ORDO.

" enitar lacerare ferro, et frangere cornua " malas, succusque defluat teneræ prædæ.
" monstri modo multum amati. Impudens " O vilis Europe, absens pater urget *te;*
" liqui patrios penates: impudens moror " quid cessas mori? Potes lædere collum
" Orcum. O si quis Deorum audis hæc, " pendulum ab hac orno, zona bene secuta
" utinam errem nuda inter leones! Quæro " te. Sive rupes et saxa acuta letho delec-
" pascere tigres *dum sim* speciosa, ante- " tant te; age, crede te veloci procellæ,
" quam turpis macies occupet decentes " nisi *tu*, regius sanguis, mavis carpere he-

NOTES.

doned, and her duty which she hath violated. The next arise from the places which she has left, and those wherein she now finds herself; and this last reflection brings her to the remembrance of the infamous action she had committed with Jupiter; but though she thought of this action with horror, yet she takes care not to mention it; she contents herself with giving a frightful representation of it by asserting, that death itself was not sufficient to expiate her crime.

38. *Virginum culpæ.*] The expression is general and modest, *Virginum culpa*, for *culpa violatæ virginitatis. Culpa, peccatum*, and *vitium*, are synonymous terms to express the loss of chastity, and a criminal commerce; he calls it *turpe commissum* in the following verses. Catullus says of Juno,

Conjugis in culpa flagravit quotidiana.

It is remarkable that through the whole narrative of this history, Horace speaks with the utmost discretion; not a word escapes him that can in the least offend chastity. Europa herself draws a veil over the infamous action she had committed, and is content with giving a frightful image of it. The respect due to the wisdom and quality of Lælia Galla, demanded this care.

41. *Portâ fugiens eburnâ.*] Horace here follows Homer, who in the 19th Book of the Odyssey writes, 'that there are two 'gates of sleep, the one of ivory, and the 'other of horn; that false dreams pass 'through the first, and those which repre-'sent nothing but the truth, through the 'second.' This is also imitated by Virgil, towards the end of his 6th book, *Sunt geminæ somni portæ.* See the note in the prose-translation of Virgil on these words.

45. *Si quis infamem.*] The passions are

" *Ah! I find my misfortunes are too real.* Would but any one " deliver that infamous bull to me amidst the rage which I now " feel, I would either with *sharp* steel cut his horns to pieces, or " tear them from *the head of* that monster I just now loved so " much. I have had the impudence to forsake the house of my " father, and, *though a victim to the infernal gods,* I have still " greater impudence *to sully the earth, and* not go instantly to the " realms of Pluto. Ye gods, if any of you should listen to these " my complaints, grant that I may *be left to* wander naked *and de-* " *fenceless* among savage lions. May this beauty, *which has* " *been the cause of my ruin,* become the prey of tigers*, before a " frightful leanness diffuse itself over my lovely cheeks, and rifle " me of all my charms†. *But what adds greatly to my sorrow,* I " think I hear my absent father saying, *Europa,* vile Europa! " why do you delay dispatching yourself‡? This tree, and your " own girdle, which you have luckily brought with you, offer you " their assistance to be the instruments of your punishment§. Or " if you choose rather *to throw yourself from* these rocks, the points " of which promise you a more ready death, go, precipitate your- " self into the midst of the raging sea *without farther hesitation,*

* I beautiful desire to feed tigers. † And the moisture leave the tender prey. ‡ To die.
§ You may bruise your neck hanging on this ash-tree by your belt which has luckily followed you.

NOTES.

here very naturally described. The princess finding herself equally blameable and unhappy, knows not where to betake herself. The deceitful bull, that had abused her, becomes the first object of her fury. He is a monster; could she but have him, she finds herself vigorous enough to attack him, and tear him to pieces. Afterwards she falls upon herself, she reproaches herself with her crime, and thinks of nothing but of expiating it by a speedy death.

47. *Modo multùm amati cornua monstri.*] Europa showed herself exceedingly fond of the bull, while she was upon the bank; for she presented him with flowers, she crowned him with them, and gently stroked his sides with her hands, &c.

50. *Impudens Orcum moror.*] This depends upon the preceding verse; 'I have 'had the impudence to forsake the house of 'my father, I have farther had the impu- 'dence to make Pluto wait for me.' This is extremely beautiful.

53. *Antequam turpis.*] Horace paints here very prettily the natural disposition of women, who are less afraid of death itself, than of the loss of their beauty. Yet we may easily believe that Europa does not speak thus from any attachment she had to her beauty, or because she wished to die before it was gone; but it was better to punish that beauty which was the cause of her misfortune and crime.

57. *Pater urget absens.*] This passage will admit two interpretations; Your father sends out his people in pursuit of you; or, Your father, though not present, yet haunts you. Absent as he is, you do not cease to have him always before your eyes, reproaching you with your crime.

60. *Lædere collum.*] Bentley assures us, that *lædere collum* was never in use, but that they always said *elidere* or *frangere,* and brings several examples to confirm it. Therefore he thinks we ought either to read *frangere collum,* or,

——*Zona bene te secuta*
Elidere collum;

as Heinsius had corrected it in the margin of his copy. But before we condemn an expression, we ought to examine the reasons which may induce a writer to prefer it to

Regius sanguis, dominæque tradi
Barbaræ pellex. Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus, et remisso
Filius arcu.
Mox, ubi lusit satis, Abstineto,
Dixit, irarum calidæque rixæ,
Cùm tibi invisus laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus.
Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis ?
Mitte singultus ; bene ferre magnam
Disce fortunam : tua sectus orbis
Nomina ducet.

ORDO.

" rile pensum, et tradi pellex dominæ bar-
" baræ."
Venus perfidum ridens, et filius, arcu remisso, aderat *ei* quærenti. Mox, ubi satis lusit, dixit, " Abstineto irarum, calidæque
" rixæ ; cum taurus invisus reddet tibi cor-
" nua lacerranda. *Tu, quæ es* uxor in-
" victi Jovis, nescis *te* esse ? Mitte *tuos*
" singultus : disce ferre bene magnam *tuam*
" fortunam : sectus orbis ducet tua nomina."

NOTES.

others that are more common. Horace here says *lædere collum ;* and if the learned critic had weighed the matter thoroughly, he might easily have found out the reason of it. But he does not consider it is a princess that speaks ; and in order to render the image of death to which she intended to deliver herself more agreeable, she avoids all severe and shocking expressions, and instead of *frangere* chooses rather to say *lædere*, which is a word less terrifying and frightful.

66. *Aderat querenti.*] Horace here introduces very opportunely Venus and Cupid, who explain the whole adventure to Europa. Nothing can be more ingenious ; and in my opinion this ode might give one the idea of a picture of a most excellent taste.

69. *Abstineto, dixit, irarum.*] Every one cannot see all the beauty of this passage. Europa had said, that if she could come at that deceitful bull, she would use all her efforts to tear off his horns ; and Venus with a smile prays her to moderate her wrath and transports, because that bull would offer his horns to be torn off. It is an ironical discourse, so graceful, that it

ODE XXVIII.

Horace was a great enemy to noise and tumult ; for that reason, sumptuous and splendid feasts were not at all agreeable to him. It was his ordinary custom to invite a few select friends to a frugal repast, that he might enjoy the pleasure of feasting without feeling the inconveniences of it. This of Neptune brought to Rome a great number of strangers, by which means

AD LYDEN.

Festo quid potiùs die
Neptuni faciam ? prome reconditum,

ORDO.

Quid *ego* potius faciam festo die Neptuni ?

"unless you, who are the daughter of a king*, choose to be the "rival of a strange mistress, and to stoop like a slave to spin "her wool†." While the *unfortunate* princess *thus* vented her grief *in vain complaints*, malicious-smiling Venus heard her‡, Cupid standing by her side, *diverting himself* with his bow unbent. At length, when the goddess had glutted herself with *this* pleasure, she said, "Moderate your rage, *Europa, suppress your tears*, and "forbear those heavy complaints; for this hated bull will *himself* "soon offer you his horns to be broken in pieces. *Europa," continued she, with a serious air,* "*you are ignorant of your own hap* "*piness.* Do not you yet know that you are the wife of Jupiter, "whose power is irresistible§? Suppress then these deep sighs, "and show yourself truly worthy of that high dignity to which the "sovereign of the gods hath raised you‖: *in a short time* the *chief* "part of the world shall *do itself the honour to* bear your name."

* Royal blood. † Spin the task of your mistress. ‡ Was present.
§ Invincible Jupiter. ‖ Learn to bear your great fortune well.

NOTES.

can never be sufficiently praised; we should therefore beware of reading with some commentators, *Non tibi invisus laceranda reddet.* This would be to lose the whole beauty of the passage.

73. *Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis?*] This verse will admit two explications; for it may signify, 'You do not know that you 'are the wife of Jupiter;' you do not know that the bull, against whom you vent your rage with so much violence, is Jupiter, the sovereign of the gods: or it may be better explained, I think, with a point of interrogation: 'Do you not know yourself to be 'the wife of Jupiter?'

75. *Sectus orbis.*] Divided into two parts; one part of the world. Horace here follows poetical tradition. It is more probable, however, that Europe took its name from a province called Europia, and a city named Europus, north of Macedonia.

ODE XXVIII

the streets and public houses were full and crowded. The poet at this time was inclined to retire with some of his friends, and pass a part of the day in the pleasures of music and good cheer. This was what gave occasion to this short ode, which is written with a very lively and natural turn.

TO LYDE.

How shall I pass the time *of* this great festival of Neptune most agreeably? *Come*, Lyde, bring us quickly some of the best* Cecu-

* Hidden.

Lyde, strenua Cæcubum,
Munitæque adhibe vim sapientiæ.
Inclinare meridiem
Sentis; ac, veluti stet volucris dies,
Parcis deripere horreo
Cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
Nos cantabimus invicem
Neptunum, et virides Nereïdum comas:
Tu curvâ recines lyrâ
Latonam, et celeris spicula Cynthiæ;
Summo carmine, quæ Cnidon
Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas, et Paphon
Junctis visit oloribus.
Dicetur meritâ Nox quoque næniâ.

ORDO.

Lyde, strenua prome *vinum* Cæcubum reconditum, adhibeque vim sapientiæ munitæ. Sentis meridiem inclinare; ac parcis deripere horreo cessantem amphoram Bibuli consulis, veluti volucris dies stet.

Nos invicem cantabimus Neptunum, et virides comas Nereidum: tu recines curva lyra Latonam, et spicula celeris Cynthiæ; *recines etiam* summo carmine *Venerem* quæ tenet Cnidon fulgentesque Cycladas, et *quæ* visit Paphon junctis oloribus. Nox quoque dicetur merita nænia.

NOTES.

8. *Bibuli consulis.*] Marcus Bibulus had been consul with Cæsar in the year 695. Horace by this designs to express wine that was very old.

ODE XXIX.

What is said of the orations of Demosthenes, the iambics of Archilochus, and the letters of Atticus, is equally true of the odes of Horace: Those that are longest are not the least beautiful. To keep up the spirit of a work when it is long, requires a superior genius. He does something more in this ode; for, the farther he proceeds, the higher he rises, and fresh beau-

AD MÆCENATEM.

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
Non antè verso lene merum cado,
Cum flore, Mæcenas, rosarum, et
Pressa tuis balanus capillis
Jamdudum apud me est. Eripe te moræ;

ORDO.

O Mæcenas, Tyrrhena progenies regum, jamdudum est tibi apud me merum lene cado non ante verso, cum flore rosarum, et balanus pressa tuis capillis.

bian *wine*, and *for once* lay aside* your obstinate sobriety. You see the day begins to decline; yet, as if it waited your leisure, you delay bringing from the cellar a bottle of the wine that has been mellowing ever since the consulate of Bibulus. We will sing in turn *the praises of* Neptune and the Nereids†; and you shall celebrate on your harp *the praises of* Latona, and of Diana the goddess of hunting. Our concert shall end with a song in praise of the goddess who presides over Cnidos and the shining Cyclades, and who, in a chariot drawn by swans, *frequently* visits the island of Paphos. The night too, which affords us so much pleasure, shall not be forgotten.

* Apply violence to. † The green hairs of the Nereids.

NOTES.

10. *Nereïdum.*] For these goddesses of the sea ought to have a part in the feast of Neptune. They were the daughters of Nereus and Doris. To these divinities the poet joins Latona, Diana, and Venus, who were particularly honoured by persons of the sex, and were the ordinary subject of their songs.

12. *Cynthiæ.*] Diana has been called Cynthia, and Apollo Cynthius, from a mountain of that name which runs across Delos.

13. *Quæ Cnidon.*] Venus presided over Cnidos, of which there was one in Cyprus, and another in Caria. She was adored in both; and the Cnidians of Caria were possessed of the beautiful Venus of Praxiteles, for which Nicomedes offered to give as much as would pay all the debts of the city, which at that time were very considerable.

16. *Dicetur meritâ Nox quoque næniâ.*] What the poet means here is, that the feast was not to end with the day, but that some part of the night was also to be employed in it. For although *nænia* signifies properly a mourning song, yet the ancients have not scrupled to make use of it to signify a sort of lively sportive song.

ODE XXIX.

ties appear in every line, until at last he mounts to a pitch of sublimity that no other was capable of reaching. Julius Scaliger gives it this commendation: "Vicesima nona incipit lenissime; tum vero semper assurgit eo us-"que, quo nemo aliorum pervenire possit."

TO MÆCENAS.

O MÆCENAS, descended from the kings of Tuscany, I have long reserved for you a cask of *excellent* mellow wine*, which has not yet been pierced. I have moreover crowns of roses, and *store of* essence, which I have prepared on purpose to perfume your hair. Disengage yourself therefore speedily from any thing that may retard your coming†, and do not always amuse yourself in contem-

* Wine in a cask. † Delay.

NOTES.

1. *Tyrrhena regum progenies.*] Ode 1. Book 1. Horace writes, *Mæcenas atavis edite regibus*, descended of ancient kings; and he here informs us who these kings were, by say-

Ne semper udum Tibur et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum, et
Telegoni juga parricidæ.
Fastidiosam desere copiam, et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis:
Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.
Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
Solicitam explicuere frontem.
Jam clarus occultum Andromedes pater
Ostendit ignem; jam Procyon furit,
Et stella vesani Leonis,
Sole dies referente siccos.
Jam pastor umbras cum grege languido
Rivumque fessus quærit, et horridi
Dumeta Sylvani; caretque
Ripa vagis taciturna ventis.
Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et urbi solicitus times,
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors.
Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus;
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. Quod adest, memento

ORDO.

Eripe te moræ; ne semper contempleris udum Tibur, et declive arvum Æsulæ, et juga Telegoni parricidæ. Desere fastidiosam *tuam* copiam, et molem propinquam nubibus arduis: omitte mirari fumum et opes strepitumque beatæ Romæ. Vices plerumque gratæ divitibus, mundæque cœnæ pauperum sub parvo lare sine aulæis et ostro, explicuere frontem solicitam.

Jam *Cepheus* clarus pater Andromedes ostendit ignem *suum* occultum; jam furit Procyon, et stella vesani Leonis, sole referente dies siccos. Jam pastor fessus *æstu* cum grege languido quærit umbras rivumque, et dumeta horridi Sylvani; ripaque taciturna caret vagis ventis.

Tu curas quis status deceat civitatem, et solicitus urbi times quid Seres et Bactra regnata Cyro Tanaisque discors parent. Deus prudens premit caliginosa nocte exitum futuri temporis; ridetque, si mortalis trepidat ultra fas.

NOTES.

ing that his friend sprang from the kings of Tuscany. See the remarks on that ode. The Tuscans were called *Tyrrhēni*, not from a Libyan prince whose name was Tyrrhenus, as some would have it, but from certain people so called, who inhabited some islands in the Ægean sea, which they abandoned to go into Italy. These people were called *Tyrrheni* for *Tyrseni*, from the word τυρσεις, *turres*, towers, because they were the first who found out the art of building walls, and fortifying cities.

4. *Balanus.*] By *balanus* Horace understands *balanus unguentarius*, which the Greeks and Latins called *Myrobalanus:* of it they made an excellent perfume.

plating the valleys of Tivoli*, the charming eminences of the mountain Esula, and the *agreeable little* hills that surround Tuseulum, built by the parricide Telegonus†. Drop, *for this day*, that *overflowing* plenty which *usually* creates a surfeit: descend from your turret that almost reaches the clouds, and leave off admiring *thence* the smoke, the riches, and the noise of Rome, *a city that is now more* magnificent *than ever*. Variety is sometimes pleasing to the rich; and a plain supper in a neat though mean cottage, without tapestry or beds of purple, has made them *often* forget their cares, and become gay and cheerful. The bright *constellation Cepheus, the* father of Andromeda, discovers already his hidden fires; Procyon and the constellation of furious Leo, *that foretell the approach of the dog-star*, begin to exert all their rage; the sun also parches the earth with its scorching heat. The weary shepherd retires with his fainting flock to the shade *of the forests*, to the cooling streams, and the groves of the sylvan god‡: not the least breath of wind can be felt on the river-side§; *every thing is in profound repose;* but you are always busy and solicitous how to support the grandeur of the city, and, watching over its safety, are apprehensive what projects the Seres, the Bactrians‖, and the restless *Scythians, who live on the borders of the* Tanais, may be forming against it. God, in his infinite wisdom, has thought fit to conceal what is future in impenetrable obscurity, and laughs at men who carry their anxiety beyond the bounds he has prescribed to them¶. Be you careful to

* Moist Tivoli. † Hills of the parricide Telegonus. ‡ Rough Sylvanus. § The silent bank wants the restless winds. ‖ Bactra governed by Cyrus. ¶ What is lawful.

NOTES.

8. *Telegoni juga.*] Telegonus was the son of Ulysses and Circe. He slew his own father without knowing him, and afterwards retiring to Italy, on a small mountain, not far from Rome, built Tusculum. Strabo writes that this mountain was divided into several summits covered with trees, watered with a great number of rivulets, and adorned with several magnificent structures.

17. *Andromedes pater.*] Cepheus, king of Ethiopia, or, according to others, of Phœnicia, was placed in the number of the stars, together with Cassiope his wife, and Andromeda his daughter.

18. *Procyon.*] *Procyon* is a Greek word which Cicero has translated *ante-canem*, Which precedes the dog, that is, which rises before Caniculus, called otherwise Sirius or the dog-star. It is a constellation of three stars, near the milky way.

27. *Quid Seres.*] Horace here tells Mæcenas, that he was over-solicitous to protect Rome from evils wherewith it was not in the least threatened; for at this time Rome had nothing to fear either from the Seres who inhabited the borders of the eastern ocean, or the Parthians or Scythians. He thus endeavours to prevail with Mæcenas to ease his mind a little from those anxieties he felt for the safety of Rome.

28. *Tanaisque discors.*] By the Tanais we are to understand the Scythians, who lived along that river and the Danube. This river is the same with the Don, which takes its rise in Russia, and empties itself into the Black Sea near Asof. Horace calls it *discors*, because the Scythians and Sarmatians, who inhabited along the banks of it, were often at war with each other.

Componere æquus: cætera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos,
Stirpesque raptas, et pecus, et domos,
Volventis unà, non sine montium
Clamore, vicinæque sylvæ,
Cùm fera diluvies quietos
Irritat amnes. Ille potens sui
Lætusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse, Vixi: cras vel atrâ
Nube polum Pater occupato,
Vel sole puro; non tamen irritum,
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet, neque
Diffinget, infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.
Fortuna sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, et meâ
Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.
Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere, et votis pacisci,
Ne Cypriæ Tyriæque merces
Addant avaro divitias mari.

ORDO.

Memento æquus componere quod adest: cætera feruntur ritu fluminis, nunc *in* medio alveo delabentis cum pace in mare Etruscum, nunc una volventis lapides adesos, stirpesque raptas, et pecus, et domos, non sine clamore montium, sylvæque vicinæ, cum fera diluvies irritat amnes quietos.

Ille deget potens sui lætusque, cui licet in diem dixisse, Vixi: cras pater *Jupiter* occupato polum vel atra nube vel sole puro; non tamen efficiet irritum, quodcumque retro est, neque diffinget, reddetque infectum, quod fugiens hora semel vexit.

Fortuna læta sævo negotio, et pertinax ludere insolentem ludum, transmutat incertos honores, nunc benigna mihi, nunc alii. Laudo *eam* manentem: si quatit celeres pennas, resigno *ea* quæ dedit, et involvo me mea virtute, quæroque probam pauperiem sine dote.

Si malus mugiat Africis procellis, non est meum decurrere ad miseras preces, et pacisci votis, ne *meæ* Cypriæ Tyriæque merces ad-

NOTES.

31. *Ridet.*] As this moral sentiment is very just, so it is represented by Horace in a manner capable of making a deep impression. To attempt penetrating into futurity, is to torment ourselves to no purpose, and expose us to the ridicule of the gods. Mæcenas might very naturally apply to himself, what seems to be here said only in the general.

order with prudence what is present: what is future is like the Tiber*, that sometimes confining itself to the middle of its channel, runs gently along into the Tuscan sea; but which, at other times, when the rivulets *that empty themselves into it* are swelled by heavy rains†, carries along with it *huge* ragged stones, uprooted trees, cattle, and even houses, with a noise which makes the mountains and neighbouring wood to resound‡. He only can be said to live *always* happy, and to be *absolutely* master of himself, who, at the end of every day, can say, I have lived. Jupiter may cover the heaven to-morrow with thick clouds, or *brighten it* with the serene *rays of the* sun; yet he cannot render void what has already come to pass, nor undo and recall what time, that flies *swiftly along*, hath once carried *with it*. Fortune, which takes great pleasure in cruel diversions, and the more cruel the more highly pleased, is continually transferring her unsteady honours, liberal to me of those to-day which she will perhaps bestow on another to-morrow. If she is willing to stay with me, I am content; if she flutters her wings *to leave me*, I resign all her gifts *without uneasiness*, wrap myself in my virtue, and desire no more than honest poverty without a dower. Should my ship's mast crack with stormy winds, I would not have recourse to whining prayers, and, *by a horrible kind of traffic*, strive to obtain *of the gods*, by my vows, that the cargo *I have brought* from Cyprus and Tyre may not enrich the insatiable sea; *for* then in my little two-oared skiff§, *to which I fly directly*, a fair wind, and

* River. † When a violent shower raises the quiet rivers. ‡ Not without the noise of the mountains and the neighbouring wood. § By the help of my two-oared skiff.

NOTES.

Trepidare equally marks, both the ridiculous fear which a too foreboding temper usually occasions, and the superfluous trouble we often give ourselves, to prevent imaginary evils, which perhaps might never come to pass.

33. *Cætera fluminis.*] What a beautiful image of the vicissitude of human affairs! This is a finished stroke. It is a new sight which the poet gives to a reader. A moral so judiciously varied can never cloy; the agreeableness wherewith it is seasoned, makes us hearken with pleasure to the persuasion.

53. *Laudo manentem.*] This is a necessary consequence of the disposition which every man ought to aim at, of being contented with the present. A wise man never shuts the gate against Fortune when she favours him; but he never strives to retain her when she begins to frown. The emperor Adrian might have had in view this passage of Horace, when he caused to be engraven upon a medal, *Fortunæ manenti.*

54. *Meâ virtute me involvo.*] The man who has the wisdom to place his supreme happiness in virtue, is not afraid of the attacks of Fortune. She may despoil us of our external possessions; but our probity is more than a recompense for all these losses, and enables us to sustain them with patience and courage.

57. *Non est meum, si.*] This is a natural consequence of what precedes. The poet, to show that he was disposed to encounter with equanimity all the accidents of life, places himself in circumstances the most proper to put his virtue to this trial. Suppose, says he, that, enriched with the commerce of the Levant, I was sailing along the Ægean Sea, and that, a violent tempest arising, I betook myself to my skiff, and saw

Tunc me biremis præsidio scaphæ
Tutum per Ægæos tumultus
Aura feret, geminusque Pollux.

ORDO.

dant divitias mari avaro. Tunc aura, geminusque Pollux feret me per Ægæos tumultus, tutum præsidio scaphæ biremis.

NOTES.

the ship, the cargo, and all my hopes, swallowed up by the ocean; I would look upon this loss with a calm and undisturbed mind, and would regard it as a signal instance of the protection and favour of the gods, to escape the fury of the waves, though stripped of my all.

59. *Miseras preces.*] These conditional prayers which virtue blushes at, and the gods disregard, are called by Persius, *Preces emaces*, prayers of purchase.

62. *Tunc me biremis.*] These three lines have not been thoroughly understood by commentators. Horace represents himself as a

ODE XXX.

Horace wrote this ode upon his being the first who in the Latin language had imitated the poetry of the Greeks. I have already endeavoured to justify the advantageous sentiments which Horace seems to have had of his own per-

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regaliquè situ pyramidum altius;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar; multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam. Usque ego posterâ
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacitâ virgine pontifex.
Dicar, quà violens obstrepit Aufidus,
Et quà pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
Quæsitam meritis, et mihi Delphicâ
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

ORDO.

Exegi monumentum perennius ære, altiusque situ regali pyramidum; quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens possit diruere, aut innumerabilis series annorum, et fuga temporum.

Ego non moriar omnis; multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam. Ego usque recens crescam laude posterâ, dum pontifex scandet Capitolium cum tacita virgine. Qua violens Aufidus obstrepit, et qua Daunus pauper aquæ *rex* populorum agrestium regnavit, *ego* potens ex humili, dicar princeps deduxisse Æolium carmen ad Italos modos.

Melpomene, sume superbiam quæsitam meritis, et volens cinge mihi comam Delphicâ lauro.

Pollux the twin *brother of Castor*, will waft me safe over the *terrible* Ægean waves.

NOTES.

man who was always satisfied with his condition. If Fortune was favourable, he was pleased; if she frowned upon him, he acquiesced, and restored, without murmuring, whatever he had received from her, being as well contented with his poverty as he had formerly been with his riches. To render this of more easy conception by a familiar example, he tells us, that he is none of those who, in the midst of a tempest, have recourse to prayers, and make vows for their safety; but that he submitted to the decrees of heaven, and could behold the rage and fury of the waves with the same tranquillity of mind, and with the same confidence, as if the wind were favourable, and Castor and Pollux conducted the vessel. In this way of explaining it, the passage is extremely beautiful; Horace, though a follower of Epicurus, had drawn his steadiness of mind from the stoical philosophy: for he took from every sect what he thought useful and agreeable to the dictates of reason.

ODE XXX.

formances, in the remark on the last ode of the preceding book, which is of the same nature with this; and therefore I shall here say nothing more upon that topic.

I HAVE *now* raised *to myself* a monument more durable than brass, and higher *far* than the royal pyramids *of Egypt*; a monument* which neither storms nor tempests *can deface*, nor the most violent winds beat down; nor a succession of innumerable ages†, or the rapid flight of time, *destroy*. I shall not entirely die. The far more noble part of me shall escape *cruel* Proserpine. So long as the capitol stands, and the pontiff, with the silent virgin, shall ascend thither to offer the public sacrifices, my reputation, ever new, shall increase from age to age‡. *In those places* through which§ the rapid Aufidus rolls with a violent noise, and in those dry and barren countries where Daunus reigned over the warlike inhabitants, I shall be renowned, notwithstanding my obscure birth, for being the first who adapted the Greek‖ poetry to the Roman measures. Assume then, my muse¶, that *noble* pride which thy merits have so justly gained, and cheerfully crown me with laurels, *bestowed only on the favourites of the god* of Delphos.

* Higher than the royal situation of the pyramids. † Years. ‡ I still new shall increase with future praise. § Where. ‖ Æolian. ¶ Melpomene.

NOTES.

1. *Exegi monumentum.*] This monument would have done much greater honour to Horace, had it been raised by any other hands than his own. But I have already ob-

NOTES.

served, that we ought not to be too rigorous with the poets upon the article of vanity. Ovid speaks of his works in yet stronger terms:

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

2. *Regalique situ pyramidum.*] He here says the royal situation of the pyramids, instead of the towering pyramids built by several princes. These pyramids were twenty in number, three whereof were remarkably large. See Amm. Marcell. Book 22d.

7. *Libitinam.*] Libitina was the goddess who presided over funerals, whom I take to be the same with Proserpine mentioned in Book I. Ode XXVIII.

——— *nullum*
Sæva caput Proserpina fugit.

8. *Crescam laude recens.*] This is a most beautiful expression, which comprehends in three words two magnificent *eulogia*; to grow always in fame, and to preserve through all ages the graces of novelty; these are the richest gifts of the muses. Horace does not promise himself this in vain; for we see that his works preserve even to this day an air of novelty, as if they were possessed of a spirit of youth, and a soul exempt from old age.

8. *Dum Capitolium scandet.*] I am of opinion, that Horace speaks here, in general, of all the public sacrifices that were offered in the capitol; for in all the ceremonies the high-priest was followed by some vestal. Horace here promises himself an eternal reputation. Rome had risen to such an exalted pitch of grandeur, that no doubt was made of its remaining for ever mistress of the universe. Virgil feigns, that even before the foundation of Rome this eternity was promised to the Romans; for he introduces Jupiter saying to Venus,

His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:

whence came the common use of such inscriptions as these, *Romæ Æternæ*, *Imperii Æternitas*. But the poems of Horace have survived the capitol, the vestals, and that empire so flourishing. Only the productions of the muses, and what they celebrate, can with justice promise themselves eternity.

9. *Cum tacitâ virgine.*] By *virgine* he understands the vestal who accompanied the high-priest; and he adds the epithet *tacitâ*, because they always kept silence, the high-priest alone having the right to pronounce those words which concerned religion.

11. *Et quà pauper aquæ Daunus.*] Some think that Daunus, the son of Pilumnus and Danae, reigned in Daunia, and that thence it had its name. By the *Aufidus*, Horace means Peucetian Apulia, and by *Daunus*, Daunian.

11. *Agrestium regnavit populorum.*] This is an ellipsis, where we must supply the word *rex*, and construe in the following manner; *Qua regnavit Daunus rex populorum agrestium:* or, perhaps, the poet intended *regnavit* to govern the noun *populorum*. He puts *agrestis* for *bellicosus*, as in a former ode he says, *rusticorum mascula militum proles*.

13. *Princeps Æolium carmen.*] Sappho and Alcæus, the two poetic writers whom Horace proposed to himself as models, were of Mitylene, a city of Æolia in the isle of Lesbos. It is probable that he would not have boasted so often of his being the first who imitated the Greek poetry, had not the public before done him the justice to acknowledge it.

16. *Melpomene.*] Melpomene is here put for the muses in general, although she presided only over tragedy and rhetoric.

HORACE'S ODES.

BOOK IV.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI
CARMINUM
LIBER QUARTUS.

ODE I.

Of all the books of the odes of Horace, this is allowed to be the most beautiful, the greatest part of which he composed during the five or six last years of his life. Commentators have no sufficient ground to imagine, that this book, as it now appears, was produced by the command of Augustus, some years after the third. This is absolutely false, as will appear from the sequel. It is true that Suetonius, in his life of Horace, says, "Scripta quidem ejus usque adeo probavit, mansuraque perpetuo credidit, ut non modo sæculare carmen componendum injunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum, eumque coegit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere." "Augustus so highly approved the poems of Horace, and was so persuaded that they would reach to the latest posterity, that he not only desired him to compose the Carmen Secu-

AD VENEREM.

Intermissa, Venus, diu,
Rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor.
Non sum qualis eram bonæ
Sub regno Cynaræ. Desine, dulcium

ORDO.

O Venus, diu intermissa, rursus moves bella? Parce precor, precor. Non sum qualis eram sub regno bonæ Cynaræ. O sæva mater dulcium Cupidinum, desine flectere *me* jam

NOTES.

1. *Intermissa, Venus, diu.*] We have seen, in the first and second Books, that at the age of forty, Horace had renounced all gallantry, and that three or four years afterwards he fell in love with Glycera; and that, in fine, towards his fiftieth year he was touched with the beauty of Ligurin. Some separate *intermissa* from *Venus*, and join it to *bella* of the following verse. This opinion is supported by Bentley, who construes the whole passage thus:

Intermissa, Venus, diu
Rursus bella moves.

This construction seems harsh, and not at all agreeable to the turn of Horace. But, says the above-mentioned learned man,

HORACE'S ODES.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

ODE I.

lare, but also to celebrate the victory of Drusus and Tiberius; and for that reason obliged him to add a fourth book to the three he had written a long time before." But all that can be inferred from this is, that the fourth book, as we now have it, is not wholly the same with that which was extant in the time of this historian. For there are many odes in it, which evidently show themselves to have been written before several others in the preceding books. Or perhaps Suetonius only means, that he published them at that time by the command of Augustus. And in this case we must suppose that the poet joined some odes which he had composed long before, and which had never yet appeared in the world, to those which he published by the command of Augustus. One of these two things must be allowed; but the latter supposition seems to have the greater probability.

TO VENUS.

VENUS, *thou amiable goddess*, after the solemn farewell I took of you a long time ago, do you now begin to raise new tumults in my breast? Spare me, I beseech you, spare me. I am not the same I was when I wore the chains of lovely Cynara. Cruel mother of soft and amorous desires, cease to exercise your domi-

NOTES.

intermissa cannot, with any propriety, be said of a person, but of a thing. I answer, that Horace appears to use it so here. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the extent of the Latin language, to be capable of limiting all its words. *Intermissa* may agree perfectly well to *Venus*, who is taken sometimes for the passion of love.

3. *Non sum qualis eram bonæ sub regno Cynaræ.*] It is impossible to determine precisely at what time Horace was in love with Cynara. He must certainly have been very young, inasmuch as the love which Cynara had for him, proceeded from no views of interest, as he himself boasts in the fourteenth epistle of the first Book:

Quem scis immunem Cynaræ placuisse rapaci.

As for the epithet *bonæ* here added, interpreters are very much divided about the signification of it. Some think that Horace calls Cynara good, instead of kind and obliging, because her regard for him did not

Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis: abi
Quò blandæ juvenum te revocant preces.
Tempestiviùs in domo
Pauli, purpureis ales oloribus,
Comessabere Maximi,
Si torrere jecur quæris idoneum:
Namque et nobilis, et decens,
Et pro solicitis non tacitus reis,
Et centum puer artium,
Latè signa feret militiæ tuæ;
Et, quandoque potentior
Largis muneribus riserit æmuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
Ponet marmoream sub trabe citreâ.
Illic plurima naribus
Duces thura, lyræque et Berecynthiæ

ORDO.

circa decem lustra, *et* durum mollibus imperiis: abi quo blandæ preces juvenum revocant te.

Tempestiviùs comessabere in domo Pauli Maximi, *illuc* ales *abi* purpureis oloribus, si quæris torrere jecur idoneum: namque *Paulus* et nobilis et decens *est*, et non tacitus pro solicitis reis, et puer centum artium, late feret signa militiæ tuæ; et quandoque riserit potentior largis muneribus æmuli, ponet te marmoream sub trabe citrea prope Albanos lacus. Illic duces plurima thura naribus, et delectabere mistis carminibus tibiæ Berecynthiæ lyræque,

NOTES.

arise from selfish views. Others pretend that good signifies here the same with sweet, agreeable. But good often signifies no more than beautiful. It was a word also very often used when mention was made of a person that was dead; and perhaps Horace takes it in the same sense here; for Cynara was dead long before this, as he acquaints us himself in the thirteenth ode,

——*sed Cynaræ breves*
Annos fata dederunt;

which is of a date much prior to this.

6. *Circa lustra decem.*] Ten *lustra*, that is, fifty years. A lustrum was a space of five years complete, in which it differed from the Olympiads, which consisted only of four years.

6. *Mollibus imperiis.*] He means, that far from being able to execute the more fatiguing and difficult attempts that were to be made under the ensigns of that goddess, he was incapable of undertaking those which were easy and agreeable. This, in my judgement, is the true meaning of this passage, which has so much puzzled the commentators. It is probable also, that Horace, by *mollia imperia*, means all the commands of love, and all the duties required in that kind of warfare. Although he was unable any longer to follow Venus, he still found her yoke easy and agreeable.

9. *In domo Pauli.*] This is the true reading, and not *in domum*. This is the same Paulus Fabius Maximus, who was consul with Ælius Tubero in the year of the city 742.

10. *Purpureis ales oloribus.*] This is a very remarkable expression, *Venus ales purpureis oloribus*, for *Venus quæ purpureis oloribus vecta es*. It appears to be an imitation of the Greeks, who sometimes used the same liberty of speaking. As for *purpureis*, it is

nion over me, now arrived at my fiftieth year, and unfit to obey your orders, or taste of your pleasures. Go whither you are called by the importunate prayers of youthful lovers.

You will do better to repair to the house of Paulus; fly thither with your shining swans, if you wish to kindle a flame in a breast worthy of you: for he is not only descended of a noble family, but is also *young and* graceful, and has a hundred fine qualities *beside*, and always employs his eloquence to support the cause of the oppressed, which may give you ground to hope that he will carry the glory of your ensigns to a great distance; and as soon as he finds he has nothing to fear from the rich presents of his rival, he will erect a marble statue in honour of you in a temple of citron, near the lake of Alba. There you shall always smell the sweet incense *that he will burn upon your altar*, and with pleasure hear an agreeable concert made by the lyre, the flute,

NOTES.

to be observed that the ancients used the word *purpureum* to express any lively shining colour. Thus Albinovanus applies it to snow:

Purpurea sub nive terra latet.

And in another place,

Brachia purpurea candidiora nive.

We often find *purpura* among the ancients taken for whiteness, brightness, and *purpurare* for, to whiten.

14. *Et pro solicitis non tacitus reis.*] Those who imagine that this Maximus is the same with him to whom Ovid writes, apparently found their opinion upon these verses of the second elegy of the first book *de Ponto*,

Vox precor Augustas pro me tua molliat aures,
Auxilio trepidis quæ solet esse reis:

"I pray Heaven that your eloquence, which "is the common resource of the unfortu- "nate, may mollify Augustus." But they ought to remember that the same Ovid speaks also of the eloquence of the father of this Maximus, and that of his brother. A thing vague and indeterminate should not be taken as a sure mark, it being customary for all young men to exercise themselves in defending those who were oppressed. The word *reus*, signifies properly one who was pursued and accused in judgement; but it was used to express both plaintiff and defendant.

16. *Latè signa feret militiæ tuæ.*] Horace tells Venus that Maximus will carry to a great distance her ensigns and standards, instead of saying that he will enlarge the bounds of her empire; because nothing was more proper to demonstrate the power of love, than the example of such a person as Maximus; at the same time it was a very handsome compliment paid to that Roman to call him Venus's standard-bearer, because among the troops they usually chose for that office men of the finest appearance.

20. *Sub trabe citreâ.*] *Trabs* for the temple, a part for the whole. This wood was very rare, and in great esteem at Rome. The citizens must be extremely rich who could afford to have beds of it; whence Pliny says with reason, *Inter pauca nitidioris vitæ instrumenta hæc arbor est.* Cicero had a table of it, which cost him a prodigious sum.

21. *Illic plurima naribus.*] It was not enough to promise Venus a statue and a temple: it was farther necessary to assure her, that the temple should be frequented, and that a great number of sacrifices should be offered in it. That was a point about which the gods were particularly anxious.

22. *Berecynthiæ tibiæ.*] The Berecynthian flute was the same with the Phrygian: he elsewhere calls it *Berecynthium cornu*. Varro also speaks of the Phrygian horn.

Delectabere tibiæ
Mistis carminibus, non sine fistulâ.
Illic bis pueri die
Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
Laudantes, pede candido
In morem Saliûm ter quatient humum.
Me nec femina, nec puer
Jam, nec spes animi credula mutui,
Nec certare juvat mero,
Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
Sed cur, heu, Ligurine, cur
Manat rara meas lacryma per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro
Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis te ego somniis
Jam captum teneo; jam volucrem sequor
Te per gramina Martii
Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.

ORDO.

non sine fistulâ. Illic bis die, pueri, cum teneris virginibus, laudantes numen tuum, ter quatient humum pede candido in morem Saliorum.

Nec femina jam juvat me, nec puer, nec spes credula animi mutui, nec *juvat* certare mero, nec vincire tempora novis floribus.

Sed cur, heu, Ligurine, cur rara lacryma manat per meas genas? Cur lingua facunda cadit inter verba silentio parum decoro? *Ah! Ligurine*, ego jam teneo te captum nocturnis somniis, jam sequor te volucrem per gramina Campi Martii, dure, *jam sequor* te per volubiles aquas *Tiberis*.

NOTES.

25. *Illic bis die.*] It was common to sing the praises of the gods in the temples every morning and evening. The Romans borrowed the custom from the Greeks, and the Greeks, in all probability, took the hint from the law of Moses.

the voice, and hautboy. There, twice a day, the youths and virgins shall sing hymns in your praise, dancing, at the same time, after the manner of the Salii.

As for me, I am past the pleasures of love, nor do I now flatter myself with the hopes of a return to my passion: I make no pretensions now to strive who can drink most bumpers, or to adorn my head with *garlands of* new-blown flowers.

But why, Ligurin, why do the tears run trickling down my cheeks? Why falters my eloquent tongue *at sight of you*, as if it were deprived of the power of speech? Ah, Ligurin, *still with love possessed*, now I clasp you in my dreams, now I follow you, cruel as you are, through the field of Mars, and Tiber's rolling waves.

NOTES.

25. *Pueri cum teneris virginibus.*] The ancients had no children trained up expressly for singing in the temple; nor did they employ the public musicians who sang upon the theatres; but they chose out of the best families a certain number of boys and girls, who sang till others were chosen in their stead. These places were very much coveted, and it was a great honour to be of the number.

28. *In morem Saliûm ter.*] The *Salii* were priests of Mars, instituted by Venus. Every year they made a procession with the sacred shields through all the quarters of the city. These processions were made with great solemnity, and abundance of singing and dancing.

32. *Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.*] By this it is likely Horace means new crowns of flowers, which were a sign of new engagements in love. For when a person became a lover, it was a custom to take crowns, and not to part with them while that passion continued. Horace therefore, who had quitted all his crowns, *i. e.* who had given over all gallantry, tells us it was not proper for him to take others, or enter into new engagements. This explication gives a very fine turn to the passage.

34. *Manat rara meas lacryma per genas.*] This is one of the surest characteristics of love. It is true that Sappho, who has admirably collected all the marks of that passion, does not expressly mention tears; but Dacier thinks she comprises them under perspiration, and that those small drops of water, which are excited by the fire of love, and distil insensibly from the eyes, are not really tears, but, properly speaking, a kind of sweat. And perhaps it may be for this reason, that Horace in another place calls them *humores*.

ODE II.

Because this ode is addressed to Antonius Iulus, who was consul with Quintus Fabius Maximus, immediately after the consulship of Paulus Fabius Maximus, of whom we have spoken in the remarks upon the preceding ode, the generality of interpreters have been of opinion that these two odes were composed during the two consulships in question; the first in the year of the city 742, and this in 743. But it is certain that they are equally deceived in both these conjectures; for there is no reason to suppose that Iulus was consul when Horace inscribed this ode to him. It seems to me probable, that it was written about the year 738, or 739, about

AD ANTONIUM IULUM.

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, Iule, ceratis ope Dædaleâ
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.
Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet, immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore;
Laureâ donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos

ORDO.

O Iule, quisquis studet æmulari Pindarum, nititur pennis ceratis ope Dædalea, daturus nomina vitreo ponto. Pindarus fervet immensusque ruit ore profundo, velut amnis decurrens monte, quem imbres aluere super notas ripas; donandus laurea Apollinari, seu devolvit verba nova per audaces dithyrambos,

NOTES.

1. *Pindarum.*] Pindar was of Thebes in Bœotia, and lived about the time of Xerxes, in the seventy-fifth Olympiad, and 476 years before Christ. There are remaining at this time very few of those works which Horace speaks of; but what we have are sufficient to justify the praises here given him, and to make us sensible that antiquity has not judged amiss, in accounting him, by common consent, the chief of lyric poets.

1. *Studet æmulari.*] The judgement which Horace here passes upon Pindar is just and unexceptionable. There is nothing more difficult or dangerous than to imitate this poet. For this reason, in the third epistle of his first book, speaking of Titius, he says,

Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus:

"who was not afraid to drink in the fountain of Pindar." And Quintilian had, no doubt, this ode in view, when in the first chapter of his tenth book he says: "Pindar is without contradiction the first of the "nine lyric poets, whether we consider the "greatness of his genius, the beauty of his "sentences and figures, the variety and "copiousness of his thoughts and expression, and that lively eloquence which car-

ODE II.

a year or eighteen months after the preceding. The subject is as follows: Antonius Iulus had written to Horace, and compared him to Pindar. Horace answers him, and endeavours to make him sensible of the great advantages, which the Greek poet had over him. It is worth while, as we go along, to take notice of the modesty of Horace. It is very well known what a favourable opinion he entertained of his own performances, and in how lofty a strain he speaks of them. Nevertheless, when he mentions himself at the same time with Pindar, he not only acknowledges himself unequal, but altogether inferior.

TO ANTONIUS IULUS.

WHOEVER, Iulus, attempts to vie with Pindar, soars on wings joined with wax in imitation of Dædalus, and will *certainly, like Icarus*, leave his name to the azure sea *into which he falls*. As an impetuous torrent runs thundering down the mountains, and, swelled by immoderate rains, overflows its banks; such is Pindar's profound eloquence, the force whereof is irresistible.

This *divine* poet justly deserves the laurel*, whether he introduces new terms into his bold dithyrambs, and flies along in unfettered

* Of Apollo.

NOTES.

" ries all before it as a torrent; whence " Horace with reason judged that he was " imitable by none."

1. *Iule.*] This Antonius Iulus, the friend of Horace, was the son of Marc Antony and Fulvia. Augustus, after the defeat of the father, pardoned the son; and not content to honour him with the priesthood, prætorship, and consulate, and the government of several provinces, he also gave him in marriage Marcella, the daughter of his sister Octavia, by her first husband Marcellus. All these favours could not hinder this ungrateful wretch from dishonouring the house of his benefactor; he was one of the first who debauched Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and was found engaged in a conspiracy against his person. That he might avoid the punishment due to his crimes, he laid violent hands on himself.

2. *Ceratis ope Dædaleâ.*] The history of Dædalus and Icarus has been explained in the remarks on the third Ode of the first Book.

3. *Vitreo.*] When this epithet is given to the sea, it does not signify clear or transparent, but of the colour of glass.

5. *Monte decurrens.*] This comparison is admirable. Horace, in the account which he gives of Pindar, becomes, if we may so say, Pindar himself. He is inspired with his genius, and speaks his very language. Solomon speaks much to the same purpose, in the 18th chapter of the Proverbs: "eloquence is a deep river in the mouth of man; it is an impetuous torrent, and a source of life." From this passage of Horace, Quintilian has drawn that admirable expression; *Velut quodam eloquentiæ flumine.*

10. *Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos.*] These were hymns in praise of Bacchus. The same name was also given to the verses of these hymns, and it is in this sense that Horace uses the word here; and as it is compounded of δις, twice, and θριαμβος, a triumph, διθριαμβος, in transposing the vowel ι, and changing it into υ, becomes διθυραμ-

Verba devolvit, numerisque fertur
Lege solutis;
Seu Deos, regesque canit, Deorum
Sanguinem, per quos cecidere justâ
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremendæ
Flamma Chimæræ;
Sive quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cœlestes; pugilemve equumve
Dicit, et centum potiore signis
Munere donat;
Flebili sponsæ juvenemve raptum
Plorat, et vires, animumque, moresque
Aureos educit in astra, nigroque
Invidet Orco.
Multa Dircæum levat aura cycnum,
Tendit, Antoni, quotics in altos

ORDO.

fertur que numeris solutis lege; seu canit Deos, regesque sanguinem Deorum, per quos Centauri cecidere justa morte, *per quos* flamma Chimæræ tremendæ cecidit; sive *canit victores*, quos Elea palma reducit cœlestes domum; dicitve pugilem equumve, et donat *eos* munere potiore centum signis; ploratve juvenem raptum sponsæ flebili, et educit vires, animumque, moresque aureos in astra, invidetque nigro Orco.

Multa aura levat Dircæum cycnum, quoties, Antoni, tendit in altos tractus nubium:

NOTES.

Δις, *Dithyrambus*, that is, one who has had two triumphs. This name was given to Bacchus on account of his triumphs: for it was said of him, that he had subdued the whole world, which, at that time, was divided only into two parts, as we elsewhere observed.

11. *Numerisque fertur lege solutis.*] This passage has perplexed the commentators. The most learned are of opinion, that Horace calls dithyrambics *numeros lege solutos*, because they have neither strophe nor antistrophe, nor epode, as the other works of lyric poets have: but it is more probable that he calls them so, because the verses were so unequal, and divided in such different manners, that it was impossible to appropriate any certain measure to them to sing them regularly.

13. *Seu Deos, regesque canit.*] After the dithyrambics of Pindar, Horace mentions his hymns and panegyrics; the hymns were made for the gods, and the panegyrics upon heroes.

13. *Deorum sanguinem.*] Kings have been always called the sons of God. But Horace here speaks particularly of Hercules, who was the son of Jupiter, of Theseus the son of Neptune, and Pirithous descended of Mars.

15. *Centauri.*] The Centaurs, according to the fable, were partly men, and partly horses. But as it is impossible that two such different natures should unite together to compose a body endowed with life, some obscure piece of history must certainly have given rise to this fiction. The ancients have given the following account of it: Under the reign of Ixion in Thessaly, a troop of mad bulls having rendered mount Pelion inaccessible, and ravaged the surrounding country, the king offered a great reward to such as should slay these bulls. At the foot of this mountain there was a small town named Nephele. In it there were found some young men bold enough to undertake this war. In order to fit themselves for this attempt, they exercised themselves for some time in riding on horseback, being before accustomed to ride about in a chariot. When they thought themselves strong enough, and had attained great dexterity in the management of their horses, they went

numbers, or sings of the gods, or of tho se*valiant* kings their offspring, who so justly destroyed the Centaurs *for their insolence*, and slew that monster Chimæra, who, breathing nothing but fire, struck all around it with terror; or celebrates the triumphant return of those who, by gaining the prize *in the Olympic games celebrated* at Elis, raise themselves to an equality with the gods; or praises the wrestler or *swift* horse *and his rider*, and bestows on them encomiums more glorious and permanent than a hundred statues; or laments the sudden death of a blooming youth, snatched from his disconsolate spouse, and renders his strength, his courage, and all his fine qualities immortal, and *thus* rescues them from eternal oblivion.

Although, Antony, the Dircean swan soars out of our sight, and is lost among the clouds, he still maintains his flight with equal

NOTES.

in pursuit of these bulls, which they slew with their darts. And this is what gave them the name of Centaurs, from the Greek κεντειν ταυρους, to slay the bulls. Their success in this having raised their courage, they in a little time became insolent, and were resolved to profit by the advantage which the address they had so lately displayed gave them. They possessed themselves of the mountain, and in the night descended into the country below, pillaging all the inhabitants. These having never before seen a man on horseback, and not clearly discerning objects during the night, mistook those men for monsters, partly men, and partly horses. As they were all of a town called Nephele, and that word signifies the same with *nubes*, a cloud, this by degrees gave rise to the fable, that the Centaurs were begotten of Ixion and a cloud.

17. *Elea palma.*] That is, the crown that was bestowed upon those who obtained the prize in the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Elis, a province of Peloponnesus.

18. *Pugilemve.*] The *pugiles* were those who combated with the cestus. It was one of those combats which were in use in the four principal games of Greece, the Olympian, Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian games. Here Horace had in his eye the seventh ode of Pindar upon the victors at the Olympic games, where he praises Diagoras the Rhodian, for the victory he had obtained in the combat of the cestus, and the 10th and 11th odes, where he praises Agesidamus the Locrian on the same account.

19. *Et centum potiore signis munere donat.*] By *munere* we are to understand the praises which Pindar gave the victors, &c. in his odes; and when he says that these presents are more valuable than a hundred statues, he alludes to a piece of history which is preserved to us by a scholiast upon that Greek poet. He tells us, that Pythias having carried off the prize at the Nemean games, in the combat of the cestus and wrestling, his friends addressed Pindar to write an ode upon that victory. That poet demanding three minæ as a recompense, they answered, that for such a sum they could raise to him a statue of brass; but some time after, acknowledging their error, they granted him all he demanded; upon which Pindar began his ode as follows: "I "am not a sculptor to raise statues which "always stand upon their pedestals, but I "make verses which fly over all the world, "and which make known in all places the "glories of those whom I celebrate. Fly "therefore, my verses, quit Ægina in every "ship, and tell over all the world, that "Pythias, by his strength and address, "having gained the victory in wrestling, "and the combat of the cestus, has been "crowned at the Nemean games."

25. *Dircæum cycnum.*] The Dircæan swan, that is, Pindar, who was of Thebes in Bœotia, where was the celebrated Dircæan fountain. Some think that this fountain

Nubium tractus: ego, apis Matinæ
More modoque,
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.
Concines majore poeta plectro
Cæsarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per sacrum clivum, meritâ decorus
Fronde, Sicambros;
Quo nihil majus meliusve terris
Fata donavere, bonique Divi,
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum.
Concines lætosque dies, et urbis
Publicum ludum, super impetrato
Fortis Augusti reditu, forumque
Litibus orbum.
Tum meæ (si quid loquar audiendum)
Vocis accedet bona pars; et ô sol
Pulcher, ô laudande, canam, recepto
Cæsare felix.
Tumque dum procedit, Io triumphe,
Non semel dicemus, Io triumphe,

ORDO.

ego parvus fingo carmina operosa, more modoque apis Matinæ, carpentis grata thyma per laborem plurimum, circa nemus ripasque uvidi Tiburis.

O poeta, *tu* concines Cæsarem majore plectro, quandoque, decorus merita fronde, trahet feroces Sicambros per sacrum clivum; quo, fata Divique boni donavere nihil majus meliusve terris, nec dabunt, quamvis tempora redeant in priscum aurum. Concines lætosque dies, et publicum ludum urbis, forumque orbum litibus super impetrato reditu fortis Augusti.

Tum (si loquar quid audiendum) bona pars meæ vocis accedet; et felix canam, O sol pulcher, O laudande, recepto Cæsare. Tumque dum procedit, non semel dicemus, Io triumphe, *et* omnis civitas *dicet*, Io trium-

NOTES.

obtained its name from Dirce, the wife of Lycus king of Thebes; but Bochart has made it plain that it is derived from the Arabic, Dirca, which signifies the same with Cæruleus, and which is an epithet that properly belongs to those fountains whose waters are clear: thus Statius calls it cærulea Dirce.

29. *Grata carpentis thyma.*] Thyme is an herb very agreeable to the bees, and from which they make the best honey. Columella, in the 4th chapter of his 9th Book, says, *Saporis præcipui mella reddit thymus;* 'Thyme gives the honey a very fine taste.' And Palladius, in the 27th chapter of his first book, *Primi saporis mella Thymi succus effundit.* Virgil, in the fourth Book of the Georgics, is of the same opinion:

Redolentque thymo fragrantia mella;

force: as for me, *sir*, like a Matinian bee, that with great pains and care sucks the sweets of the most exquisite flowers, I compose my humble strains with much labour in the groves, and on the banks of the pleasant rivulets that wash Tivoli.

But you, *Antony*, shall in a more elevated strain sing the praises of Cæsar, when, crowned with laurels, his just desert, he shall lead the fierce Sicambri in triumph up the sacred hill, *he*, than whom the fates and gracious gods have given nothing greater or better to the world, nor could they, even though the golden age should again begin its course. You shall sing the festivals celebrated by the Romans, the public rejoicings of the city, and the suspension of causes in the forum, for the joy of the safe return of brave Augustus.

Then (if I can sing any thing worthy of Cæsar's attention) my voice shall bear a part with yours, and *in transports of joy* I will thus begin: O glorious day, O day that we cannot praise too much, O happy day *for Rome*, which restores to us *great* Cæsar; and, as he rides in procession, we will with united acclamations of joy cry repeatedly, Io triumphe, Io triumphe, and *afterwards* go and offer

NOTES.

and that the bees retire at night with their burthen of thyme,

Crura thymo plena.

31. *Operosa carmina.*] Difficult verses that require a great deal of labour and study. The Latins had much more trouble in making verses than the Greeks, and this, no doubt, was partly owing to the defect of their language, which was far from being so copious as the Greek. Those who read Pindar, may easily observe a happy facility, which is never to be met with in the same degree among the Latin poets.

33. *Majore poeta plectro.*] Antony was a poet. He had published several works in verse; and, among others, a poem consisting of twelve books, intitled Diomedea. It was an heroic poem, whence Horace says, *majore plectro*. Antony had, without doubt, requested Horace to celebrate the exploits of Augustus, and Horace referred that work to him, as a poet more capable of so noble an attempt.

35. *Per sacrum clivum.*] By the sacred way, along which all the triumphs passed, because it led directly from the amphitheatre to the capitol.

36. *Sicambros.*] These are at this day the people of Gueldres. This war against the Sicambri commenced about the end of the 738th year of the city, five whole years before the consulate of Antony, and was entirely finished a year before the said consulship. All this proves manifestly that this ode was written during the above-mentioned war, and while Augustus was among the Gauls, that is, about the time that I have fixed upon in the argument.

37. *Quo nihil majus meliusve.*] The same thought is expressed in a few words in his epistles; *Nil orturum alias, nil ortum tale.* This eulogium, magnificent as it is, has nothing in it beyond the truth. Augustus was always a great prince; but, after he became sole master of the Roman empire, every year of his reign was distinguished by some signal marks of his bounty and clemency. It is not therefore at all surprising, that the people of Rome waited his return with so great impatience.

43. *Forumque litibus orbum.*] Horace does not here mean, as some learned men have conjectured, that Augustus abolished all prosecutions; that would be false; but he would intimate, that the joy for his return was so great, that pleas for some time ceased, and the forum was shut up.

49. *Tumque dum procedit.*] Some manuscripts have *tuque dum procedis;* but there never was an amendment more necessary

Civitas omnis, dabimusque Divis
Thura benignis.
Te decem tauri, totidemque vaccæ;
Me tener solvet vitulus, relictâ
Matre qui largis juvenescit herbis
In mea vota,
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium lunæ referentis ortum,
Quà notam duxit, niveus videri,
Cætera fulvus.

ORDO.

phe, dabimusque thura Divis benignis. *O Iule,* decem tauri totidemque vaccæ *solvent* te; tener vitulus, qui, relicta matre, juvenescit largis herbis in mea vota, solvet me; *vitulus* imitatus curvatos ignes lunæ referentis tertium ortum fronte, qua duxit notam, niveus videri, *quoad* cætera *vero* fulvus.

NOTES.

than here, nor more justly made, in which I only imitate Mr. Cunningham; for *tumque* naturally follows the *tum* which begins the four preceding lines.

ODE III.

This is one of the finest odes of Horace: in my opinion nothing can be found so finished either among the Latins or the Greeks. Scaliger says, that he would rather have been the author of this small poem, than king of Arragon. Such as are duly sensible of its delicacy, the just and natural thoughts with which it abounds, its fine turn, and the vivacity of the expressions, will not be greatly surprised at this hyperbole. Horace thanks the Muses

AD MELPOMENEN.

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
Nascentem placido lumine videris,
Illum non labor Isthmius
Clarabit pugilem; non equus impiger
Curru ducet Achaico
Victorem; neque res bellica Deliis

ORDO.

O Melpomene, quem tu semel videris nascentem placido lumine, labor Isthmius non clarabit illum pugilem; equus impiger non ducet *illum* victorem curru Achaico;

NOTES.

1. *Melpomene.*] The muse here mentioned designates that harmony and enthusiasm which art and study may serve to regulate, but which nature only can bestow,

sacrifices of incense to the gods for their care *of our august emperor.*

As for you, *Iulus*, ten bulls, and as many kine, shall acquit you of your *generous* vow; and I will pay mine, by offering a calf just weaned, now frisking about in rich pastures for that purpose; his budding horns resemble the crescent of the moon three days old, and he has a beautiful white star on his forehead, but every where else he is red.

NOTES.

55. *Juvenescit.*] The understanding of this word depends upon a passage of Varro, who writes in the fifth chapter of his second book *de Vita Rustica; Primum in Bubulo genere ætatis gradus dicuntur quatuor, prima vitulorum, secunda juvencorum, tertia bovum novellorum, quarta vetulorum.* Horace therefore here says *juvenescit*, for *ex vituli ætate in juvenci ætatem adolescit, juvencus fit.* This place deserved an explication, a translation not being sufficient to make it understood.

ODE III.

for the favours they had shown him from his birth; he declares it was in that first moment that he received from them what distinguished him from others. Indeed, it was his opinion, that no one could be a poet, who had not, by a happy influence, received from heaven, at his birth, that spirit of poetry, which cannot be acquired by art and study. This ode seems to me to have been written before the last of the second Book.

TO MELPOMENE.

MELPOMENE, he on whom you vouchsafe to look with a favourable eye at the time of his birth, has no occasion to signalise himself as a skilful wrestler at the Isthmian games, or endeavour to carry off the prize, and return conqueror by his dexterity in driving a Grecian car drawn by swift horses, or to be crowned *by Mars* with laurels,

NOTES.

and without which no person can merit the name of poet. Melpomene presided particularly over tragedy; she is here put for the muses in general, as in the ode, *Exegi monumentum.*

3. *Labor Isthmius.*] A man possessed with the genius of poetry, becomes insensible to all those other excellences upon which people of a different character may perhaps set a great value. Horace marks these advantages by the crowns of Greece and triumphs of Rome. The Isthmian games were instituted by Sisyphus, king of Corinth, in honour of Melicertes, one of the gods of the sea, in the isthmus of Corinth, near the temple of Neptune, about 1350 years before the birth of Christ. They differed from the Olympic games only in this, that they were

Ornatum foliis ducem,
Quòd regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Ostendet Capitolio :
Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile perfluunt,
Et spissæ nemorum comæ,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.
Romæ, principis urbium,
Dignatur soboles inter amabiles
Vatum ponere me choros;
Et jam dente minùs mordeor invido.
O testudinis aureæ
Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas;
O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum!
Totum muneris hoc tui est,
Quòd monstror digito prætereuntium
Romanæ fidicen lyræ :
Quòd spiro, et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

ORDO.

neque res bellica ostendet *illum* ducem ornatum Deliis foliis Capitolio, quod contuderit tumidas minas regum; sed aquæ quæ perfluunt fertile Tibur, et spissæ comæ nemorum, fingent *eum* nobilem Æolio carmine.

Soboles Romæ, principis urbium, dignatur ponere me inter amabiles choros vatum; et jam minus mordeor dente invido.

O Pieri, quæ temperas dulcem strepitum *meæ* aureæ testudinis; O, si libeat, donatura sonum cycni quoque mutis piscibus! hoc totum est tui muneris, quod digito prætereuntium monstror fidicen Romanæ lyræ: tuum est quod spiro, et *quod* placeo, si placeo.

NOTES.

celebrated in each of the three years, and that the victors were crowned with branches of pine-tree.

4. *Non equus impiger curru.*] Those who came off victorious in these Isthmian games, or in any of the other games of Greece, returned from them to their own country, in a chariot drawn by four horses.

6. *Neque res bellica.*] As the Greeks reckoned nothing more glorious or honourable than to be victorious in their public games, so the Romans aimed at nothing higher than to obtain the honour of a triumph; which is the reason of Horace's joining these two together.

6. *Deliis foliis.*] Branches of laurel; for the laurel was sacred to Apollo, who was born at Delos.

9. *Ostendet Capitolio.*] Those who triumphed ascended to the capitol by the *via sacra*, as has been remarked on the preceding ode: they went thither to return thanks to Jupiter for their victory, and to dedicate to him the most precious spoils of the enemy, and they did not descend before a magnificent entertainment had been furnished at the expense of the republic.

12. *Æolio carmine nobilem.*] In this picture Horace had an eye to himself; for, as he boasts in another place, he was the first among the Romans who imitated the Æolian poetry. He calls his verses Æolian, because he copied from Alcæus and Sappho, who were of Mitylene, a city of Æolia, and capital of Lesbos. Pindar also calls his harp and verses Æolian, because he wrote in Doric, the ancient language of Æolia.

16. *Dulcem quæ strepitum.*] *Strepitus* signifies properly a harsh noise; and as that word was not so fit to express the pleasing sound which a goddess made with her harp, Horace adds the epithet *dulcem*, to correct and soften it. He does not use the same method when he is not speaking of a goddess; for, in the second epistle of the first book, he says,

and carried in triumph to the Capitol for baffling the haughty menaces of insolent tyrants: no, the murmuring streams and shady groves of fruitful Tivoli will *inspire him with such sublime thoughts as will* make him famous for lyric poetry.

The sons of Rome, the mistress of the world*, deign to give me a place in the agreeable company of poets, whose approbation makes me already less sensible of the shafts of envy.

Divine Muse, who regulatest the harmonious accents of my lyre, who, at thy pleasure, canst give even to mute fishes the *melodious* voice of the swan! it is to thee I owe the honour of being pointed out by the Romans as their lyric poet: it is owing to thee that I still live, and *living* please, if *I can flatter myself that* I do *really* please.

* Cities.

NOTES.

Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam;

And in the fourteenth epistle,

——*Nec meretrix tibicina, cujus*
Ad strepitum salias terræ gravis.

In these two places he wished to express a harsh grating sound; and it is by this opposition that we are made sensible of his delicacy. One of the most learned interpreters of Aristotle's rhetoric had no reason to accuse him of having used this word in a wrong place.

18. *Pieri.*] The Pierians, a people of Thrace, having abandoned their own country, settled in a part of Macedonia, where they consecrated two fountains to the muses, one of which they named Pimplea, and the other Pieria, which were names derived from certain places of their own country; and it is on account of these fountains that the muses themselves have been called Pierides and Pimpleides.

20. *Cycni sonum.*] The voice of the swan. I cannot imagine what could be the reason of the credulity of the ancients about the singing of the swan; for there is not the least foundation for all that they have said upon that subject.

21. *Totum muneris hoc tui est.*] Horace could not give a greater evidence of his modesty, than by saying, that all the share of merit he had was the gift of the muses, who could, if they pleased, give speech to a fish.

22. *Quòd monstror digito prætereuntium.*] This is what the Greeks called δείκνυσθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ, to be pointed at with the finger. Persius imitates it in that verse

At pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier,
Hic est.

"It is a fine thing to be pointed at with "the finger, and hear it said, There he is."

24. *Quòd spiro.*] The generality of interpreters have mistaken this passage, and been far from conceiving aright on what account Horace says that he owes his life to the muses; yet he himself explains the matter very clearly in the fourth ode of the third book, where he says to these goddesses;

Vestris amicum fontibus et choris,
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non extinxit arbos,
Nec Siculâ Palinurus undâ.

"It was my regard for you that saved me "in the terrible defeat at Philippi. It was "this that guarded me from being crushed "by the fall of an unlucky tree, and pre-"vented my being overwhelmed by the "waves near cape Palinurus." The muses saved him from the defeat at Philippi, because his poetry recommended him to the friendship and protection of Mæcenas, and influenced Augustus to pardon him; and this is the precise thing he refers to here.

ODE IV.

We have here an ode which was written by the order of Augustus; and it is evident, from the grandeur and nobleness of the verse, that Horace does all in his power not to fall short of the honour which that great prince had done him, in laying this command upon him. In none of his compositions has he made a nearer approach to the height and majesty of Pindar. "Quarta "nec Pindaro cedit." These are the words of Scaliger, who also affirms, that in this ode Horace has not only surpassed himself, but has outdone all

DRUSI LAUDES.

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem
(Cui rex Deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permisit, expertus fidelem
Jupiter in Ganymede flavo)
Olim juventas, et patrius vigor,
Nido laborum propulit inscium;
Vernisque jam nimbis remotis,
Insolitos docuere nisus
Venti paventem; mox in ovilia
Demisit hostem vividus impetus;

ORDO.

Qualem juventas et patrius vigor olim propulit nido alitem ministrum fulminis (cui Jupiter rex Deorum permisit regnum in vagas aves, expertus fidelem in Ganymede flavo) *adhuc* inscium laborum, vernisque nimbis jam remotis, venti docuere paventem insolitos nisus; mox vividus impetus demisit *eum* hostem in ovilia; nunc amor dapis at-

NOTES.

1. *Qualem ministrum.*] The beginning of this ode appears a little confused and intricate, on account of the long parenthesis, which breaks the sense of it as far as the seventeenth verse. The manner in which it may be construed is this; *Rhæti et Vindelici videre Drusum sub Alpibus bella gerentem, qualem*, &c.

1. *Ministrum fulminis.*] The ancients looked upon the eagle as the king of birds, and minister of Jupiter's thunder; and Pliny writes, that this fiction is founded upon observation and experience, as the eagle is the only bird that thunder does not touch. *Negant unquam solam hanc alitem fulmine examinatam; ideo armigerum Jovis consuetudo indicavit.* But that experience appears to me very doubtful; and I am persuaded that in this they had no other view than to mark the vigour and swiftness of that bird.

3. *Expertus fidelem.*] I cannot determine whether Horace feigned, or whether he might not somewhere have read, that Jupiter gave to the eagle the empire over the other birds, as a reward for the fidelity which he experienced from him when he made use of his services to carry off Ganymede.

4. *In Ganymede flavo.*] Ganymede was the son of Tros. Homer writes that he was the most beautiful of men, and that the gods

ODE IV.

Greece. "Tota vero cantione hac et seipsum et omnem Græciam superavit." Commentators approve the title which they have found in some manuscripts; "Ad urbem Romam de indole ducum;" but it is certain that this title is wrong, and that the ode can admit no other than "Drusi Laudes," the praises of Drusus, or "De Victoriis Drusi," of the victories of Drusus. It was written about the year of the city 740, which was the fifty-third year of Horace's age.

THE PRAISES OF DRUSUS.

JUST as the eagle, Jupiter's thunder-bearer, (to whom the sovereign of the gods gave the empire over all the birds that rove through the air, having experienced his fidelity in the rape of beautiful Ganymede) incited by the courage which his birth and youthful vigour inspire, *but* not yet inured to hardships, springs from his nest, the vernal storms being now over, and, assisted by the winds, trembling *first flutters and* attempts to soar; soon, *growing bolder,* darts with impetuous flight amidst the sheepfolds, where he spreads terror *and slaughter;* then, prompted by love of prey, and a violent de-

NOTES.

stole him away on account of his beauty. This rape has been explained in different manners by the ancients; but the true history is, that this young Trojan was carried off by Tantalus, king of Lydia, whose troops had an eagle on their ensigns.

9. *Mox in ovilia.*] It is worthy of our notice, with what judgement and conduct Horace treats this matter. The eagle, by a forwardness natural to its kind, very soon leaves its nest; but it dares not as yet attempt to wander far, and is very watchful that the clouds be entirely dissipated; and then, being no longer afraid of a tempest, it gradually abandons itself to the winds, which teach it to fly; and no sooner does it find itself in a capacity of cutting the air with rapidity and force, than it begins to try its strength against the sheep; and, when it has arrived at its utmost vigour, it attacks animals of the most formidable kind.

7. *Vernisque jam nimbis remotis,* for *vernique,* &c.] This passage is of considerable importance. Julius Scaliger, in his examination of it, raises a very great difficulty. Horace (says he) gives the description of the full-grown eagle, *adulta,* although he ascribes to him youth, *juventas.* Afterwards he sends him against the lambs and dragons. For this reason he cannot here speak of the spring the eagle hatches her young in, which are scarcely in condition to fly at the end of six months, about August, and are very weak till September. To defend Horace here, Torrentius conjectures, that *nimbis remotis* ought not to be understood of the beginning of the spring, but of the end, when the arrival of summer has dissipated the clouds, which in Italy render the spring always rainy. But the learned Bentley has very well observed, that, at the arrival of the summer, these winds cannot with propriety be called *verni,* the winds of the spring; for which reason, he judges that we ought to re-establish the

Nunc in reluctantes dracones
Egit amor dapis atque pugnæ:
Qualemve lætis caprea pascuis
Intenta, fulvæ matris ab ubere
Jam lacte depulsum leonem,
Dente novo peritura, vidit;
Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem et Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazoniâ securi
Dextras obarmet, quærere distuli:
Nec scire fas est omnia: sed diu
Latèque victrices catervæ,
Consiliis juvenis revictæ,
Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles,
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus,
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.

ORDO.

que pugnæ egit in dracones reluctantes:

Qualemve caprea, intenta pascuis lætis, *et* peritura dente novo, vidit leonem jam depulsum lacte ab ubere matris fulvæ:

Talem Rhæti et Vindelici videre Drusum gerentem bella sub Alpibus, quibus unde mos, deductus per omne tempus, obarmet securi Amazonia, *ego* distuli quærere; nec fas est scire omnia: sed diu lateque victrices catervæ, revictæ consiliis juvenis, sensere, quid mens, quid indoles, rite nutrita sub faustis penetralibus, quid paternus animus Augusti in pueros Nerones, posset.

NOTES.

reading, which is to be found in several manuscripts;

Vernisque jam nimbis remotis.

This remark is very judicious, and removes all the difficulty.

11. *In reluctantes dracones.*] Pliny describes the combat of the eagle with the dragon in the fourth chapter of his tenth book thus: "His combat," says he, "with "the dragon is fierce and doubiful, although "they engage in the air. The dragon, with "a malicious greediness, hunts after the "eggs of the eagle; for which reason the "eagle attacks him wherever he sees him; "but the dragon winding himself about his "wings, renders them useless, so that they "both fall together upon the ground."

12. *Egit.*] It is worth while to remark the difference and propriety of the words which Horace here uses, *propulit, dimisit, egit.* He joins the first with *patrius vigor*, the second with *vividus impetus*, and the third with *amor dapis atque pugnæ.* The choice could not have been more happy, or the gradation more just.

15. *Jam lacte depulsum.*] Virgil uses the same form of expression;

Depulsos à lacte domi qui clauderet agnos.

And Suetonius says, in reference to children;

Infantes firmiores, necdum tamen lacte depulsos.

Virgil has *depulsus ab ubere*, and Varro, *depulsi à matribus agni.*

sire to fight, attacks the most furious dragons:—or, like a ravenous young lion, driven from the teat of its tawny mother, which a timorous goat, intent on her luxuriant food, discovers at a distance, *and trembles at his approaches*, knowing she must inevitably be devoured by his sharp teeth:—*in such a manner, and with such an appearance*, did *our enemies* the Rhæti and Vindélici see Drusus advancing towards them with his army near the Alps. Whence these barbarous people had the custom of arming themselves with axes, I know not; nor is it possible for a man to know every thing; but *this we know, that* their troops, which had for a long time widely extended their conquests, were defeated in their turn by the good conduct *and bravery* of this young prince, and were made sensible what a *happy* genius, properly cultivated by paternal care, and tutored in the auspicious court of Augustus, could do, and what might be expected from the young Neros.

NOTES.

17. *Rhæti.*] These people inhabited the southern parts of the Alps, and are at this day called the Grisons.

18. *Drusum.*] Claudius Drusus, the son of Tiberius Nero and of Livia Drusilla. This young prince made war against the Rhætians about the year of the city 738, while he was as yet only twenty-three years old. Velleius Paterculus gives a character of him in the ninety-seventh and ninety-eighth chapters of his second book, where he says, that he was possessed of all the virtues which human nature is capable of receiving, or study and education render complete. This confirms what Horace is about to say of his natural disposition, and happy and advantageous education.

18. *Et Vindelici.*] Some are for taking away the copulative particle *et*, under this pretence, that the Rhæti went also under the name of Vindelici. This criticism not only renders the poet's verse less noble and majestic, but is also injurious to the memory of Drusus. It robs him of a part of his glory, by making but one and the same people of these two warlike nations which he conquered. Geographers and historians represent them as distinct. Pliny, speaking of these people, does not say, *Rhæti Vindelici*, but *Rhæti et Vindelici*; as Strabo says, Ραῖτοι καὶ Οὐινδελικοι. And Velleius Paterculus, in the account which he gives us of this same expedition of Drusus and Tiberius, says, *Uterque divisis partibus, Rhætos Vindelicosque aggressi.*

20. *Amazonâ securi.*] He gives to the axe the epithet of Amazonian, because the Amazons armed themselves with it, and were the first inventors of it. They called it in their Scythian language *Sagaris.*

27. *Quid Augusti paternus.*] Tiberius Nero died the same year that he resigned his wife Livia to Augustus, and by his will named that prince tutor, not only to Tiberius, who was by this time almost four years old, but also to Drusus, to whom Livia gave birth in the palace of Augustus, three months after her marriage with this prince. Augustus therefore was a second father to the two Neros, having married their mother, and being nominated their tutor. It is for this reason that Horace uses the expression, *paternus animus*, which signifies one who has the feelings and tenderness of a father, as in Ode second, Book second;

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

It ought not to be passed by without notice here, that it was believed at Rome, that there had been some intimacy between Livia and Augustus, while she lived with her first husband, and that Drusus sprang from that

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis:
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant:
Utcunque defecere mores,
Dedecorant bene nata culpæ.
Quid debeas, ô Roma, Neronibus,
Testis Metaurum flumen, et Asdrubal
Devictus, et pulcher fugatis
Ille dies Latio tenebris,
Qui primus almâ risit adoreâ;
Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,
Ceu flamma per tedas, vel Eurus
Per Siculas equitavit undas.
Post hoc, secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit, et, impio
Vastata Pœnorum tumultu,
Fana Deos habuere rectos;
Dixitque tandem perfidus Annibal;

ORDO.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis: Virtus patrum est in juvencis, est in equis, nec feroces aquilæ progenerant columbam imbellem. Sed doctrina promovet vim insitam, cultusque recti roborant pectora: utcunque mores defecere, culpæ dedecorant bene nata.

O Roma, quid debeas Neronibus, Metaurum flumen *est* testis, et Asdrubal devictus, et dies ille pulcher qui primus risit alma adorea, tenebris fugatis Latio; ut dirus Afer equitavit per Italas urbes, ceu flamma per tedas, vel Eurus per Siculas undas.

Post hoc, Romana pubes usque crevit secundis laboribus, et fana, vastata impio tumultu Pœnorum, habuere Deos rectos; tandemque perfidus Hannibal dixit:

NOTES.

commerce; and Livia being delivered of him so soon after she had espoused Augustus, gave rise, among other jokes, to this, that among fortunate men like Augustus, every thing prospered; for they could have children at the end of three months, which passed afterwards into a proverb. If Horace therefore had continued only to speak of Drusus, the expression, *animus paternus*, had been capable of a sense which would have very much displeased Augustus. And this was the reason which obliged him to speak at once of the two Neros, that none might misinterpret his meaning.

29. *Fortes creantur fortibus.*] The design of Horace is, to ascribe all the glorious actions of Drusus and Tiberius to the good education which they had received from Augustus; and, to do this in a manner that might be no wise injurious to the ancestors of these princes, he allows that virtue and courage are qualities which we really inherit from our forefathers; but that education ought to come to the assistance of nature, in order to bring to maturity and perfection these happy seeds, which otherwise would prove very often useless, and without effect.

33. *Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam.*] Hence we may see how much Horace differed from those who maintain, that virtue comes from nature, and that education serves only to polish it, without rendering it better. *Quid enim doctrina proficit?* says Valerius Maximus: *ut politiora, sed non ut meliora fiant ingenia, quoniam quidem sola virtus nascitur magis quam fingitur.* Says Horace,

Great souls, *it is true*, spring *generally* from the brave and good: *even* heifers and horses inherit the vigour and fire of their sires; nor do we ever see fierce eagles bring forth a timorous dove. But it is education that assists the natural genius, and good instruction that improves the mind; wherever these are wanting, vice *insensibly* corrupts the most promising dispositions.

O Rome, what do you not owe to the Neros? Witness the river Metaurus, witness the defeat of Asdrubal, and that glorious day, whose dawn dispersed the gloom that had so long invested Italy, and gave us the promising hopes of a signal victory, after the fierce *and formidable* Hannibal had over-run and laid waste our cities with the same fury as fire does a forest, or an east-wind sweeps along the Sicilian sea.

From this time our soldiers succeeded in all their efforts; and the gods appeared again in the temples which the Carthaginian mob had plundered and destroyed, as avengers of so great impiety; and the perfidious Hannibal was at last constrained to say:

NOTES.

Virtue comes from nature,—that is incontestable;—but education strengthens and perfects it.

37. *Quid debeas, ô Roma, Neronibus.*] This apostrophe, whatever some critics may say of it, is certainly one of the greatest evidences of the excellency of Horace's genius, and will be approved by every man of just taste and discernment. *Neronibus*, to the ancient Neros. Horace speaks here of the consul Claudius Nero, who being encamped in Lucania, within sight of Hannibal, retired with six thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and in a few days arrived in Ombria, and joined Salinator, his colleague, to oppose the passage of Asdrubal, who was leading a considerable body of men to the assistance of his brother. His diligence in this instance saved Italy; for Asdrubal was defeated near the river Metaurus, and Nero, returning to his camp before the Carthaginians were apprised of his departure, threw the head of Asdrubal into the camp of Hannibal his brother, who, from that moment, thought of nothing else but how to make the best of his way out of Italy. This happened in the year of the city 546, almost two hundred years before this was written; and Horace, amidst many other illustrious actions of the ancient Neros, has fixed upon this in particular, not only because it was one of the most important, but also because Drusus and Tiberius were descended from those two consuls.

39. *Fugatis Latio tenebris.*] That day truly dissipated the darkness in which Italy was involved. The Roman armies had been worsted in several encounters, and Rome itself was upon the brink of ruin, had Asdrubal joined his forces with those of Hannibal. The darkness in which Italy was involved, is a poetical expression, admirably representing the deplorable condition to which the Romans were reduced at that time. In the sacred books, as well as the profane, the word *darkness* is often taken for misfortune, destruction, ruin; and the word *light*, for happiness, victory, prosperity.

41. *Qui primus almâ visit adoreâ.*] *Adorea* was properly a distribution of corn, which was made to the soldiers after a victory; and hence the word has been taken to signify the victory itself, or the glory acquired by it. Festus says, *Adoream, laudem, sive gloriam dicebant;* and Pliny, Chapter third, Book eighteenth, *Gloriam denique ipsam à farris honore adoream appellabant.*

46. *Et impio vastata.*] For Hannibal did not spare so much as the temples: witness that of Feronia, which he destroyed, and carried away all its riches. This Livy mentions in Book 26th, Chapter 2d.

47. *Pœnorum tumultu.*] It has been observed in some of the preceding Books, that the Romans often made use of the word *tumultus* to express the civil wars: but Horace here uses it for a war made upon the Romans by strangers. The reason perhaps may be,

Cervi, luporum præda rapacium,
Sectamur ultro, quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.
Gens, quæ cremato fortis ab Ilio,
Jactata Tuscis æquoribus, sacra,
Natosque, maturosque patres,
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes;
Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.
Non Hydra secto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
Monstrumve submisere Colchi
Majus, Echioniæve Thebæ.
Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit;
Luctere, multâ proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem, geretque
Prœlia conjugibus loquenda.
Carthagini jam non ego nuncios
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit
Spes omnis, et fortuna nostri
Nominis, Asdrubale interemto.
Nil Claudiæ non perficient manus;
Quas et benigno numine Jupiter
Defendit, et curæ sagaces
Expediunt per acuta belli.

ORDO.

" Nos, *velut* cervi præda rapacium lupo-
" rum, ultro sectamur Romanos, quos fallere
" et effugere est triumphus opimus. Gens,
" quæ fortis, ab cremato Ilio, jactata Tuscis
" æquoribus, pertulit sacra, natosque, ma-
" turosque patres ad Ausonias urbes; ut ilex
" tonsa duris bipennibus, in Algido feracis
" nigræ frondis, ducit opes animumque, per
" damna, per cædes, ab ipso ferro. Hydra
" corpore secto, non crevit firmior in Her-
" culem dolentem vinci; non Colchi, Echi-
" oniæve Thebæ, summisere majus mon-
" strum. *Etiamsi* merses profundo, evenit
" pulchrior; luctere, proruet victorem in-
" tegrum cum laude multa, geretque prœlia
" loquenda conjugibus. Ego non jam mit-
" tam superbos nuncios Carthagini: omnis
" spes et fortuna nostri nominis occidit, oc-
" cidit, Asdrubale interemto."

Nil non efficient Claudiæ manus; quas et Jupiter defendit benigno numine, et sagaces curæ expediunt per acuta belli.

NOTES.

because that war was carried on in the heart of Italy itself, and Hannibal had brought over entire cities and provinces to his party.

50. *Cervi luporum præda.*] This discourse is exceedingly beautiful; but what is most worthy of notice, is the noble and delicate manner in which Horace makes his court to the Romans; nothing can be more grand than what Horace makes Hannibal say of them.

61. *Hydra.*] Amidst the famous labours of Hercules, one is the defeat of the Hydra, a monstrous serpent, which had retreated to the

" As deer destined for a prey to ravenous wolves, we are come to " attack these Romans; but the most glorious triumph we can " hope for, is, to avoid fighting them, and make our escape. These " are the people risen with new strength out of the ashes of Troy, " who, after being tossed by *so many* storms on our seas, have " settled their children, their sires, and their gods, in the cities of " Ausonia. Like an oak hewn and cut with hatchets in the shady " forest of Algidus, they gain new force by their scars and wounds. " The Hydra, appearing with more heads after it had one cut off, " never arose with more fury against Hercules, when he was in " the *utmost* dread of seeing himself overcome. Neither Thebes " nor Colchis ever produced a greater prodigy. Plunge them in " the deep, they rise with greater lustre. Attack them sword in " hand, they regain their honour by defeating your fresh troops, " though hitherto victorious, and make such furious attacks as will " furnish their wives, for a long time after, with matter of discourse. " I shall never have occasion to send any more proud couriers to " Carthage *with the joyful news of fresh victories;* Asdrubal is no " more; all our hopes, our fortune, our name, are buried with " Asdrubal."

No enterprise is too hard for the Neros, whom Jupiter favours so remarkably with his protection, and who, by their great prudence and conduct, are able happily to extricate themselves from the most threatening dangers to which they are exposed in battle.

NOTES.

Lernian lake. The poets have feigned that it had a great number of heads, and that no sooner was one cut off, than several others appeared in its place.

63. *Monstrumve submisere Colchi.*] *Monstrum* here signifies the same with a prodigy; and Horace is not speaking either of the bull which vomited up flame, or of the dragons that guarded the Golden Fleece; but, as Torrentius has excellently remarked, he speaks of the two armies which sprang from the teeth sown by Jason. One may read the history at full length in the seventh book of the Metamorphoses.

64. *Echioniæve Thebæ.*] Cadmus did the same at Thebes, that Jason had done about two hundred years before at Colchis; he had sown the teeth of a dragon, and thence there sprang up a great body of men, who separated themselves into two bands, and attacked each other; there remained only four with Echion after the engagement. This warrior became afterwards the son-in-law of Cadmus, and assisted him in building Thebes; whence Horace writes *Echioniæ Thebæ.*

69. *Carthagini jam non ego.*] After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal sent his brother Mago to Carthage, to acquaint them with the victory; and this African, not satisfied with representing to the senate, in the loftiest terms, the happy success of his brother, exposed, at the gate of the house where the assembly met, all the rings which had been taken from the Romans, by which they might judge of the number of men who had been slain in the fight. Historians relate that there were about three bushels and a half of them.

73. *Nil Claudiæ non perficient manus.*] The speech of Hannibal ends at *Asdrubale interrupto.* Horace afterwards resumes his subject, and foretells the happy success that would attend all the attempts of Drusus, of whose safety Providence was in a particular manner careful.

76. *Acuta belli.*] Not the stratagems of war, but the danger; as in Livy and Tacitus, *subita belli, incerta belli.*

ODE V.

M. le Fevre is of opinion that this ode was written about the seven hundred and thirty-fourth year of the city, and forty-seventh of Horace's age, a little before the return of Augustus from Asia. But if that were true, the description which Horace here gives of the happy condition of the Roman people, would savour too much of flattery; for Rome, at that time, was very much agitated with disorders and seditions. As for me, I am persuaded that it was composed on occasion of the long stay of Augustus in Gaul,

AD AUGUSTUM.

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ
Custos gentis, abes jam nimiùm diu.
Maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
Sancto concilio, redi:
Lucem redde tuæ, dux bone, patriæ;
Instar veris enim, vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies,
Et soles meliùs nitent.
Ut mater juvenem, quem Notus invido
Flatu, Carpathii trans maris æquora
Cunctantem spatio longiùs annuo,
Dulci distinet à domo,
Votis, ominibusque, et precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciem litore demovet;
Sic, desideriis icta fidelibus,
Quærit patria Cæsarem.
Tutus bos etenim prata perambulat:
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Faustitas:

ORDO.

O Auguste, orte Divis bonis, optime custos Romulæ gentis, abes jam nimium diu. Redi, pollicitus maturum reditum sancto concilio patrum: bone dux, redde lucem tuæ patriæ; ubi enim tuus vultus, instar veris, affulsit populo, dies it gratior, et soles melius nitent.

Ut mater vocat juvenem, votis ominibusque, et precibus, quem Notus distinet invido flatu à dulci domo, cunctantem longius spatio annuo trans æquora maris Carpathii, nec demovet faciem curvo littore; sic patria, icta fidelibus desideriis, quærit Cæsarem.

Etenim, *te regnante*, bos tutus perambulat prata: Ceres almaque Faustitas nutrit rura:

NOTES.

2. *Abes jam nimiùm diu.*] For Augustus departed for Gaul in the year 737; he did not return till three years after, that is, in 740. Horace wrote this ode the year before. We see therefore that the Romans had some reason to complain of his absence.

ODE V.

which ought to be referred to the 739th year of Rome. Nothing can be imagined more tender than what Horace writes to this prince: he is not content with simply taking notice of the love and veneration that every one had for him, and the impatience wherewith they expected his return; he farther explains the reasons they had to value and esteem him, and thence takes occasion to give us a beautiful picture of the felicity which reigned throughout the empire under his government.

TO AUGUSTUS.

GREAT prince, whom the kind gods have given the world as the best guardian of the Roman state, you have now been too long absent from us. Please to hasten your return according to your gracious promise to the venerable senate: restore *life and* light to your dominions; for your presence, like the spring, makes every thing agreeable; our days pass with more pleasure, and the sun shines with greater lustre.

As a fond mother, impatient for the return of her only son, detained beyond sea longer than his year from his dear home by contrary winds, never ceases to hasten his return *by all the methods her affection can suggest*, whether by vows, omens, or prayers, and turns not her wishful eye one moment off the winding shore; thus do your people long with the utmost impatience and affection for *the return of* their prince.

Under your happy reign our oxen graze in the meads with safety; Ceres and kind Plenty make our lands fruitful; our traders cross the

NOTES.

13. *Ominibusque.*] *Omen* is an augury taken from the voices of men, or the singing of birds. In the first sense it is properly a word which another speaks by chance, and of which one makes application to himself, as in what happened to Paulus Emilius returning one day from the senate: his daughter, a young girl, hung about his neck, crying, O father, Perses is dead. This was the name of her little favourite dog. But Paulus Emilius took it as an augury. I accept, says he, this presage. Perses, king of Macedonia, against whom I am sent by the senate to make war, will be vanquished. Horace here allows to the word its full signification.

17. *Prata perambulat.*] The word *rura* is repeated in the verse following; and as that repetition is neither a figure, nor in any way graceful, M. le Fevre is of opinion, that we ought to read *prata perambulat.* In the first verse, Horace speaks of the security wherewith the flocks wander in the fields, and, in the second, of the fertility and abundance of the fruits of the earth.

19. *Pacatum volitant per mare.*] At that time the empire was not disturbed either with civil or foreign wars, as is evident from the testimony of all historians. And Suetonius tells us, that a ship of Alexandria entering the harbour, and passing by one in which Augustus was, the mariners loaded him with be-

Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ:
Culpari metuit fides:
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris:
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas:
Laudantur simili prole puerperæ:
Culpam pœna premit comes.
Quis Parthum paveat? quis gelidum Scythen?
Quis, Germania quos horrida parturit
Fetus, incolumi Cæsare? quis feræ
Bellum curet Iberiæ?
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;
Hinc ad vina redit lætus, et alteris
Te mensis adhibet Deum:
Te multâ prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris; et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, utì Græcia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis.
Longas ô utinam, dux bone, ferias
Præstes Hesperiæ,—dicimus integro
Sicci manè die, dicimus uvidi,
Cùm sol Oceano subest.

ORDO.

navitæ volitant per mare pacatum: fides metuit culpari: casta domus polluitur nullis stupris: mos et lex edomuit maculosum nefas: puerperæ laudantur simili prole: pœna comes premit culpam.

Incolumi Cæsare, quis paveat Parthum? Quis *paveat* gelidum Scythen? Quis *paveat* fœtus quos horrida Germania parturit? Quis curet bellum feræ Iberiæ? Quisque condit diem in collibus suis, et ducit vitem ad viduas arbores; hinc redit lætus ad vina, et adhibet te Deum alteris mensis: prosequitur te multa prece, *prosequitur* te mero defuso pateris; et miscet tuum numen laribus, utì Græcia memor *miscet Diis nomen* Castoris et magni Herculis.

Dux bone, O utinam præstes longas ferias Hesperiæ! *hoc* dicimus sicci mane integro die, hoc dicimus uvidi, cum sol subest oceano.

NOTES.

nedictions, crying out, that to him they owed their lives, their property, and their freedom.

23. *Laudantur simili prole.*] The ancients had a great opinion of the virtue and chastity of those wives, whose children resembled their husbands, and they pretended to be capable of distinguishing the true father

peaceful seas with security: no man dares *now* be false to his promise: our virtuous houses are no more sullied with adulteries: your good example and the laws have banished this foul vice: mothers are respected for having children like their husbands; and every crime is sure to meet with a speedy *and deserved* punishment.

While Cæsar reigns, who fears the Parthians, cold Scythians, or the *fierce* offspring of rugged Germany? Who minds what the cruel Spaniards can do? Every swain spends whole days securely on his own hills, and weds the *tender* vines to the lonely poplars *; thence returns *in the evening*, and regales himself with a cheerful glass †, and at the second course pays his vows to you as to a god. He addresses himself to you; he offers you libations, and pays you the same worship as to his household gods, *venerating you* as Castor and Hercules are *adored* by grateful Greece.

That you may long live, great prince, to bless Italy with peace and prosperity ‡, is our first prayer in the morning, when we are sober; and our last in the evening, when mellow.

* Trees. † Returns joyful to wine. ‡ Give Italy long holidays.

NOTES.

by this resemblance, in such a manner as to pronounce those illegitimate in whom no similitude could be observed. And this sentiment seems to have been very ancient; for Hesiod represents it as one of the great felicities of a people, that their wives had children who resembled them. And this was what made Theocritus say, that the heart of a woman who did not regard her husband, ran perpetually after her lover, and that her children might be easily known, for that they did not in the least resemble her husband.

25. *Quis Parthum paveat.*] Augustus had either pacified, or brought into subjection, the east, the north, and the west. The east is marked by the Parthians, the north by the Scythians and Germans, and the west by Spain.

29. *Condit quisque diem.*] *Condere diem,* (as in Virgil, *condere soles)* is properly to bury the day; that is, to finish it, to pass it wholly; and is a metaphor taken from the burial of human bodies. Plautus says, in a similar manner, *comburere diem*, because bodies were burnt; and a finished day is sometimes called *dies mortuus.*

35. *Uti Græcia Castoris, et magni memor.*] This passage is commonly misunderstood. We ought not to join *memor* with *Herculis*; on the contrary, they should be separated, and the construction run thus: *Uti Græcia memor miscet Diis nomen Castoris et Herculis.* Castor and Hercules held the same rank among the Greeks as the *Lares* among the Romans. They were called *conservatores*, and *Dii communes.*

ODE VI.

Some commentators have thought that this was a secular poem; but they are certainly very much deceived; and they might easily have avoided this mistake, if they had observed that the poet himself never speaks in the secular poem. This is a rule without any exception. This ode therefore is a kind of preparation to the secular poem which finishes the fifth book, and conse-

AD APOLLINEM.

Divæ, quem proles Niobea magnæ
Vindicem linguæ, Tityosque raptor
Sensit, et Trojæ prope victor altæ
Phthius Achilles,
Cæteris major, tibi miles impar;
Filius quamvis Thetidos marinæ
Dardanas turres quateret tremendâ
Cuspide pugnax.
Ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
Pinus, aut impulsa cupressus Euro,
Procidit latè, posuitque collum in
Pulvere Teucro.
Ille non, inclusus equo Minervæ
Sacra mentito, malè feriatos
Troas, et lætam Priami choreis
Falleret aulam;

ORDO.

O Dive, quem proles Niobea, Tityosque raptor, et Phthius Achilles prope victor altæ Trojæ, sensit vindicem magnæ linguæ, major cæteris, miles impar tibi; quamvis filius Thetidos marinæ quateret Dardanas turres pugnax tremenda cuspide. Ille, velut pinus icta mordaci ferro, aut cupressus impulsa Euro, late procidit, posuitque collum in pulvere Teucro.

Ille non inclusus equo mentito sacra Minervæ, falleret male feriatos Troas, et aulam Priami lætam choreis; sed palam gravis

NOTES.

1. *Proles Niobea.*] Niobe was the daughter of Tantalus and Eurianasse, the wife of Amphion. The number and beauty of her children were the occasion of her misfortunes. She had the vanity to prefer herself to Latona, who had only two. The goddess had recourse to Apollo and Diana, who slew all the children of Niobe. This unfortunate mother discovered as much weakness in her adversity, as she had shown arrogance in her prosperity. Overwhelmed with grief, she drowned herself in tears, and at last obtained of the gods to be changed into a rock. Dacier is of opinion that the transformation of

ODE VI.

quently is on the same subject as the twenty-first ode of the first book, but has more of majesty and strength in it. Horace requests Apollo to hear favourably the prayers that were to be offered up to him by the choirs of young boys and young girls, and exhorts these to sing well, and observe exactly the measure and cadence.

TO APOLLO.

GREAT god, who mad'st the children of Niobe feel that thou wast a severe avenger of *the affront given thee by* their mother's opprobrious tongue, who punished'st *the great presumption* of the ravisher Tityus, and humbled'st *haughty* Achilles himself, on the point of taking Troy, *for his insolence;* this hero, though the most valiant of the Greeks, the son of Thetis goddess of the sea, *he* who made such a furious attack on Troy, as to make its very towers to shake, was yet an unequal match for thee: *for*, like a pine cut down by a keen axe, or a cypress rooted up by the east-wind, thus fell his huge body, which lay extended in Trojan dust.

This great warrior would have disdained to be shut up in the famous horse that was feigned to be a sacrifice to Minerva, or to surprise the unhappy Trojans and court of Priam in the midst of their

NOTES.

Niobe had its rise from the history of Lot's wife, who was changed into a pillar of salt.

3. *Trojæ prope victor altæ.*] Horace here accuses Achilles of having spoken insolently to Apollo; and he had, without doubt, in view, that passage of the Iliad, where Achilles says;

"Thou hast deceived me, Apollo, who art "the most wicked of all the gods; but thou "shalt not go unpunished, if I have it in "my power to take revenge." This is one of the places of Homer, which Plato blames in the third book of his Republic.

13. *Ille non, inclusus equo.*] Never was there a greater encomium made upon Achilles than Horace has given him in the eight following verses. If that hero had lived, the Greeks had not been reduced to the shameful necessity of employing artifice in order to effect the destruction of Troy; they would have taken the city in broad day-light, and reduced it to ashes, without sparing either women or children. There is a great deal of majesty in this passage, but what more especially merits our attention is, that Horace does not here speak what was barely suggested to him by an enthusiastic imagination; he speaks according to the truth of history; for he had in view that celebrated dispute between Achilles and Ulysses at the table of Agamemnon, after the death of Hector. They were deliberating upon the means to be used for the taking of Troy, whether they should attempt it by cunning, or should continue to employ force. Ulysses was of opinion they should have recourse to stratagem. but Achilles opposed it, and, speaking of stratagem with contempt, declared it to be

Sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas, heu!
Nescios fari pueros Achivis
Ureret flammis, etiam latentes
Matris in alvo;
Ni, tuis victus Venerisque gratæ
Vocibus, Divûm pater annuisset
Rebus Æneæ potiore ductos
Alite muros.
Doctor argutæ fidicen Thaliæ,
Phœbe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Dauniæ defende decus Camenæ,
Levis Agyieu.
Spiritum Phœbus mihi, Phœbus artem
Carminis, nomenque dedit poetæ.
Virginum primæ, puerique claris
Patribus orti,
Deliæ tutela Deæ, fugaces
Lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
Lesbium servate pedem, meique
Pollicis ictum;
Rite Latonæ puerum canentes,
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
Prosperam frugum, celeremque pronos
Volvere menses.

ORDO.

captis, heu nefas, heu! ureret pueros nescios fari Achivis flammis, etiam latentes in alvo matris; ni pater Divûm, victus vocibus gratæ Veneris tuisque, annuisset rebus Æneæ muros ductos potiore alite.

O Phœbe, doctor fidicen argutæ Thaliæ, qui lavis crines amne Xantho, levis Agyieu, defende decus Dauniæ camenæ.

Phœbus dedit spiritum mihi, Phœbus *dedit* artem carminis nomenque poetæ.

Vos igitur primæ virginum, puerique orti claris patribus, tutela Deliæ Deæ cohibentis fugaces lyncas et cervos arcu, servate Lesbium pedem ictumque mei pollicis, rite canentes puerum Latonæ, rite *canentes Dianam* Noctilucam crescentem face, prosperam frugum, celeremque volvere menses pronos.

NOTES.

his opinion and advice, that they should go on with open force, and in broad day attack Troy by continual assaults, until it should be constrained to surrender.

13. *Equo Minervæ sacra mentito.*] The Greeks, wearied out with the length of the siege, caused to be built a wooden horse, which they filled with the flower of their army, and pretended to consecrate it to Minerva. Our readers probably know the manner in which that horse was received into the city, by which means it was taken. Many of the ancients look upon this as no more than a fiction, which they have differently endeavoured to account for. Some say that the horse was a warlike machine, used in battering the walls. Others think that the gate which Antenor opened to the Greeks, had above it the figure of a horse. See the prose translation of Virgil, note on the 15th line of book 2d.

21. *Ni, tuis victus Venerisque gratæ.*] Horace here says, that Jupiter, suffering himself to be prevailed upon by the entreaties of

dances and ill-timed rejoicings; but would have openly attacked and defeated the enemy, and (what cannot be mentioned without the utmost horror) would have committed the innocent children to the flames, even those in their mothers' wombs, had not Jupiter *, prevailed on by your prayers, and those of charming Venus, favoured Æneas' designs, and consented that the adventurers should *go elsewhere, and* build another city under more lucky auspices.

Divine Apollo, who presidest over the concerts of the Muses, who takest great pleasure to bathe thy *golden* locks in the Xanthus, and to whom so many altars are consecrated, please to support the honour of a Latin muse.

To Phœbus I owe any genius I have for poetry, any art I have in composing a poem, and that I ever deserved the name of a poet.

Do ye then, select virgins, and ye youths descended from the *most* illustrious families *of Rome*, who are under the protection of Diana, whose arrows overtake the swiftest lynxes and the fleetest deers, carefully observe the cadence of my Sapphic verse, and *with your voices* keep time with my lyre, singing with solemnity the son of Latona, and also Diana, who makes her crescent to shine, who is so favourable to the fruits of the earth, and regulates the course of the revolving months.

* The father of the gods.

NOTES.

Apollo and Venus, resolved upon the death of Achilles, that Æneas might have a better chance of escaping, and might have it in his power to go and build, in some other part of the world, a city that should have a happier fate than Troy. This nice and delicate piece of praise could not but be very agreeable to the Romans.

26. *Qui Xantho lavis amne crines.*] The ancients usually washed their hair in the rivers and fountains, no doubt because they imagined that such ablution served to give it a more beautiful and shining colour. This gave rise to the phrase, He washes his hair in such a river, instead of, He inhabits the country watered by that river; as, To drink of the water of the Rhone, was used in the same sense.

28. *Agyieu.*] *Agyia* is a Greek word signifying the streets of cities. Apollo was called *Agyieus*, that is, *viæ præpositus;* and, on this account, the Greeks erected altars and statues to his honour in their streets, and before the doors of their houses.

31. *Virginum primæ.*] The two choruses consisted of twenty-seven boys and as many girls, who were chosen from the most eminent families in Rome, and each of whom had a father and mother living.

33. *Deliæ tutela Deæ.*] Diana presided at the birth, and over the education, of children; and they continued under her protection till marriage; whence in Catullus they are represented as saying,

Dianæ sumus in fide
Puellæ et pueri integri.

Deliæ, because Diana was born at Delos.

35. *Lesbium servate pedem.*] He calls *Pes Lesbius* the measure of the verses of his secular poem, which are Sapphic, as are also those of this ode, and which were invented by Alcæus and Sappho, who were of Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos.

Nupta jam dices; Ego Dîs amicum,
Seculo festas referente luces,
Reddidi carmen, docilis modorum
Vatis Horatî.

ORDO.

Jam nupta dices, "Ego, docilis modorum vatis Horatii, reddidi carmen amicum Dis, sæculo referente luces festas."

NOTES.

41. *Nupta jam dices.*] The Romans believed that the young girls who had the honour of singing the secular poem, would be the sooner married upon that account; and

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ODE VII.

The subject of this ode is very natural and simple, and almost the same with that of Ode Fourth, Book First; but that does not prevent it from being treated here in a manner very noble, and altogether new. The comparison of these two odes may be of great service to those who would form themselves to imitation; at least we may be convinced, that the same subject can

AD TORQUATUM.

Diffugere nives; redeunt jam gramina campis,
Arboribusque comæ:
Mutat terra vices; et decrescentia ripas
Flumina prætereunt.
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
Ducere nuda choros.
Immortalia ne speres, monet annus, et almum
Quæ rapit hora diem.
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris: ver proterit æstas,
Interitura, simul
Pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox
Bruma recurrit iners.
Damna tamen celeres reparant cœlestia lunæ:
Nos ubi decidimus

ORDO.

Nives diffugere; gramina jam redeunt campis, comæque arboribus: terra mutat vices; et decrescentia flumina prætereunt ripas.

Gratia nuda audet ducere choros cum nymphis geminisque sororibus. Annus et hora quæ rapit almum diem monet ne speres immortalia.

Frigora mitescunt Zephyris: æstas proterit ver, interitura simul pomifer autumnus effuderit fruges, et mox iners bruma recurrit.

Tamen celeres lunæ reparant cœlestia damna: ubi nós *vero* decidimus, quo pius Æneas,

Soon, when married, each of you will with pleasure say; "I had "the honour, at the solemn annual festival, to bear a part in the "sacred hymn composed by Horace, to which the gods were "pleased to lend a favourable ear."

NOTES.

this superstition they had derived from the theology of the Greeks, who imagined that the children who did not sing and dance at the arrival of Apollo were never married, but died very young. Callimachus, in the hymn to Apollo, says, "When Apollo arrives, the "youth must not allow either their harp or "feet to remain at rest, if they desire ever "to be married, or to arrive at an extreme "old age."

ODE VII.

furnish a great variety of thoughts and expressions, and that a genius so fruitful as that of Horace, may continually draw new treasures from funds that seem already exhausted. It is impossible to determine at what time it was written.

TO TORQUATUS.

THE snows are gone; the fields begin to look green again, and leaves appear upon the trees: the earth changes its face; and the rivers, shrinking *to their ordinary channel*, glide gently along their banks.

The Graces, in a negligent dress, begin now to dance in company with the Nymphs. The vicissitudes of the year, and the hours which by their rapid course bring the smiling day soon to a period, warn us that we are not to expect immortality here.

The cold *of winter* is softened by the *mild* spring-winds; summer follows close on the spring, but the summer must give place *in its turn* as soon as the autumn appears, which loads us with its fruits; and then the winter, however slow it may seem, succeeds the autumn.

Yet the fleet moons repair the loss of the agreeable seasons, *by renewing them every year:* but we, when once arrived at the me-

NOTES.

1. *Diffugere nives.*] Horace does not intend here to give a description of the spring, but to make Torquatus sensible that every thing we see puts us in mind that one time or other we must undergo death. He lays before him the manifest changes that happen in nature, and the vicissitudes of the seasons, in which he follows the principles of Anacreon, and the philosophers of that sect, who imagined that the remembrance of death was the most urgent motive to engage men in the pursuit of pleasure.

Quò pius Æneas, quò Tullus dives, et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra sumus.
Quis scit an adjiciant hodiernæ crastina summæ
Tempora Dî superi?
Cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
Quæ dederis animo.
Cùm semel occideris, et de te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria,
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas:
Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
Liberat Hippolytum,
Nec Lethæa valet Theseus abrumpere caro
Vincula Pirithoo.

ORDO.

dives Tullus, et Ancus *deciderunt*, sumus pulvis et umbra.—Quis scit an Di superi adjiciant crastina tempora summæ hodiernæ? Cuncta quæ dederis amico animo fugient avidas manus hæredis.

Torquate, cum semel occideris, et Minos fecerit splendida arbitria de te, non genus, non facundia te, non pietas te restituet. Neque enim Diana liberat pudicum Hippolytum, nec Theseus valet dirumpere Lethæa vincula caro Pirithoo.

NOTES.

13. *Damna cœlestia.*] A beautiful expression, but so difficult that the greater part of commentators have avoided to explain the passage. Horace calls the seasons *Damna*, because, by a constant succession, they seem to destroy each other; and he adds the epithet *cœlestia*, because, in proportion as the heaven changes, it seems to sustain some loss, and time robs it of that which it destroys. The moon repairs these losses, because, by renewing the months, it hastens the return of the seasons, and thus restores what it had taken away.

14. *Nos ubi decidimus.*] The seasons return, and are renewed; but men, when they once die, never return. Moschus says in his third idyllium upon the death of Bion: "Alas! we see that the flowers of our gardens grow and shoot up again every year; "but we, the master-piece of Heaven, who "alone are endowed with wisdom and prudence, are soon laid in our graves, and have "no farther concern with what passes upon "earth, but are buried in an eternal sleep."

15. *Quò Tullus dives.*] Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, was so rich, that he divided among those who had no property in land, a large field, which was the inheritance

lancholy abode of pious Æneas, rich Tullus, and *brave* Ancus, become dust and shade, *and appear no more.*

Who knows if the gods will add another day to this we now enjoy? *Of all the good things you possess,* dear Torquatus, nothing shall escape the hands of your covetous heir, but what you now lay out upon your pleasures.

When death once seizes you, and Minos has, by his solemn sentence, publicly assigned you your abode, neither your quality, your eloquence, nor your piety, shall rescue you *from the grave;* for Diana herself could not bring her chaste *and beloved* Hippolytus to life again, nor was Theseus ever able to break the chains wherewith his dear Pirithöus is bound.

NOTES.

of the crown, saying, that his patrimony was sufficient to furnish the sacrifices, and the expenses of his own house.

17. *Quis scit.*] This is another motive to induce Torquatus to neglect nothing that might contribute to the pleasure and happiness of life. It is even stronger than the foregoing; for, to tell a man that he must some time or other die, is not so effectual to make him seize the present opportunity, as to tell him, that he is not sure of a day.

21. *Splendida arbitria.*] Very few commentators have given a right explication of these words. Heinsius thinks that they are the same with judgements full of majesty and gravity; but the true meaning is solemn judgements, decrees pronounced in full assembly, from which there lies no appeal. Horace here regards the character of Minos as sovereign judge, who pronounced final sentence.

23. *Torquate.* This Torquatus was the son of L. Manlius Torquatus, who was consul during the year in which Horace was born, and whose marriage is celebrated by Catullus in an epithalamium which still remains.

25. *Infernis neque enim tenebris.*] In the time of Horace the Romans offered sacrifices that were common to Diana and Hippolytus, whom they believed to have been restored to life by Æsculapius at the entreaty of that goddess; but our poet, who was not naturally too credulous, laughs at that superstition.

27. *Nec Lethæa valet Theseus.*] What Horace says here of Hippolytus contradicts the fable, and what he adds concerning Theseus and Pirithous, seems to destroy his own reasoning; because, if Theseus was not able to rescue Pirithous, yet Hercules delivered Theseus: but one sentence is sufficient to make this difficulty vanish, and I wonder that no one has hitherto thought of it. Horace speaks throughout this whole ode as an Epicurean; for according to Epicurus a resurrection was impossible; and of consequence all the popular opinions concerning Theseus, Hippolytus, and many others, who were said to have returned from the regions below, were looked upon by his followers as mere chimeras.

ODE VIII.

A good poet possesses a talent that always enables him to return the good offices he receives from his generous friends. Horace had apparently received some present from Censorinus. In return he addresses this ode to him.

AD MARCIUM CENSORINUM.

Donarem pateras, grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis ærâ sodalibus;
Donarem tripodas, præmia fortium
Graiorum; neque tu pessima munerum
Ferres, divite me scilicet artium
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit, aut Scopas;
Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus,
Solers nunc hominem ponere, nunc Deum.
Sed non hæc mihi vis; non tibi talium
Res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
Gaudes carminibus: carmina possumus
Donare, et pretium dicere muneri.
Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus; non celeres fugæ,

ORDO.

O Censorine, *ego* commodus donarem pateras, grataque æra meis sodalibus; donarem *etiam* tripodas prænia fortium Graiorum; neque tu ferres pessima munerum, scilicet me divite artium quas aut Parrhasius aut Scopas protulit; hic *solers* saxo, ille solers liquidis coloribus, nunc ponere hominem, nunc Deum. Sed hæc vis non *est* mihi. Non tibi res aut animus est egens talium deliciarum.

Gaudes carminibus, possumus dare carmina et dicere pretium muneri. Non marmora incisa notis publicis, per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis ducibus post mortem; non celeres fugæ, minæque Annibalis rejectæ re-

NOTES.

1. *Donarem.*] We are to regard this ode as a present which the poet makes to Censorinus on one of the days of the festival of the Saturnalia; during which time it was common among the Romans to send some present to their friends. It is in this sense that we are to understand the word *donarem*.

1. *Pateras.*] A cup was a present usually made to some great commander of an army; witness that which was given to Amphitryon, Plaut. act. 1. v. 104. *Post ob virtutem hero Amphitryoni patera donata aurea est, quâ Pterelas potitare rex solitus est.*

"Afterwards they made a present to my "master of a cup of gold, out of which king "Pterelas used to drink." Scipio, in like manner, gave one of them to Masinissa, Liv. I. 30. *Masinissam primum Regem appellatum, eximiisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, &c. donat.*

ODE VIII.

which was all the acknowlegement in his power to make; and Censorinus was well satisfied with it. It is written in a very noble and majestic style, and runs entirely on the praises of poetry.

TO MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

Censorinus, I would cheerfully present my friends with cups, and curious vases of brass; I would give them tripods, the *usual* reward of the valiant Greeks; nor should the presents I would make you be the least in point of value, had I a cabinet enriched with the master-pieces either of Parrhasius or Scopas; the one a celebrated statuary, the other a curious painter, *equally* inimitable in representing sometimes a man, sometimes a god.

But I am not so rich, *and it is fortunate for me* that you are so well provided with such curiosities that you wish for no more.

You love poetry, *I know:* with that I can gratify you, and show its worth *and use: for* neither marble statues, with pompous inscriptions, which *seem to* restore breath and life to illustrious generals *some years* after their death, nor the precipitate flight of Han-

NOTES.

1. *Commodus.*] This word should be joined with *donarem*, *donarem commodus*, I would give willingly, cheerfully.

2. *Censorine.*] This is C. Marcius Censorinus, who was consul with Asinius Gallus in the 745th year of the city. He died about eight years after Horace. Velleius Paterculus speaks of the regret occasioned by his death in very strong terms; *Obiisse Censorinum graviter tulit civitas, virum demerendis hominibus genitum.*

6. *Parrhasius.*] He was a celebrated painter, born at Ephesus, cotemporary with Zeuxis, who lived about four hundred years before Christ. Pliny says of him: *Primus symmetriam picturæ dedit, primus argutias vultus, elegantiam capilli, venustatem oris, confessione artificum in lineis extremis palam adeptus. Hæc est in pictura summa subtilitas.*

8. *Nunc hominem ponere, nunc Deum.*] Parrhasius had painted a Theseus. He had also painted in the same picture Meleager, Hercules, and Perseus; and in another, Æneas, Castor, and Pollux. Scopas had made a statue of a Venus, a Phaeton, an Apollo, a Vesta, &c. and the greatest part of these statues and pictures were at Rome. To these representations the poet happily alludes.

10. *Aut animus.*] Horace does not here say to Censorinus that he has no taste for statues or pictures; that would have been a reproach which had but ill agreed with what he says immediately before, that he was well provided with them, *Nec tibi est animus egens talium deliciarum.* You are not covetous of these possessions, you are content with what you have, and desire no more. For the insatiable covetousness to which Horace here refers is a great defect of the mind.

Rejectæque retrorsum Annibalis minæ;
Non impendia Carthaginis impiæ,
Ejus, qui domitâ nomen ab Africâ
Lucratus rediit, clariùs indicant
Laudes, quàm Calabræ Pierides: neque,
Si chartæ sileant quod bene feceris,
Mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliæ
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
Obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Æacum
Virtus, et favor, et lingua potentium
Vatum, divitibus consecrat insulis.
Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori;
Cœlo Musa beat. Sic Jovis interest
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules;
Clarum Tyndaridæ sidus ab infimis
Quassas eripiunt æquoribus rates;
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino,
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

ORDO.

trorsum; non impendia Carthaginis impiæ, clarius indicant laudes ejus, qui rediit lucratus nomen ab Africa domita, quam Calabræ Pierides: neque, si chartæ sileant, *tu* tuleris mercedem quod bene feceris. Quid foret puer Iliæ Mavortisque, si invida taciturnitas obstaret meritis Romuli? Virtus et favor, et lingua potentium vatum, consecrat insulis divitibus Æacum ereptum Stygiis fluctibus.

Musa vetat virum dignum laude mori; *eumque* musa beat cœlo. Sic impiger Hercules interest optatis epulis Jovis; *sic* Tyndaridæ, clarum sidus, eripiunt quassas rates ab infimis æquoribus; *sic* Liber, ornatus tempora viridi pampino, ducit vota *supplicantium* ad bonos exitus.

NOTES.

16. *Rejectæque retrorsum.*] Ancient interpreters take *minæ rejectæ retrorsum* simply for *remotæ, pro nihilo ductæ*; but Horace had in view that, Scipio passing into Africa, Hannibal was obliged to follow him, and employ in the defence of his own country all the forces wherewith he had threatened Italy; hence Horace says *rejectæ retrorsum*. Possibly he had in his eye that passage of Livy, where Hannibal says to Scipio, *Hic cernis me ante mœnia prope obsessæ patriæ, quibus terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea deprecantem.*

17. *Non impendia Carthaginis impiæ.*] Many manuscripts and editions have *incendia*. Now it is certain, that the Scipio of whom Ennius sang was not he who destroyed and burnt Carthage, but he that laid it under tribute; which historical fact is attested by the

nibal, forced to return whence he came after all his menaces, nor impious Carthage made tributary *to Rome*, so loudly proclaim the praises of that *hero* who, by conquering Africa, acquired the glorious surname *of Africanus*, as the Calabrian muses; nor would your virtue ever meet with its just reward, were it not for poetry. What would, by this time, have become of the very name of Romulus, the son of Ilia and Mars, if silence, jealous of his glory, had buried all his brave actions in oblivion? It was the strength *of numbers*, the credit of great poets, and the harmony *and merit* of their verses, that rescued Æacus from the Stygian lake, and placed him in the blessed islands, where he is adored as a god.

The muses forbid the man to die who truly merits praise, and give him a place among the happy in heaven. Thus laborious Hercules has a seat at Jupiter's table, which he much longed for; thus Castor and Pollux*, those bright constellations, rescue the ships shattered *by a storm* from the bosom of the deep; and thus Bacchus, always adorned with a vine-branch, brings the desires of those who own his power, to a happy issue.

* The sons of Tyndarus.

NOTES.

tribune Titus Sempronius Gracchus, though an enemy of Scipio. See Tit. Liv. L. 38. C. 53: so that those who read *incendia*, make Horace confound not only time in referring to the second Punic war what did not happen before the third, but also confound persons, in referring to the great Scipio what was done fifty years afterwards by Scipio Æmilianus.

25. *Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Æacum.*] He says that the poets have a power to rescue men from oblivion, and enrol them among the gods; that by their credit Æacus holds a very honourable place in the Elysian fields; that Hercules is, by them, seated at the table of Jupiter; Castor and Pollux are appointed to guard from shipwreck vessels when attacked by a storm; and Bacchus hears the vows of those who invoke him. Thus he gives us to understand what kind of assent people of good sense gave to those fables, of which their theology was full.

26. *Virtus.*] He does not here mean *virtus Æaci*, the virtue of Æacus, but *virtus vatum.*

34. *Vota bonos ducit ad exitus.*] We ought to take particular notice of this expression. Instead of saying simply, *Bacchus deus est*, he says, *Ducit vota hominum ad bonos exitus:* for vows were addressed only to the gods. This is what Virgil says to Daphnis in his fifth eclogue;

—— *Damnabis tu quoque votis.*

The meaning is, "You shall hear the vows "of men, and thereby oblige them to make "acknowledgement, and acquit themselves "of their vows."

ODE IX.

Horace raises his voice to the highest pitch, in order to sing the praises of a hero, wise, upright, disinterested, and faithful to his country. Yet, who would believe it? the subject of all this praise was a base, covetous, effeminate traitor. Is this therefore a downright flattery in the poet, or is it by way of irony? Neither the one, nor the other, is the case. Lollius was a double deceitful man, and had hitherto appeared only in a favourable light. No wonder then that Horace was deceived; Augustus himself was so at the same time. Those who are acquainted with courts, are not ignorant that characters of this kind are very common. Deceived by an appearance of

AD LOLLIUM.

Ne fortè credas interitura, quæ
Longè sonantem natus ad Aufidum,
Non antè vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis.
Non, si priores Mæonius tenet
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricæ latent,
Ceæque, et Alcæi minaces,
Stesichorique graves Camenæ:

ORDO.

O Lolli, ne forte credas verba interitura quæ *ego* natus ad Aufidum longe sonantem loquor socianda chordis, per artes non ante vulgatas.

Si Mæonius Homerus tenet priores sedes, Pindaricæ, Ceæque, et *Camenæ* Alcæi minaces, gravesque Camenæ Stesichori non ideo latent: nec ætas delevit, si quid Anacreon

NOTES.

1. *Ne forte credas.*] This first part consists of twelve verses. In it he combats two prejudices equally unjust and disadvantageous to authors: the first is, when judgement is made of the merit of a poet from the country in which he was born; the second, when a poet is undervalued who has not arrived at the utmost perfection of his art. It is very improper to determine in this manner. There is no country but what may produce excellent geniuses; and, among the unequal talents that poets are possessed of, a candid judge will find different degrees of merit, all worthy of esteem.

2. *Longè sonantem natus ad Aufidum.*] Horace was of Apulia, which was watered by this river, now called Offanto. As it was a very savage and unpolished country, quite a stranger to poetry and poets, Horace makes express mention of it, to destroy the disadvantageous prejudices which the place of his nativity might raise against his works, and, at the same time, procure the greater honour to himself: for it was very wonderful, that such a country as this, unknown to Apollo and the muses, should give birth to a poet, whose verses have been judged worthy of immortality, and will, in all probability, find it. This, in my opinion, is the true sense of the passage.

5. *Non, si priores Mæonius tenet.*] Although Homer was the greatest of all poets, and most

ODE IX.

probity, we offer up our incense to them; yet can we not be said to be imposed upon. The virtue, whose mask they carry, is the only object of our regard and homage. This ode consists of three eulogiums; the first in favour of his verse; the second of poetry in general; and the third of Lollius. All these are valuable, though some may think that the poet is too long in coming to his hero. We must necessarily fix the date of this ode between the year 738, when Lollius defeated the Germans, and 746, which was the last of Horace.

TO LOLLIUS.

Do not imagine, Lollius, because I was born near the river Aufidus, *whose rolling streams are* heard at a great distance, that the poems I compose and sing on my lyre, an art which I first taught the Romans, will be sunk in oblivion.

Though Homer is the prince of poets, yet Pindar and Simonides, the threatening strains of Alcæus, and the grave *and majestic* lines of Stesichorus, are still read with pleasure; nor has time been able to

NOTES.

worthy of a serious perusal; we may read also, with great pleasure, Alcæus, Simonides, Anacreon, Pindar, and Sappho. Horace means, that though these last had not attained the utmost perfection of their art, their verses were worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity.

5. *Mæonius.*] Horace always calls Homer *Mæonian*, that is, Lydian; by which we learn, that he followed the opinion of those who thought he was of Smyrna. Theocritus and Simonides, whose testimony is yet more considerable, say, that he was of Chios. Theocritus calls him the Chian Bard, and Simonides, the Man of Chios.

6. *Pindaricæ latent.*] The great idea Horace had of Pindar, does not prevent him from doing justice to Homer, and allowing him the superiority; nor does his veneration of Homer preclude his acknowledging Pindar's merit, and giving him the praises which he deserved. It is to be wished, that mankind would now judge with the same equity both of the one and the other. It is certain they would be admired, were they but rightly understood.

7. *Ceæ Camenæ.*] The muses of Ceos, that is, the works of Simonides, who was of Ceos, an island in the Ægean sea.

7. *Alcæi minaces.*] He calls the muses of Alcæus, *minaces*, because he wrote against the tyrants, of whom he was a great enemy. His style is noble and strong, and marks admirably the qualities of his soul and courage.

8. *Stesichori graves Camenæ.*] Stesichorus was of Himera, a city of Sicily; his style was majestic and copious, whence Horace calls his verses *graves*; which agrees very well with the character Quintilian has given of him, cap. 10. lib. 1. *Stesichorus quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et Epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem: reddit enim personis in agendo simul loquendoque debitam dignitatem, ac, si tenuisset modum, videtur æmulari proximus Homerum potuisse, sed redundat atque effunditur, quod ut est reprehendendum, ita copiæ vitium est.*

Nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit ætas: spirat adhuc amor,
Vivuntque commissi calores
Æoliæ fidibus puellæ.
Non sola comtos arsit adulteri
Crines, et aurum vestibus illitum
Mirata, regalesque cultus,
Et comites, Helene Lacæna;
Primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
Direxit arcu: non semel Ilios
Vexata: non pugnavit ingens
Idomeneus Sthenelusque solus
Dicenda Musis prœlia: non ferox
Hector, vel acer Deiphobus, graves
Excepit ictus pro pudicis
Conjugibus puerisque primus.

ORDO.

lusit olim: amor Æoliæ puellæ adhuc spirat, caloresque commissi fidibus vivunt.

Helene Lacæna non sola arsit mirata comptos crines adulteri, et aurum illitum vestibus, regalesque cultus, et comites; Teucerve primus direxit tela Cydonio arcu: Ilios non semel vexata est: non solus ingens Idomeneus Sthenelusve pugnavit prœlia dicenda musis: ferox Hector vel acer Deiphobus non primus excepit graves ictus pro pudicis conjugibus puerisque.

NOTES.

"The force of Stesichorus' genius appears "from the subject he treats; for he sings of "dreadful wars, and the most celebrated "commanders, and sustains with his harp "all the weight and majesty of an epic "poem. He makes the heroes act and speak "with a dignity becoming their character; "and had he known how to moderate his "genius and vivacity, none would have ap- "proached nearer to Homer; but he is too "diffusive and incapable to sustain himself, "which is really a fault, but a fault proceed- "ing from too great an abundance."

10. *Spirat adhuc amor.*] This passage ought to be construed in the following manner; *Amor Æoliæ puellæ spirat adhuc, et ejus calores commissi fidibus.* There are only two odes of Sappho which have escaped the ruins of time; but they are sufficient to make us sensible of this truth, that her love still survives in her verse. This turn of Horace seems to me charming, and the eulogium he bestows on her works great and noble. She was of Mitylene, a city of the Æolians.

14. *Et aurum vestibus illitum.*] The Phrygians were the first inventors of embroidery, whence embroiderers were called *Phrygiones*, the art of embroidery, *ars Phrygionia*, and embroidered habits, *vestes acupictæ, vestes Phrygiæ.* Ovid, in his epistle of Laodamia, thus speaks of the magnificence of Paris:

Venerat, ut fama est, multo spectabilis auro,
Quique suo Phrygias corpore ferret opes.

16. *Comites.*] When Paris sailed for Lacedemon, he had not only a great number of vassals, but was accompanied by several princes, who each brought along with them a numerous train. Ovid, in the same epistle, observes,

Classe virisque potens, per quæ fera bella geruntur,
Et sequitur regni pars quota quemque sui.

destroy the wanton airs that Anacreon sang many years ago. Sappho's amorous songs still breathe her soft passion, and her ardent love seems *even* now to move the strings of her lute.

Helen, that *charming* Lacedemonian *princess*, is not the only lady that has been captivated with the beautiful locks, the magnificent dress, royal equipage and *splendor of the* court of an adulterous prince; nor was Teucer the first that sent unerring shafts from a Cydonian bow: Troy has been besieged more than once; there are others besides brave Idomeneus and Sthenelus that have fought battles worthy of being celebrated by the muses. Bold Hector and stern Deiphobus are not the first who have received mortal wounds in fighting for their country*.

* Chaste wives and children.

NOTES.

17. *Cydonio arcu.*] The Cydonian bow, that is, the Cretan; for Cydon was one of the principal cities of that isle, which was stored with the best canes for arrows, and the best wood for bows; which is the reason that the bows and arrows of Crete were so much spoken of by the ancients.

16. *Helene Lacæna.*] This word *Lacæna*, Lacedemonian, makes all the beauty of these four lines; for by means of this single epithet, Horace gives a reason for the surprise and admiration raised in Helen upon seeing the magnificence and pompous equipage of Paris; for the Lacedæmonians were very simple in their habits, and great enemies to all expense. Ovid, in the letter of Paris to Helen, says,

Parca sed est Sparte; tu cultu divite digna:
Ad talem formam non facit iste locus.
Hanc faciem largis sine fine paratibus uti,
Deliciisque decet luxuriare novis.
Cum videas cultus nostra de gente virorum,
Qualem Dardanidas credis habere nurus?

See the prose-translation of Ovid's epistles.

"At Sparta they are too simple in their "habit, whereas you ought always to be "magnificently clothed. That place is far "from being advantageous to your beauty; "for as your form and appearance are so "graceful, you should be continually em- "ployed in adorning yourself, and setting off "your person by change of habit. When you "see the rich and magnificent dress of the "male part of our nation, what do you ima- "gine must that of the ladies be?"

18. *Non semel Ilios vexata.*] Troy had been twice besieged before the reign of Priam, first by Hercules, and then by the Amazons.

19. *Ingens.*] This epithet was commonly used to denote the size and stature of the body; but here it is employed to express the qualities of the soul, and greatness of the mind. Thus Horace says of Antiochus,

——*et ingentem Antiochum.* Ode 6. Lib. 3.

And Ovid addressing Livia, eleg. 3. b. 2. *de Ponto;*

Tu quoque conveniens ingenti nupta marito.

Idomeneus was the son of Deucalion, and grandson of Minos king of Crete. He was one of the bravest generals in the Grecian army.

22. *Graves excepit ictus.*] By these words, *graves ictus*, Horace explains the history of the death of Hector and Deiphobus. The former, after having received numberless wounds, was drawn thrice round the walls of Troy; and Deiphobus was cruelly handled by Menelaus, who ordered his nose, ears, and hands, to be cut off. He had married Helen after the death of his brother Paris, and she perfidiously gave him up to Menelaus her first husband, that she might thereby obtain the pardon of her crimes.

23. *Pro pudicis conjugibus puerisque.*] If Horace had expressed himself in this manner with regard to the wife of Deiphobus, he had been guilty of a very considerable error; for Deiphobus never had any wife but Helen,

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique, longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
Paulùm sepultæ distat inertiæ
Celata virtus. Non ego te meis
Chartis inornatum sileri,
Totve tuos patiar labores
Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones. Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens, et secundis
Temporibus dubiisque rectus;
Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ;
Consulque non unius anni,
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus
Judex honestum prætulit utili, et
Rejecit alto dona nocentium

ORDO.

Multi fortes vixere ante Agamemnona; sed omnes illachrymabiles ignotique urgentur longa nocte, quia carent vate sacro. Virtus celata paulum distat inertiæ sepultæ.

O Lolli, ego non patiar te sileri inornatum chartis meis, lividasque obliviones impune carpere tuos tot labores.

Animus est tibi, prudensque rerum, et rectus, secundis dubiisque temporibus; vindex *es* avaræ fraudis et abstinens pecuniæ ducentis cuncta ad se; consulque non unius anni, sed quoties judex bonus atque fidus prætulit honestum utili, et rejecit dona nocentium alto vultu, et victor explicuit arma sua per catervas obstantes.

NOTES.

whom he espoused after the death of his brother Paris. Almost every one knows that Helen could not, with justice, have been called *pudex conjux*, chaste, faithful, as she was the cause of her husband's death, and opened the door to Menelaus, who slew him in his bed. Besides, Deiphobus had not been long enough married to Helen to have any children by her. *Conjuges* therefore is here a general word signifying the ladies, as in the fourth ode of this book.

25. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*] Homer speaks very often of the exploits of Agamemnon; he extols to the skies his valour and prudence, and in one single verse gives him the highest eulogium that can be given to a king. He was at the same time a good king, and an excellent warrior.

33. *Lolli.*] We have already given the character of Lollius in the introduction to this ode, and therefore it will not be necessary to insist upon it here. Horace wrote this eulogium before he discovered what he really was.

37. *Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens.*] When we are too lavish of our praises of great men before their death, we are often exposed to the danger of being afterwards ashamed of those praises we have so liberally given them. Lollius so little deserved those which Horace here gives him, that he was one of the most covetous and vicious men in the world. But his covetousness and other vices were not known at the time when Horace wrote to him; he had taken care to conceal them under the mask of virtue, and had succeeded so well, that Augustus himself was deceived, and intrusted him with the education of his grandson. His true character was not known at Rome, till about eight years after the death of Horace. This appears manifestly by a passage of Velleius, who ought to be credited in an affair of which he had been witness. Speaking of the year in which Caius Cæsar

There were many brave generals before Agamemnon; but as they had no poet to immortalise their names, they are all *gone* unlamented, and buried in eternal oblivion. Valour, that lies concealed *unsung*, differs very little from cowardice that is lost *to fame.*

As for you, *dear* Lollius, I design to transmit your great character to posterity by my verses, nor will I suffer so glorious a succession of shining actions, as yours have been, to fall a prey to oblivion for want of being celebrated.

You are distinguished for your greatness of soul and consummate prudence in all your affairs, and for your steadiness of mind in adversity as well as prosperity. You are a mortal enemy to fraud and avarice, and proof against the charms of all-attracting gold. You did not hold the consulate *once*, and for the ordinary term of a year only, but *have executed that great office* as often as, acting the part of an impartial and incorrupt judge, you have sacrificed your interest to your duty, and rejected, with the utmost disdain,

NOTES.

had an interview with the king of the Parthians in an island of the Euphrates, viz. the year of the city 753, he says: *Quo tempore M. Lollii, quem veluti moderatorem juventæ filii sui Augustus esse voluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia, per Parthum indicata Cæsari, fama vulgavit.* "At that time the Parthian king discovered "to Cæsar the artful and perfidious designs "of Lollius, to whom Augustus had in- "trusted the education of his grandson." He adds, that Lollius died a few days after, not without some suspicion of suicide. This may serve to justify Horace.

39. *Consulque non unius anni.*] Lollius was consul in the year of the city 732. As his consulate lasted but one year, and as, according to the maxims of the Stoics, the wise and virtuous have always the most eminent charges, it not being in the power of the people to make them quit the marks of their dignity; Horace takes thence occasion to say, that Lollius had not been the consul of a single year, but all the time that he exercised his virtue. This passage evidently proves, that the ode was not written the very year that Lollius was consul, as the greater part of interpreters have thought, but a long time after. It now only remains that we examine the expression;

———*Est animus tibi*, &c.
Consulque non unius anni.

Torrentius thinks it admirable, because, says he, it is the mind which contributes to our true value, and makes us to be what we are. Dacier, on the contrary, thinks it highly blameable, and cannot endure *animus consul, animus rejecit alto vultu dona:* it is, according to him, a vicious affectation, which ought not to be excused. Bentley undertakes to defend it, and collects several examples, where all is ascribed to the mind that can be said of the person. *Animus contemtor, animus rex, animus rector, animus liberator, æstimator, deprecator, contemplator, admirator, speculator, censor*, &c. In answer to this, Dacier observes, that none of all these examples come up to *animus consul*; all these terms, whether proper or figurative, may very well be applied to the mind; but we can never, with any propriety, apply it to the names of offices and dignities, and *animus consul* can never be looked upon but as an expression very much out of the way.

40. *Sed quoties bonus atque fidus judex.*] Commentators are very much at a loss to know what could oblige Horace here to call the same person a judge, whom in another verse he had called consul, and at last have agreed upon this as the reason, because it was the duty of the consul to consult the good of the commonwealth, and to judge. Who doubts this? But they have very much misunderstood the passage. For Horace does not here speak of a person who is invested

Vultu, et per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.
Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Rectè beatum: rectiùs occupat
Nomen beati, qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Pejusque letho flagitium timet:
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patriâ timidus perire.

ORDO.

Non recte vocaveris beatum possidentem multa: rectiùs occupat nomen beati, qui callet sapienter uti muneribus Deorum, patique duram pauperiem, timetque flagitium pejus letho.

Ille non *erit* timidus perire pro caris amicis aut patria.

NOTES.

with any public office; on the contrary, he speaks of one who is out of charge, but who yet judges in the same manner as if he were a chief magistrate. Horace tells Lollius, that although the year of his consulship be expired, yet he still continues to exercise that office so long as he judges equitably, and prefers the *honestum* to the *utile*. And in this he follows the sentiments of the Stoics, who maintained that virtue never conferred the sceptre, the diadem, or the crown of laurel, but upon him who could regard heaps of gold with an unconcerned eye; and explains this great truth, that the wise man is not only then consul when the people are pleased to clothe him with that dignity, but that he exercises the high charge every time that he successfully uses the means which virtue affords for combating the passions. This is the same maxim which Horace explains in the second ode of the second book, and yet more precisely in the second ode of the third book, where he says of virtue,

Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.

It is in the same sense that Plutarch says, "Nature has designed man for rule, for a "perpetual rule." It is thus that Cicero proves, from the example of Scipio Nasica, that one endowed with true wisdom can never be a private man.

the offers of those who would have bribed you, triumphing over the crowd of opposers of justice, without displaying any other than your own virtues.

He that possesses great wealth is not, on that account, to be pronounced happy; he may, with more justice, be said to be so who makes a prudent use of the good things the gods have given him; who can patiently bear the difficulties of poverty, and is more afraid of doing a dishonourable action, than of death *itself.*

A man of this character will be always ready to sacrifice his life for his friends and his country.

NOTES.

43. *Per obstantes catervas.*] Through the midst of that crowd of enemies—so he calls our passions and the temptations that surround us.

44. *Sua arma.*] Reason, integrity, abstinence, disinterestedness, courage, and magnanimity. This is the true meaning, and nothing can be more evidently absurd than the explication of some, who take these expressions in a literal sense, and explain *obstantes catervas*, of the Spaniards, and *sua arma*, of the arms of the Romans, the army of Lælius, who knew so well how to disengage himself from his enemies.

45. *Non possidentem multa vocaveris recte beatum.*] This is founded upon the erroneous use of the word *beatus* among the Romans, who commonly applied it to a rich man; whereas the Stoics used it only to signify a man who was an entire master of his passions, and enjoyed a perfect liberty.

50. *Pejusque letho flagitium time.*] *Flagitium;* the shame which arises from the consciousness of having done a bad action. Horace had drawn this sentiment not only from the philosophy of the Stoics, but also from the precepts of Socrates, who, when dying, discovered evidently the strong persuasion he had, that the shame of having done any thing indecent or unjust, was more to be feared than death.

51. *Non ille pro caris amicis.*] This is a necessary consequence of the temper of mind before mentioned by Horace. A man who is less afraid of death than doing a shameful action, is always ready to lose his life for the sake of his country and friends, because it would be accounted base to refuse to die for their service.

ODE X.

Horace endeavours to soften the cruelty of young Ligurin, of whom he had been for some time enamoured; and, to come to his point, he does not amuse himself with making either complaints or reproaches, or even so much as speaking of his passion; he only tells us, by this example, that

AD LIGURINUM.

O crudelis adhuc, et Veneris muneribus potens,
Insperata tuæ cùm veniet pluma superbiæ,
Et, quæ nunc humeris involitant, deciderint comæ,
Nunc et qui color est puniceæ flore prior rosæ,
Mutatus Ligurinum in faciem verterit hispidam; 5
Dices, Heu, (quoties te speculo videris alterum)
Quæ mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ?

ORDO.

O *Ligurine*, adhuc crudelis et potens muneribus Veneris, cum insperata pluma veniet tuæ superbiæ, et comæ, quæ nunc involitant humeris, deciderint, et color, qui nunc prior est flore puniceæ rosæ, mutatus verterit Ligurinum in faciem hispidam, dices (quoties videris te alterum *in* speculo), "Heu, cur non "eadem mens fuit *mihi* puero, quæ est ho- "die? Vel cur his animis non redeunt genæ "incolumes?"

NOTES.

2. *Insperata tuæ cum veniet pluma superbiæ.*] Dacier is of opinion, that the interpreters of Horace have quite mistaken the meaning of this line. *Pluma*, according to him, signifies the same with wings, Horace imitating in this the style of the Greeks and eastern nations, who used to express themselves in this manner, when they wanted to

ODE X.

one day we may repent of having made so bad an use of our youth. The ode is very simple and natural, yet has a great delicacy and nobleness in the expressions. It was written some time after the first of the same book.

TO LIGURIN.

LIGURIN, still cruel, and proud of those graces wherewith Venus has favoured you, when that which makes you now so haughty and disdainful, shall unexpectedly leave you, when those beautiful locks, that now flow upon your shoulders, shall fall off, and, instead of that charming bloom on your cheeks, that outdoes the colour of the damask rose, there shall appear nothing but wrinkles, then will you be ready to cry out, as often as you view in your glass how much you are altered, "Ah, why was not I of the same mind when "young, that I am now? or why, with my present sentiments, "have not I the beauty I had when young?"

NOTES.

say that any thing was gone, or had disappeared. In this way of conceiving it, the passage is extremely beautiful: When your pride shall have taken wings, that is, when you shall have lost that which gave occasion to your pride, &c. which is very natural.

5. *Ligurinum in faciem verterit hispidam.*] Torrentius is of opinion that we ought to read, *Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam: verterit* for *verterit se;* which is not inconsistent with the Latin idiom. But we cannot say *color vertit se in faciem hispidam;* whereas, *color mutatus Ligurinum vertit in faciem hispidam,* is a very elegant way of speaking.

ODE XI.

Horace prays Phyllis to come and celebrate with him the birth-day of Mæcenas; and that nothing might disturb the joys of this happy day, he

AD PHYLLIDEM.

Est mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
Est ederæ vis
Multa, quâ crines religata fulges:
Ridet argento domus; ara, castis
Vincta verbenis, avet immolato
Spargier agno.
Cuncta festinat manus: huc et illuc
Cursitant mistæ pueris puellæ:
Sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes
Vertice fumum.
Ut tamen nôris quibus advoceris
Gaudiis; Idus tibi sunt agendæ,

ORDO.

O Phylli, est mihi cadus plenus *vini* Albani superantis annum nonum; est in horto apium nectendis coronis; est multa vis ederæ, quâ religata crines fulges; domus ridet argento; ara, vincta verbenis castis, avet spargier agno immolato. Cuncta manus festinat: puellæ mistæ pueris huc et illuc cursitant: flammæ trepidant rotantes sordidum fumum vertice.

Ut tamen noris quibus gaudiis advoceris; Idus sunt tibi agendæ, qui dies findit Aprilem mensem marinæ Veneris; *dies* jure

NOTES.

2. *Albani.*] We have formerly spoken of the city of Alba. The adjacent territory was in great reputation on account of its excellent vine-trees. Dionysius Halicarnassensis says in his first Book, that the wine of Alba was of an exquisite taste and pleasing colour, and that, Falernian excepted, it surpassed in goodness all others. Pliny, however, gives it only the third place among the wines of Italy.

3. *Phylli.*] I cannot determine whether this be the same Phyllis of whom mention is made, Book second, Ode fourth, which was written some years before this. If it be the same, she followed the advice of Horace, overcame the passion she had for Telephus, and about two years after married a young stranger, whose name was Xanthias Phoceus.

6. *Ridet argento domus.*] In Horace's time the Romans were very magnificent in their household-furniture, and expended a great deal of money on plate. They had tables, candlesticks, bowls, &c. all of silver, and usually adorned with the most curious

ODE XI.

endeavours to guard her from the passion she had for Telephus, who was beloved by another. The whole is very natural and pleasing.

TO PHYLLIS.

DEAR Phyllis, I have *in my cellar* a cask untouched of *fine* Alban wine, full nine years old or more, and in my garden parsley for garlands, and plenty of ivy, which makes you look so charming when you bind up your hair with it. My house shines with plate; my altar is crowned with sacred vervain, and waits for nothing but to be sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. All hands are at work *to prepare the feast*. My boys and girls fly from place to place. The quivering flames throw circling clouds of smoke into the air.

But that you may not be unacquainted to what feast I invite you, know, Phyllis, that it is to solemnise the ides which divide the

NOTES.

workmanship. It appears, by a passage in Virgil, that Augustus had the whole history of his family engraven upon his plate. Horace says, that he will spare nothing to render the feast as grand as possible, and that all his best plate and furniture shall be employed.

6. *Castis vincta verbenis.*] All kinds of herbs that were used by the Romans in their sacrifices, were called by the common name of *verbenæ:* the altar was environed with them; and Donatus very well remarks upon that passage of *Terence; Ex ara hinc sume verbenas tibi. Verbenæ* (says he) *rediniicula sunt aravum.*

8. *Spargier agno.*] *Agno immolato*, for *sanguine agni immolati.* It is here to be observed, that the *immolatio* was properly nothing more than the throwing some sort of corn and frankincense, together with the *mola*, bran or meal, mixed with salt, upon the head of the beast: but, as this immediately preceded the act of sacrificing, the word *immolare* came by a synecdoche to signify the same as *sacrificare*, in which sense it is here used by the poet.

10. *Cursitant mistæ pueris puellæ.*] To give a view of the magnificence wherewith he intended to celebrate the birth-day of Mæcenas, he does not content himself with describing the great preparations he was making: he farther gives an account of the persons that were to assist and serve; for it was the custom, on these occasions of show and ostentation, to be served by an equal number of boys and girls.

14. *Idus.*] This word comes from the Tuscan *Iduare*, which signifies to divide; and the Ides, which were about the middle of the month, were always the ninth day from the Nones; when these were on the fifth of the month, the ides were on the thirteenth, and when they were on the seventh, which happened only in March, May, July, and October, the ides were on the fifteenth.

Qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ
Findit Aprilem;
Jure solennis mihi, sanctiorque
Penè natali proprio, quòd ex hac
Luce Mæcenas meus affluentes
Ordinat annos.
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit,
Non tuæ sortis juvenem, puella
Dives et lasciva, tenetque gratâ
Compede vinctum.
Terret ambustus Phaethon avaras
Spes; et exemplum grave præbet ales
Pegasus, terrenum equitem gravatus
Bellerophontem;
Semper ut te digna sequare, et, ultra
Quàm licet sperare, nefas putando,
Disparem vites. Age jam, meorum
Finis amorum,
(Non enim posthac aliâ calebo
Feminâ) condisce modos, amandâ
Voce quos reddas: minuentur atræ
Carmine curæ.

ORDO.

solennis mihi, sanctiorque pene natali proprio, quod ex hac luce Mæcenas meus ordinat annos affluentes.

Puella dives et lasciva occupavit Telephum, quem tu petis, juvenem non tuæ sortis, tenetque vinctum grata compede. Ambustus Phaethon terret spes avaras; et ales Pegasus, gravatus Bellerophontem equitem terrenum, præbet exemplum grave, ut semper sequare digna te, et vites disparem, putando nefas sperare ultra quam licet.

Age jam, finis meorum amorum (non enim posthac calebo alia femina), condisce modos quos reddas voce amanda: atræ curæ minuentur carmine.

NOTES.

15. *Veneris marinæ.*] There is still extant a fragment of some unknown ancient poet, where this birth of Venus is described in these terms:

Tunc cruore de superno ac
Spumeo Pontus globo,
Cærulas inter catervas,
Inter et bipedes equos,
Fecit undantem Dionen
In marinis fluctibus.

month of April consecrated to sea-born Venus, a day which I have just cause to celebrate every year; a birth-day almost to me more sacred than my own; for on this happy morn my dear Mæcenas began his life.

Do not fail to come; for a rich and engaging young lady has gained the heart of Telephus (whom you *in vain* admire, as he is above your rank), and holds him fast in pleasing chains. *The fall of* flaming Phaethon warns you not to soar too high; and Bellerophon, whom Pegasus threw because a mortal, affords another striking instance why you should set bounds to your ambition, and shows you the folly of attempting to gain the affections of one so far above you.

Come, *dear Phyllis,* the last of all my mistresses, for after you I shall never love another; come, learn of me some agreeable air to sing to us with that voice which charms every one who hears it; a song will dissipate our gloomy cares.

NOTES.

18. *Pene natali proprio.*] Censorinus, addressing himself to Cerealis, dwells on this thought in a manner that may serve as an explication of Horace; *Quum ex te tuaque amicitia honorem, dignitatem, decus, atque præsidium, cuncta denique vitæ præmia recipiam, nefas arbitror si diem tuum, qui te mihi in hanc lucem edidit, meo illo proprio negligentius celebravero; ille enim mihi vitam, hic fructum vitæ atque ornamentum peperit.*

19. *Affluentes ordinat annos.*] *Mæcenas ex hac luce ordinat annos affluentes:* Mæcenas from this day reckons his flowing years; that is, his years begin from this day; *affluentes,* which succeed one another.

21. *Telephum.*] The same of whom he speaks, Ode thirteenth, Book first, and Ode nineteenth, Book third.

25. *Terret amlustus Phaethon.*] Almost all readers know the story of Phaethon, who, as a certain pledge that he was the son of Phœbus, demanded the liberty of conducting his chariot. The horses, sensible that they were not guided by the same hand that used to manage them, observed no certain path; the heaven and the earth began to take fire, and all nature was on the point of being reduced to its primitive chaos, if Jupiter, by a stroke of his thunder, had not precipitated this rash youth, who fell into the river Po. The Pythagoreans first invented this fable, and the followers of Plato afterwards made use of it to explain the catastrophe of the world.

26. *Ales Pegasus, terrenum equitem gravatus.*] Horace here says, that Pegasus disdained to carry Bellerophon, because he was mortal. But I find that he abuses here the liberty which poets have taken to accommodate ancient fable to their subject: for it was not for that reason that Pegasus threw his rider to the ground. Bellerophon, after he had cleared himself from the calumnies of Antea, and defeated the Chimæra, would farther make use of Pegasus to see what passed in heaven; but Jupiter, to punish his curiosity, sent a brizzle or fly, which so tormented Pegasus, that he threw his rider to the earth.

28. *Bellerophontem.*] His first name was Hipponus; he called himself Bellerophon after he had slain Bellerus king of Corinth. His story is related at full length in the sixth book of the Iliad; it fell out about sixteen hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ.

ODE XII.

This is the second piece which Horace addresses to Virgil. In the first he endeavoured to comfort him upon the death of a friend; here he proposes to him a party of pleasure. The spring, which gave occasion to it, is here represented with all its graces, and makes one of the most beautiful

AD VIRGILIUM.

Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant,
Impellunt animæ lintea Thraciæ:
Jam nec prata rigent, nec fluvii strepunt
Hibernâ nive turgidi.
Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
Infelix avis, et Cecropiæ domûs

ORDO.

Jam animæ Thraciæ, comites veris, quæ temperant mare, impellunt lintea: nec jam prata rigent, nec fluvii turgidi nive hiberna strepunt. Hirundo infelix avis, et æternum

NOTES.

1. *Jam veris comites.*] The sequel proves that Horace does not here speak of the beginning of the spring, but of the spring far advanced. This remark is of importance for the understanding of the ode. By the companions of the spring, he means the zephyrs, or western winds, which always blow during that season.

2. *Thraciæ.*] This epithet which Horace gives to the zephyrs, has so greatly puzzled some interpreters, that they have been forced to think he speaks of the Etesian or north winds, which he also calls *ventum Thracium*, in the twenty-fifth ode of the first book. But as these winds can never, with propriety, be called the companions of the spring, Torrentius has evidently seen the weakness of that opinion, and has asserted that Horace speaks only of the zephyrs. But this is all that is good in the remark of that learned commentator; for he deceives himself, in imagining that all the winds may be called Thracian, because Thrace was considered as their habitation. At this rate the south wind might be called the wind of Thrace; that indeed would be very surprising. The passage is important; and there is need only of one sentence to remove the whole difficulty. Horace had in his eye the following line of the ninth Book of the Iliad:

Βορεης και Ζεφυρος, τωτε Θρηκηθεν αητον.

"The north wind and the zephyr, which blow "from Thrace." Yet, as M. Le Fevre has admirably remarked, this imitation is to be looked upon as vicious. Homer, who was of Chio, or of Lydia, had reason to call the zephyr Thracian, because it came from Thrace, as the situation of the place demonstrates; whereas Horace, who was of Italy, and wrote in Rome, ought not to have given it that epithet. In reading the ancients, we ought carefully to distinguish the general epithets from those which have been given only on account of the situation of the place they were in when they wrote. This is the only way to avoid the fault into which Horace has here fallen by not making that reflection.

ODE XII.

parts of this ode. All that can be said about the time of its composition is, that it was written before the year 735, in which Virgil ventured upon a voyage into Greece, a little before his death.

TO VIRGIL.

Now the soft gales that accompany the spring smooth the *rough* sea, and swell the sails; the meads are no longer covered with hoar-frost; nor do the rivers, swelled with winter's snow, make so great a noise, *but flow gently in their channels.* The *swallow, that* unhappy bird, the eternal reproach of the house of Cecrops, for revenging with too much cruelty the unnatural passion of a barbarous

NOTES.

3. *Nec fluvii strepunt hibernâ nive turgidi.*] Some commentators have given a very odd interpretation of this passage. They explain it as if Horace had said, that the rivers, increased by the melted snow, did not any longer murmur in their channels, making the swelling of the rivers by the snow the cause why that murmur ceased, as if the one were an infallible and necessary consequence of the other. Who does not see that Horace means quite the contrary; that the rivers ceased to make a noise, because they were no more swelled with torrents of melted snow? It has been observed already, that in Italy the spring begins with the overflowing of the river, caused by the torrents of melted snow that fall down from the mountains at that season, and, swelling the rivers, hurry them on with great impetuosity,

——*Non sine montium*
Clamore vicinæque sylvæ.

"With a noise that makes the neighbouring wood and mountains resound." But soon after, when these torrents cease, and the snow is all melted, the rivers run smoothly in their channels. This is what Horace means, and which proves that he does not speak here of the beginning of the spring, but of the spring already far advanced.

5. *Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens.*] Horace here speaks of the swallow, which makes its nest in the spring. But in order thoroughly to understand the passage, it is necessary to know the different sentiments of the ancients upon the fable of the swallow and the nightingale. Pandion, king of Athens, had two daughters, Progne and Philomela; he gave the elder to Tereus, king of Thrace, who conducted her into his own country. Some years after Tereus, solicited by his wife, returned to Athens, to request that Pandion would allow Philomela to go with him into Thrace, and stay some time with her sister, who was extremely desirous to see her. Pandion suffering himself to be prevailed with, Tereus departed with Philomela. He had no sooner arrived in Thrace, than, instead of bringing her to his wife, he shut her up in a place surrounded with woods, debauched her, and, to prevent discovery, cut out her tongue. The unhappy princess continued in this condition, until, having described her misfortune upon a web, she found means to send it to her sister, who, touched to the soul at the outrage done to Philomela and herself, dreamed of nothing but revenge. The feast of Bacchus, which the Thracians celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, in a short time furnished her with an opportunity of completing her desire. She went

Æternum opprobrium, quòd malè barbaras
Regum est ulta libidines.
Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
Custodes ovium carmina fistulâ;
Delectantque Deum cui pecus et nigri
Colles Arcadiæ placent.
Adduxere sitim tempora, Virgili:
Sed, pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis, juvenum nobilium cliens,
Nardo vina merebere:
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
Spes donare novas largus, amaraque
Curarum eluere efficax:
Ad quæ si properas gaudia, cum tuâ
Velox merce veni; non ego te meis
Immunem meditor tingere poculis,
Plenâ dives ut in domo.

ORDO.

opprobrium Cecropiæ domus, quod male ulta est barbaras libidines regum, ponit nidum flebiliter gemens Ityn. Custodes ovium pinguium in tenero gramine dicunt carmina fistu'a; delectantque Deum cui pecus et nigri colles Arcadiæ placent.

O Virgili, cliens juvenum nobilium, tempora adduxere sitim; sed, si gestis ducere Liberum pressum Calibus, merebere vina nardo. Parvus onyx nardi eliciet cadum, qui nunc accubat Sulpiciis horreis, largus donare novas spes, efficaxque eluere amara curarum. Ad quæ gaudia si properas, velox veni cum tua merce; ego non meditor tingere te immunem meis poculis, ut dives in plena domo.

NOTES.

out in the night with a troop of Bacchantes, delivered Philomela from her confinement, conducted her to the palace, slew before her eyes the son she had by Tereus, cut him in pieces, made him be dressed, and served him up to her husband. Philomela, presenting herself at the end of the repast, threw upon the table the head of the young Itys. Tereus, mad with rage and fury, pursued them with his drawn sword; and in that very moment Progne was changed into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale, Tereus into a lapwing, and Itys into a goldfinch. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the Latins, who have followed Ovid in the sixth book of his Metamorphoses. But the ancient Greeks, Homer, Anacreon, Gorgias, Apollodorus, and many other writers, have affirmed, that Philomela was changed into a swallow, and Progne into a nightingale. I cannot tell what has given rise to this difference of opinion; but it is not the only one to be met with on this subject; it is matter of dispute which sister was the wife of Tereus; there are who pretend it was Philomela, and not Progne, as most authors have asserted. The reader may consult the remarks of Eustathius upon the nineteenth book of the Odyssey. This much we say, that in order to preserve a resemblance of truth in the fable, we ought to suppose the wife changed into a swallow, and the sister into a nightingale; for by this a reason may be given why swallows love the houses, and search for their young ones there; whereas

king, builds her nest, while she mournfully laments the death of her beloved Itys. Our shepherds, tending their sleek sheep on the new-sprung grass, tune their reeds; and *Pan*, the god who loves the care of flocks and Arcadia's shady groves, takes great pleasure to hear their airs.

Dear Virgil, who art a constant companion of our young nobility, the *scorching* season must make you thirsty: *wherefore*, if you desire to refresh yourself with a glass of Calenian wine *at my house, you may*; but you must bring perfumes for your wine. A small box of fine essence will command a cask of the best wine Sulpicius has in his vault, *of that wine* which inspires us with fresh hopes, and never fails to dispel all anxious thoughts.

If you wish to be a partner in our mirth, make haste and come, but bring the essence with you; for I do not pretend to regale you at free cost, as if I were immensely rich, and had every thing in

NOTES.

the nightingale is fond of the woods, where she was shut up by Tereus, and whither she yet loves to repair, to conceal her shame and lament her misfortunes.

6. *Cecropiæ domûs æternum opprobrium.*] Pandion, the father of Philomela and Progne, was not of the family of Cecrops, the first king of Athens, who left no successor, his only son Erisicthon dying before him. Horace therefore here puts the house of Cecrops in general for the kings of Athens, as it was usual to say the Ptolemies for the kings of Egypt, and the Cæsars for the Roman emperors.

11. *Cui pecus et nigri colles.*] That is, who is the god of the flocks, and of Arcadia. The Greeks and Romans borrowed this manner of speech from the eastern nations, who used to say, that such a thing pleased a god, instead of saying, that he had made choice of it to be its protector. Pan was adored in Arcadia, whence his worship passed to the Romans by Evander.

16. *Nardo vina mercbere.*] Literally, "You will merit wine by the nard," that is, if you bring nard, you shall have wine. This is one of the passages that induced Torrentius to conjecture, that the Virgil to whom this ode is addressed, was not Virgil the poet, but a perfumer that bore that name: otherwise how should Horace demand nard of him? But is it not easy to conceive, that they were to pay their shares in such a manner, that the one should furnish essence, and the other wine? Why may we not (unless this be allowed) with equal reason suppose Catullus to be a perfumer, since, in his thirteenth ode, he invites Tibullus to sup, on condition that he bring along with him a good repast, and that he for his part would furnish the most exquisite essence?

17. *Nardi parvus onyx.*] By *onyx* commentators generally understand a phial of a certain kind of marble which bore that name; but it is more reasonable to think, that it was a shell of a fine scent, which was found about the lakes of India. It was properly the shell of a kind of oyster which was nourished by the plant nardus, and grew in the same lake, whence it derived its fine smell. For this reason the ancients made use of it as we do now of boxes, to keep their essence and perfumes:

> —— *Funde capacibus*
> *Unguenta de conchis.*

The same custom, of keeping their essence in little shells, was common in the time of Martial, who says in one of his epigrams,

Verùm pone moras et studium lucri;
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium,
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco.

ORDO.

Verum pone moras et studium lucri; memorque nigrorum ignium, dum licet, misce brevem stultitiam consiliis: est dulce desipere in loco.

NOTES.

Unguentum fuerat quod onyx modo parva gerebat:
Olfecit postquam Papilus, ecce garum est.

25. *Studium lucri.*] It may seem strange that Horace should here accuse Virgil of covetousness; but, if we enter into the sentiment of the poet, we shall find it to be no more than this; that knowing Virgil to be a laborious and diligent man, who would not

ODE XIII.

We have seen, in the tenth ode of the third book, that Horace was deeply enamoured of Lyce; and here, to revenge himself for her obstinacy in refusing to regard his passion, he insults her in a most cruel manner, by reproaching her with old age and decay. This evidently proves that the present ode is much later than the other; yet it is certain that Horace at this time was not very old, and we may assuredly rank it among the odes that were composed before his fortieth year. It is to be wished that this had been a work of his younger years, when his blood boiled with impetuosity in his veins; for although the piece be exceedingly well written and full of spirit,

IN LYCEN.

Audivere, Lyce, Dî mea vota, Dî
Audivere, Lyce: fis anus, et tamen
Vis formosa videri;
Ludisque et bibis impudens;
Et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
Lentum solicitas. Ille virentis et

ORDO.

O Lyce, Dî audivere mea vota, Dî audivere, Lyce: fis anus, et tamen vis videri formosa; ludisque et bibis impudens; et pota solicitas lentum Cupidinem cantu tremulo. Ille

NOTES.

1. *Lyce.*] We have already taken notice that this Lyce was a Tuscan lady, no less remarkable for her wisdom than beauty. This gives ground to suspect that Horace exagge-

plenty. Pray make no delay; lay aside all thoughts of gain *for once;* and, remembering that death will put an end to all our pleasures*, mix a little diversion with your *more serious* studies. It is *very* agreeable to be merry on *a proper* occasion.

* And being mindful, while you may, of the dismal fires.

NOTES.

be induced to quit his studies without great difficulty, he desires him in a rallying way to lay aside for some time his desire of gain; and this he might do the rather, because his verses were very advantageous to him; for he had received several presents of considerable value from Augustus and his other friends. Yet so far was he removed from all covetousness, that he refused the estate of a very rich man, which had been confiscated, and offered to him by Augustus.

27. *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem.*] Horace does not here advise Virgil to undertake sometimes a foolish attempt; *miscere brevem stultitiam consiliis*, is to quit his grave and serious studies for a few moments, and indulge himself a little in mirth and jollity.

ODE XIII.

yet it seems to be against the rules of decency and good breeding thus to revile a person he had once loved. I am of opinion further, that Horace would have consulted his reputation much better in stifling his resentment, than in thus acquainting all the world, that he had been in love with a lady from whom he could not obtain the least favour; but we must make some allowances for an age, in which the most refined gallantry was not yet wholly freed from a certain tincture of brutality and rudeness, because of the small commerce that men had with women of honour and virtue.

TO LYCE.

Lyce, the gods have at last heard my prayers, they have, Lyce: you are now grown old, and yet you would still be thought a beauty. You wanton, and are not ashamed to drink to excess; and, when elevated with liquor, you attempt, with a lascivious song, to decoy Cupid, who disdains you; for he takes more pleasure to bask on the

NOTES.

rates the matter here, and that his resentment has carried him far beyond the truth.

5. *Et cantu tremulo.*] Horace does not employ this epithet *tremulo* with a design to make us understand that Lyce was old, and that on account of her great age her voice was become weak and trembling, but to represent the nature of her voice, that it was lascivious; for this is the meaning of *cantus tremulus.* Thus Pers. Sat. I. says,

— *Et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima versu,*

And Terentianus Maurus,

Nomenque Galliambis memoratur hinc datum,
Tremulos quod esse Gallis habiles putant modos.

Doctæ psallere Chiæ
Pulchris excubat in genis.
Importunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus, et refugit te, quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugæ
Turpant, et capitis nives.
Nec Coæ referunt jam tibi purpuræ,
Nec clari lapides tempora, quæ semel
Notis condita fastis
Inclusit volucris dies.
Quò fugit Venus? heu! quòve color decens?
Quò motus? quid habes illius, illius,
Quæ spirabat amores,
Quæ me surpuerat mihi,
Felix post Cynaram, notaque, et artium
Gratarum facies? sed Cynaræ breves
Annos fata dederunt,
Servatura diu parem

ORDO.

excubat in pulchris genis Chiæ virentis et doctæ psallere. Importunus enim transvolat quercus aridas, et refugit te, quia dentes luridi, quia rugæ turpant te, et nives capitis *turpant te.*

Nec Coæ purpuræ, nec clari lapides, jam referunt tibi tempora quæ volucris dies semel inclusit condita notis fastis.

Quò Venus fugit? heu! quòve color decens? Quò motus? Quid habes illius, illius *Lyces*, quæ spirabat amores, quæ surripuerat me mihi, felix post Cynaram, notaque et facies artium gratarum? Sed fata dederunt breves annos Cynaræ, diu servatura Lycen parem

NOTES.

9. *Transvolat aridas quercus.*] This arises from the word *virentis* in the sixth verse. Horace considers love as a bird, and says very prettily, that this bird never perches upon the old oaks, but that he flies over them, and fixes upon the flourishing young trees. He compares old women to old oaks, as (in Ode twenty-fifth, Book first) he had likened them to dry leaves.

12. *Capitis nives.*] A Greek author has called white hairs "the snow of old age," and this may be allowed; but the expression here used by Horace, when he makes the snow of the head to stand for white hair, and signify old age, is altogether insupportable, because it is forced, and the metaphor drawn from too distant a similitude. This is the judgement of Quintilian, Book third, Chapter sixth; *Sunt et duræ translationes, id est, a longinqua similitudine ductæ, ut "capitis nives."* Some liberty, however, may in this case be allowed to poets.

13. *Nec Coæ purpuræ.*] Cos is an island of the Ægean sea, not far from Halicarnassus, and famous for its purple. Horace intends here to ridicule Lyce, for still affecting to appear young, and dressing herself in gay and shining attire.

14. *Quæ semel notis condita fastis.*] The Romans in the *fasti* marked the years by their consuls, and at the same time noted down whatever had happened remarkable during their consulship; and as these *fasti* were kept in places where every one had the liberty of consulting them, it was always easy to know the precise age of any person, their name, family, &c. It is on this account that Horace says to Lyce, that her rich habits, and the precious stones wherewith she adorned herself, could not recall any of the years that had been once marked in the public *fasti*; that is, let her do what she would, these would render a faithful account of her age, and it was impossible for her to take them thence, and

blooming cheeks of the young *beautiful* Chian, who sings and plays with so great art and skill.

This restless little god passes the old and hagard without taking the least notice of them*, and starts back on the sight of you, because your yellow teeth, your *deep* wrinkles and grey hairs, have so much disfigured you.

Neither *your costly robes, though of* the finest purple, nor your brilliant diamonds, can recall those years that have passed since the day of your birth†, which is very well known.

Ah! what is become of all your endearing charms, and your fine complexion? What is become of your engaging mien? What have you remaining of *Lyce*, that *charming Lyce*, who breathed so much love, who robbed me of my heart‡? There was a time, when, next to Cynara, Lyce was an assemblage of all the graces requisite to make a perfect beauty; but the fates granted Cynara only a few

* Flies over the dry oaks.
† That swift time hath once inserted in the public registers.
‡ Stole me from myself.

NOTES.

live them over again. This custom of marking in the public registers or temples the names of those who were born or died, is very ancient. Plato ordains it in the sixth book of his laws.

17. *Quò fugit Venus?*] The ancients made use of the word Venus, to express all that belonged to beauty.

18. *Motus.*] The old scholiast explains *motus* only of dancing; but I imagine it ought here to be taken in a more general sense, and that it signifies that easy and unconstrained art, which appears not only in dancing, but in all the actions of the body.

20. *Quæ me surpuerat mihi.*] For the heart of a lover is always in the possession of his mistress; on this is founded that beautiful epigram which Q. Catullus has so finely imitated from Callimachus;

Aufugit mi animus: credo, ut solet, ad Theotimum
Devenit. Sic est: perfugium illud habet.
Quid si non interdixem, ne illum fugitivum
Mitteret ad se intro, sed magis ejiceret?
Ibimu' quæsitum. Verum ne ipsi teneamur
Formido. Quid ago? Da Venu' consilium.

"My heart is lost; it has left me: I suppose it has fled as usual to Theotimus. "There is no doubt of it, this is its ordinary "retreat. What might have been the consequence, had not I begged that the fugitive might be discouraged and rejected? "I would go in quest of it, but am very apprehensive of being retained myself. What "can I do in this case? Venus, help me "with your counsel." *Surpuerat* is here put for *surripuerat*, as in Satire third, Book second, *Unum me surpite morti.*

21. *Notaque, et artium gratarum facies.*] Commentators think that they have sufficiently acquitted themselves of their duty, by explaining *facies gratarum artium*, "a face "that has every thing necessary to form a "complete beauty." But besides that the expression taken in this sense is not very agreeable to the Latin idiom, we can never suppose that Horace would have written, *facies felix post Cynaram.* Besides, it would be nothing more than an useless repetition, because he has spoken enough of the beauty of Lyce in the preceding verses. There is, without doubt, a mistake in the reading, which I imagine it will be no difficult matter to correct. It is only requisite to take away one letter, and to read,

— Notaque et artium
Gratarum facie.

Cornicis vetulæ temporibus Lycen;
Possent ut juvenes visere fervidi,
Multo non sine risu,
Dilapsam in cineres facem.

ORDO.

temporibus cornicis vetulæ; ut juvenes fervidi possent visere facem dilapsam in cineres, non sine multo risu.

NOTES.

Of *facie sed* transcribers have made *facies*, by taking in the first letter of the following word. This is a very common mistake among copiers; and it would be easy to give a thousand instances of it. Horace says that Lyce was inferior in beauty only to Cynara, and that she owed her reputation solely to the delicacy and fineness of her features: *Notaque et artium gratarum facie*, instead of *notaque et artibus gratis*, and for *etiam artis gratæ*; that fineness of features, and delicacy of manners, which constitute true beauty, and render the person possessed of them so amiable. This I take to be the real sense of the passage.

25. *Cornicis vetulæ.*] Crows are said to live a great number of years. Hesiod gives them nine times the age of man, that is, two hundred and seventy years.

26. *Possent ut juvenes visere.*] Horace could not have devised any thing more galling than to say, that the destinies had pre-

ODE XIV.

Augustus had given orders to Horace to celebrate the victories of Drusus and Tiberius over the Rhæti and Vindelici; and as Horace, in the fourth ode of this book, had made mention only of Drusus, because Drusus was at first sent alone, commander in chief against that people, he here finishes what he had begun, and celebrates the victory which Tiberius, in conjunction with Drusus, had obtained over the Grisons, whom they had defeated in a pitched battle. The poet has managed matters with so much art as to please both parties; for though he praises Tiberius after Drusus, yet he recompenses the former in a glorious manner. The praises of Drusus had been

AD AUGUSTUM.

Quæ cura Patrum, quæve Quiritium,
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in ævum
Per titulos memoresque fastos

ORDO.

O Auguste, quæ cura patrum, quæve Quiritium, muneribus plenis honorum, æternet virtutes tuas in ævum per titulos fastosque memores?

NOTES.

1. *Quæ cura patrum.*] When Horace wrote this ode, the senate and people had conferred upon Augustus all the honours which they had it in their power to decree, not

years, *intending* to prolong Lyce's existence till she is quite superannuated*, that our young rakes may have the pleasure of seeing that torch, *which once shone so bright, and kindled so many flames,* turned to ashes.

* Till equal in years to an old crow.

NOTES.

served Lyce, that the youth might have the pleasure of seeing her in a state so different from what she once appeared in. It does not much differ from what he says of Lydia, Ode 25. B. 1.

Invicem mœchos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu.

"You at last in your old-age shall run "through the streets and by-ways, lament-"ing in your turn the cruelty of your gal-"lants."

28. *Dilapsam.*] So we ought to read, and not *delapsam*. *Dilapsa* is properly said of a thing which changes, is dissipated, or assumes another form. In this sense it is used by Virgil, when speaking of Proteus:

—Aut in aquas tenues dilapsus abibit,

"Or vanishes, assuming the appearance of "waters." *Delapsa* has quite another signification. It signifies a thing which falls from a high to a low place, without undergoing any change or variation.

28. *Facem.*] He calls the beauty of Lyce a flambeau or torch, in the same manner as Terence calls that of Thais a fire, in the second scene of the first act of the Eunuch;

Accede ad ignem hunc, jam calesces plus satis.

"Approach this fire, and you will soon find "that it will make you too warm."

ODE XIV.

mingled with those of the heroes of the house of Clodia; but Tiberius has the honour of seeing himself associated with Augustus. The address of Horace through the whole is admirable; for, in obeying the orders which he had received, he takes occasion to make his court to Augustus, and praises him in a very noble and delicate manner, by making the encomiums he bestows upon Tiberius reflect honour upon him. Both this ode and the fourth are of the same character for the nobleness of the sentiments, the richness of the figures and comparisons, the sublimity of the style, and all the other beauties of poetry. This begins and ends with the eulogium of the emperor, and the middle is filled with that of Tiberius.

TO AUGUSTUS.

GREAT Augustus, by what care, by what public monuments erected to your honour, by what shining titles and solemn days, shall thy *grateful* senate and people eternise your virtues?

NOTES.

only to a man but even to a god. Nevertheless, as if all they had hitherto done was nothing, Horace does not cease to demand by what new marks of their respect, by what new honours, the Romans should endeavour to immortalise the virtues of that great prince, and to assure

Æternet? ô, quà sol habitabiles
Illustrat oras, maximè principum,
Quem legis expertes Latinæ
Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte posses: milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecit acer plùs vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commisit, immanesque Rhætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis.
Spectandus in certamine Martio,
Devota morti pectora liberæ
Quantis fatigaret ruinis;
Indomitas prope qualis undas
Exercet Auster, Pleïadum choro
Scindente nubes, impiger hostium
Vexare turmas, et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes!

ORDO.

O maxime principum, qua sol illustrat habitabiles oras, quem Vindelici expertes legis Latinæ, nuper didicere quid posses Marte: nam acer Drusus, milite tuo, plus simplici vice, dejecit Genaunos, implacidum genus, Breunosque veloces, et arces impositas tremendis Alpibus.

Mox major Neronum commisit prælium grave, pepulitque Rhætos imminanes auspiciis *tuis* secundis. Spectandus in certamine Martio, quantis ruinis fatigaret pectora *hostium*, devota morti liberæ; *ille, inquam*, prope qualis Auster exercet indomitas undas choro Pleïadum scindente nubes, impiger vexare turmas hostium, et mittere equum frementem per medios ignes!

NOTES.

him of that eternity which he merited by his glorious achievements. There is an infinite grandeur in this demand; and I find Horace is the only person who could add all that was yet wanting to the glory of Augustus, after the great honours that had been conferred on him.

2. *Plenis honorum muneribus.*] By *munera* Horace here understands the public monuments, the statues, the inscriptions, the decrees; in fine, all that a grateful people can do in honour of a prince, who, by his prudence and virtue, makes them enjoy a perfect happiness.

4. *Per titulos.*] By the words *titulos* and *fastus* Horace understands the honours he mentions afterwards, and which he comprises in the second verse, under the general word *munera*, *titles*; that is, all kinds of inscriptions, statues, &c. The *fasti* take in the public records of all the actions or exploits of Augustus; the days in which he gained his victories, or on which he returned to Rome; those which were to be kept to his honour; the decrees which ordered altars to be erected to him, and hymns to be sung in his praise.

8. *Nuper.*] About two years before; for Drusus had vanquished them in the year of the city 738, and this ode was written after the return of Augustus from Gaul, in the year 740.

10. *Genaunos, Breunosque.*] This is the true reading, and not *Tenaunos*, or *Geraunos*, and *Brennos*. Strabo calls them Βρεννοι και Γενανοι, and says, that they inhabited the exterior part of the Alps with the Norici

Thou greatest of all the princes of the earth, wherever the sun displays his beams, by whose conduct the *proud* Vindelici, who had never submitted to our laws, felt the force of our arms; for the brave Drusus, at the head of your troops, more than once defeated the Genauni, that barbarous people, subdued the swift Breuni, and leveled with the ground the forts which they had built on the formidable *summits of the* Alps.

A short time after, Tiberius*, under your lucky auspices, in a pitched battle, attacked the formidable Rhætians, and cut them to pieces. What a glorious sight to behold the young hero, in this bloody engagement, with repeated slaughter bear down our foes, resolved to lose their lives rather than their liberty! As the stormy south-wind plies the raging billows when the Pleiades arise, thus did this active warrior gall the troops of our enemies, and forced his foaming horse through the middle of the flames.

* The elder of the Neros.

NOTES.

and Vindelici. He relates of them, that when they had taken a city, they were not contented with putting to the sword all who were capable of bearing arms, but also slew all the male children, and did not spare the very women, if the augurs assured them that they would be brought to bed of a son. Dio relates the same thing. For this reason also Velleius calls them *feritate truces*.

11. *Et arces Alpibus impositas tremendis.*] This agrees exactly with what Velleius writes of these people, that they had fortified themselves upon the Alps, in places which were almost inaccessible; and that Drusus and Tiberius took from them several cities and forts.

13. *Plus vice simplici.*] Horace here points at the two actions of Drusus in the same campaign. First, he defeated the Vindelici, and secured Italy against their incursions. Tiberius, who remained at that time with Augustus, was sent to second his brother, and attack the Rhæti, who made depredations in Gaul. In the mean time Drusus continued to push his conquests over the Vindelici, fell upon the Breuni and Genauni; and the two princes, joining their forces together, finished their defeat, and utterly ruined them. Velleius relates the affair in quite a different manner. If we will believe him, Drusus was only sent to assist in that war, of which he makes all the honour fall upon Tiberius. But that historian had his reasons. As Drusus was dead, and Tiberius emperor, ought we to be surprised if flattery usurped the place of truth? Horace, who wrote at the very time the thing was done, and under the eye of the two princes interested in it, is an authority that can admit no contradiction.

18. *Devota morti pectora liberæ.*] This verse can never be sufficiently commended, and Horace is perhaps the only poet, who, in four words, has painted in so noble and animated a manner men engaged in close fight, and determined rather to part with their lives than their liberty.

21. *Pleiadum choro.*] The Pleiades, or seven stars, were feigned to be the daughters of Atlas, and sisters of the Hyades; they are ranged in such a manner as if they were engaged in a dance. Hyginus says, *Alii dicunt Electram non apparere ex eo quod Pleiades existimentur choream ducere stellis.* This is the reason why Horace makes use of the word *chorus*; as Propertius has done, Book third, Eleg. third:

Pleiadum spisso cur coit igne chorus.

23. *Frementem mittere equum.*] *Fremitus* is properly the noise which horses make with the mouth and nostrils; and, on occasions of this kind, it is looked upon as a mark of their

Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
Qui regna Dauni præfluit Appuli,
Cùm sævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris;
Ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
Ferrata vasto diruit impetu,
Primosque et extremos metendo,
Stravit humum, sine clade victor;
Te copias, te consilium, et tuos
Præbente Divos. Nam tibi, quo die
Portus Alexandrea supplex
Et vacuam patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus,
Laudemque et optatum peractis
Imperiis decus arrogavit.

ORDO.

Sic tauriformis Aufidus, qui præfluit regna Dauni Appuli, volvitur cum sævit, meditaturque horrendam diluviem agris cultis; ut Claudius diruit vasto impetu ferrata agmina barbarorum, stravitque humum *hostibus*, metendo primos et extremos, victor sine clade *suorum*; te præbente copias, te *præbente* consilium, et tuos Divos. Nam quo die Alexandrea supplex patefecit portus et vacuam aulam tibi; tertio lustro, fortuna prospera reddidit secundos exitus belli, et arrogavit laudem optatumque decus peractis imperiis.

NOTES.

courage; Virgil, Geor. B. 3. See the prose translation.

—Tum si qua sonum procul arma dedere,
Stare loco nescit, micat auribus, et tremit artus,
Collectumque fremens volvit sub naribus ignem.

"If at any time he hears the noise of arms "from far, he cannot any longer contain "himself; he pricks up his ears, and pants "in every vein, breathing fiery heats from his "glowing nostrils." No where do we find a more beautiful description of the horse than in the thirty-ninth chapter of Job; "His "neck is clothed with thunder, and the glory "of his nostrils is terrible," &c.

24. *Medios per ignes.*] The Greeks and Latins commonly made use of the word fire to express the greatest dangers. But it is not perhaps necessary to have recourse to such an explication here; and Horace, in saying that Tiberius pushed his horse through the midst of the flames, speaks of the flames which the Romans had lighted in the enemy's entrenchments, or of those which the enemy made use of to stop the progress of the Romans.

25. *Sic tauriformis.*] The ancients usually painted the rivers with horns; Festus says, *Taurorum specie simulacra fluminum; id est, cum cornibus, quòd sunt atrocia ut tauri.* "Rivers were painted under the "figures of bulls; that is, with horns, be-"cause they are very dangerous." There is, in the second book of Ælian, an entire chapter, where he speaks of the different modes in which rivers were represented; some gave them the figure of a bull, others represented them under the figure of a man with horns, and this was the most common way. Virgil, in the fourth Book of the Georgics, thus speaks of the Po:

Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus.

Festus was ignorant of the true reason of this

Or, as the impetuous Aufidus, that waters the kingdom of Apulia, where Daunus reigned, rolls his boisterous waves, and, when immoderately swelled, threatens to overflow the neighbouring fields, thus did Tiberius overthrow our enemies' best battalions *though* clothed in armour, and with incredible force cutting his way through their army from the front to the rear, covered the field *of battle* with the dead, and, without any considerable loss on his side, gained a complete victory. What does he not owe to your *brave* troops, to your sage counsel, and to the favour of your gods? For on the day that Alexandria submitted *to your power*, and opened her harbours to you, and the gates of her palace deserted *by Cleopatra;* fifteen years after, on the same day, fortune, your constant friend, gave success to your arms, and by this fresh victory crowned your former with all the glory and honour you could wish *or desire.*

NOTES.

custom. Rivers were painted with horns, either because of the noise and murmurs of their waters, or on account of the inequality of their banks; or in fine, because all rivers were called κεραται Ωκεανου, The horns of the ocean.

28. *Diluviem meditatur.*] The word *meditatur* gives this passage a wonderful sublimity; for by it Horace endows the river with sentiment, and represents it as a god capable of forming designs, and executing them at his pleasure.

32. *Sine clade victor.*] The poet adheres to history on this occasion. Velleius says, *Tiberius, et Drusus, gentes locis tutissimas, aditu difficillimas, numero frequentes, feritate truces, majore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus, plurimo cum earum sanguine perdomuerunt.*

33. *Te copias, te consilium, et tuos præbente Divos.*] When the general did not conduct his army in person, he was said to give his gods and his troops to his lieutenant, as Horace here says that Augustus gave his to Tiberius, because the latter fought under the auspices of Augustus. Ovid uses an expression of the same kind, of Tiberius addressing himself to Augustus;

Auspicium cui das grande Deosque tuos.

34. *Nam tibi, quo die.*] This passage has not hitherto been rightly explained; for this *nam* relates to *tuos præbente Divos.* Horace wants here to prove that the gods of Augustus had granted Tiberius the victory over the Grisons; and that he might do it in a genteel, handsome manner, he does not satisfy himself with the general reason, that Tiberius was the lieutenant to that prince; but he says that the Grisons were defeated the same day Augustus entered victorious into Alexandria, about fifteen years before; whence he concludes that each instance of success was produced by the favour of the same gods. It is impossible to imagine any thing more delicate, or better conducted. Horace knew admirably well how to profit by the circumstances that accompanied the subjects he treated of; and it is a very happy stroke to have found so fine an occasion of putting Augustus in remembrance of that fortunate day, in which he had seen an end put to the bloodiest of all the civil wars, by the death of Antony, and surrender of Alexandria.

36. *Vacuam patefecit aulam.*] Horace here calls the palace of Alexandria *vacuam*, void, deserted, because Augustus found neither Antony nor Cleopatra in it. Antony, a little before his death, ordered himself to be carried into the mausoleum built by Cleopatra, whither she herself had retired.

37. *Lustro tertio.*] Tiberius defeated the Grisons in the year of the city 738, fifteen years after the taking of Alexandria, which Augustus entered in August, 723. It is a wonder that any should mistake here, after the remark of the old scholiast, who notes this so distinctly: *Quod post annos quindecim quod ceperat Augustus Alexandriam,*

Te Cantaber non antè domabilis,
Medusque, et Indus, te profugus Scythes
Miratur, ô tutela præsens
Italiæ, dominæque Romæ.
Te, fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque, et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
Te belluosus qui remotis
Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventis funera Galliæ,
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ:
Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compositis venerantur armis.

ORDO.

O tutela præsens Italiæ, Romæque dominæ, te Cantaber, non ante domabilis, Medusque, et Indus, te profugus Scythes miratur.

Te Nilusque qui celat origines fontium, et Ister, te rapidus Tigris, te belluosus oceanus qui obstrepit remotis Britannis, te *tellus* Galliæ non paventis funera, duræque tellus Iberiæ audit: te *etiam* Sicambri gaudentes cæde, compositis armis, venerantur.

NOTES.

eodem die Tiberius superavit Vindelicos. And after what Eusebius says in his *Chronicon*, who places the death of Antony and Cleopatra, and the taking of Alexandria, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Augustus, which was the 723d of Rome, and the defeat of the Vindelici in the 29th year of the same reign, which was the 738th of the city. There were just three *lustra*, that is, fifteen years, from the one to the other.

41. *Te Cantaber non ante domabilis.*] The Cantabrians had been very often vanquished before this, but not entirely subdued; they had always shaken off the yoke. They were at last finally subjected by Agrippa in the year of the city 734, four years before the defeat of the Grisons.

43. *Miratur.*] *Mirari* does not here signify to admire; it would be no great praise to Augustus to say that he was admired by the Scythians. *Mirari* is the same with *colere*, *venerari*, to adore any one, to acknowledge his power, to submit to his commands. Virgil uses *admirari* in the same sense, speaking of the respect and submission which the bees pay to their king;

—illum admirantur, et omnes
Circumstant fremitu denso.

45. *Fontium qui celat origines Nilusque.*] Herodotus says, that he never yet met with an Egyptian, Greek, or African, who had any knowledge of the sources of the Nile; and relates, that Etearchus, king of the Ammonians, told some Cyrenian Greeks, that no person ever yet discovered them. The Romans were equally ignorant of them. Tibullus, Eleg. 8. Book 1, says,

Nile Pater, quanam possum te dicere causa,
Aut quibus in terris occuluisse caput?

Thou powerful protector of Italy, and of Rome the mistress of the world, the Cantabrian, who could never be subdued before, the Mede, Indian, and roving Scythian, pay homage to thee.

The Nile, whose sources are unknown, the Ister, rapid Tigris, and the monster-breeding Ocean, that beats against remote Britain's coasts, *all* own their subjection to thee.

The desperate Gauls, who are not afraid of death, and the hardy Iberians, hear and obey thy commands: even the Sicambrians, who take pleasure in blood and slaughter, throw their arms peaceably at thy feet, and with the greatest submission receive what terms of peace thou art pleased to grant them.

NOTES.

This might, no doubt, arise from the inaccessible deserts which it was necessary to pass through in order to come at them.

46. *Ister.*] The Danube, one of the most considerable rivers in Europe, which empties itself into the Black sea.

46. *Te rapidus Tigris.*] In Horace's time the Euphrates, and not the Tigris, was the boundary of the Roman empire; but here he has an eye to the victory which Augustus obtained over the Parthians, in his obliging them to quit Armenia, and send back the ensigns which they had taken from Crassus and Antony.

47. *Belluosus qui remotis obstrepit Oceanus Britannis.*] Horace speaks here of the British sea, the sea that washes the coast of Britain, instead of Britain itself. Although Augustus had not subdued that island by force of arms, yet was he looked upon as the conqueror and the master of it, because the Britons had sent ambassadors to demand peace of him, and to put the island under his power and protection. The epithet *belluosus* is applicable and even beautiful; for the ocean gives birth to innumerable monsters; and Pliny, C. v. B. 9. says that the sea left in one day above three hundred of them on the coast of Britain.

49. *Non paventis funera Galliæ.*] When Horace wrote this ode, the Gauls were brought under subjection after many wars, and as many revolts. All ancient historians speak of the courage and intrepidity of the Gauls. Ælian (in the eighteenth chapter of the twelfth book of his miscellaneous history) says, that they would not retire from a house that was ready to fall upon them, or which the fire was about to reduce to ashes; that they would not fly before the waves of the sea, when they were on the point of being overtaken by the tide.

51. *Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri compositis.*] The Sicambri were defeated by Drusus in the year of the city 742; but that cannot be what Horace speaks of here, because that happened not till two years after the writing of this ode. This passage therefore ought, without doubt, to be understood of the first insurrection of the Sicambri, who, joining with the Usipetes in the year of the city 737, defeated the army of Lollius. The arrival of Augustus in Gaul filled them with terror; they laid down their arms, and accepted the conditions of peace which he was willing to grant. It is for this reason that Horace says, *compositis venerantur armis.*

ODE XV.

This is another extremely fine ode, and was composed immediately after the preceding. Horace, having complied with the orders he had received to celebrate the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, and not satisfied with the praises he bestowed on Augustus, acquaints that prince with the design which he had entertained of celebrating also his victories and battles in a particular work by itself, if Apollo had not prevented it by intimating

AUGUSTI LAUDES.

Phœbus volentem prœlia me loqui,
Victas et urbes, increpuit lyrâ,
Ne parva Tyrrhenum per æquor
Vela darem. Tua, Cæsar, ætas
Fruges et agris retulit uberes;
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi,
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus; et vacuum duellis

ORDO.

Phœbus increpuit me lyra, volentem loqui prœlia et victas urbes, ne darem parva vela per æquor Tyrrhenum.

O Cæsar, tua ætas et retulit uberes fruges agris; et restituit nostro Jovi signa derepta superbis postibus Parthorum; et clausit Janum

NOTES.

1. *Phœbus volentem.*] These verses include a very fine and delicate piece of praise; nor could Horace have flattered Augustus in a more acceptable manner, than by representing Apollo as so careful of his glory, that he would not suffer any one to undertake to celebrate his exploits, whom he thought unqualified for so great and noble an attempt. The address of Horace will yet appear in a better light, if we call to mind the pains taken by Augustus to propagate an opinion that Apollo was either his protector or father, and that he had fought for him at the battle of Actium; which circumstance Virgil has not omitted to take notice of in his Æneid, where he says,

Actius hæc cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
Desuper.

"Apollo, seeing these things, bent his bow, "and made his arrows fly from the promon- "tory of Actium."

1. *Prœlia victas et urbes.*] The battles of Augustus, and the cities which he had taken. This passage has deceived many, who take the sense to be, that as Horace was attempting to celebrate other exploits than those of Augustus, Apollo was displeased, and commanded him to employ himself in nothing but the praises of that great prince. This, however, cannot be made to agree with what we find in the third verse.

2. *Increpuit lyra.*] Almost all commentators separate the word *lyra* from the verb *increpuit*, to join it with *loqui*. But Janus Douza has very well remarked that this transposition is too forced, and that we ought to join *increpuit* with *lyra*, as Ovid has writ-

ODE XV.

to him that he had not a capacity and genius fit for so great an attempt; and he thence takes occasion to mention the admirable regulations ordained by the emperor during the peace, and the happiness which the people of Rome enjoyed under his administration. This is the true subject of the ode, which the generality of interpreters have misunderstood.

THE PRAISES OF AUGUSTUS.

As I was preparing to sing of the battles *you had gained*, and the cities you had besieged and taken, Apollo checked me *by a gentle blow* with his lyre, and cautioned me against launching into the ocean * in a small galley.

Your peaceful reign, great prince, hath restored to our fields their plentiful crops, and the pleasure of seeing the *Roman* standards forced from the lofty Parthian temples, and hung up again in the temple of Jupiter.

To your happy reign it is owing that the temple of Janus is shut,

* Tuscan sea.

NOTES.

ten in the last verse of the sixth book of his *Fasti:*

Annuit Alcides, increpuitque lyra.

Horace here says that Apollo gave him a blow with his harp, to render him attentive to what he was to say to him. For it was the custom, when one wished to be heard, to give the person to whom he spoke a blow or squeeze, or to pinch him by the ear, as Virgil says in his sixth eclogue:

——Cynthius aurem
Vellit, et admonuit.

3. *Ne parva Tyrrhenum.*] We ought to supply, *et me avertit*, as in Virgil *et admonuit;* for Horace here repeats what Apollo said to dissuade him from the design he had formed of describing the victories of Augustus. "It was like embarking upon the Tuscan sea in a small vessel;" that is, with an inconsiderable genius, to engage in a vast and hazardous project.

4. *Tua, Cæsar, ætas.*] Horace explains his sentiments only by halves. He here says to Augustus, that his administration, during peace, can furnish as much matter for poetry, as his reign has restored plenty and fertility to the lands. Horace commonly neglects close connexion, to give his verse a free and noble air.

5. *Fruges et agris retulit uberes.*] Rome and Italy had laboured for some time under a famine in the reign of Augustus; but, far from ascribing this misfortune to him, the Romans, according to *Dio*, attributed that of the year 731 to his not being consul. It is certain that Augustus, after having put an end to the civil wars, restored peace and plenty throughout the empire. The reader may consult what has been remarked on these lines of the fifth ode;

Janum Quirini clausit; et ordinem
Rectum et vaganti frena licentiæ
Injecit, emovitque culpas,
Et veteres revocavit artes,
Per quas Latinum nomen et Italæ
Crevere vires, famaque, et imperî
Porrecta majestas ad ortum
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.
Custode rerum Cæsare, non furor
Civilis, aut vis exiget otium;
Non ira, quæ procudit enses,
Et miseras inimicat urbes.
Non qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Julia; non Getæ,
Non Seres, infidive Persæ,
Non Tanaim prope flumen orti.
Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris,
Inter jocosi munera Liberi,
Cum prole matronisque nostris,
Rite Deos priùs apprecati,

ORDO.

Quirini vacuum duellis, et injecit rectum ordinem, et frena vaganti licentiæ, emovitque culpas, et *denique* revocavit veteres artes, per quas Latinum nomen et vires Italæ crevere, famaque et majestas imperii porrecta *est* ad ortum solis, ab Hesperio cubili.

Cæsare custode rerum, non furor civilis, aut vis, non ira, quæ procudit enses et inimicat miseras urbes, exiget otium.

Qui bibunt profundum Danubium non rumpent edicta Julia; non Getæ, non Seres, Persæve infidi, non *homines* orti prope flumen Tanaim *rumpent edicta Julia*. Nosque cum prole matronisque nostris, et profestis lucibus et sacris, prius rite apprecati Deos, more

NOTES.

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat:
Nutrit rura Ceres almaque faustitas.

6. *Et signa nostro restituit Jovi.*] Augustus had vowed a temple to Mars the avenger, so soon as he had taken revenge of the murderers of Cæsar. But the multiplicity of affairs in which he was afterwards involved, or perhaps his great prosperity, made him forget his promise; and he did not think of it before the year 733, when Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent back the military ensigns which had been taken from Crassus and Antony. This unexpected good fortune induced him to give orders for building the temple upon the Capitol, not so much for the purpose of accomplishing his vows, as that he might there place these ensigns, and raise a monument to his vanity. Whence comes it then that Horace speaks only of Jupiter, and does not make the least mention of Mars? It is, because this temple vowed in 711, and begun in 733, was not finished and dedicated till eighteen years after; that is, in the year of Rome 751, under the thirteenth consulship of that prince, who performed the dedication of it with great pomp, entertaining the Romans with a magnificent combat of gladiators, and exhibiting to them a naval fight in the Circus, as we learn from Velleius, who had assisted at the sports. During the erection of this temple, the ensigns were carried into that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Horace would not here speak of the temple

as there is now peace over all the earth; that licentiousness is restrained which would otherwise know no bounds; that vice is extirpated; that, *in fine*, our ancient virtue is restored *, which carried the Roman name to such a height, increased the power of Italy, and extended the fame and glory of the Roman empire from the rising to the setting of the sun.

While Cæsar reigns, we have no occasion to fear that either a civil or a foreign war, or wrath that whets the swords and sows discord between one city and another, will disturb our peace.

The inhabitants of the countries near the Danube and the Tanais, the Seres, and perfidious Persians, shall not dare to violate the Julian laws. And let us, with our wives and children, on common as well as festival days, after invoking the gods *for your safety*, in imi-

* *Your reign has restored the ancient arts.* See the note upon ver. 12.

NOTES.

of Mars the avenger, because that was not finished or consecrated till six years after his death.—*Nostro Jovi*, to Jupiter the protector of Rome.

7. *Derepta Parthorum superbis postibus.*] Some read *direpta*, but without reason. The first signifies taken away by force; whereas the other means pulled in pieces, which is quite improper here. By the word *derepta* Horace makes his court to Augustus, as if he had really recovered those ensigns by the force of his arms; an idea which the emperor studiously encouraged. It is possible, after all, that Horace meant no more than to express the great concern of the Parthians at the surrender of these ensigns, which were a glorious evidence of the victory they had obtained over the Romans.

9. *Janum Quirini clausit.*] There were three or four temples belonging to Janus in Rome; but he here speaks of the temple of *Janus Bifrons*, or *Janus Geminus*, built by Romulus, whence Horace calls it *Janum Quirini*. This temple was open in time of war, and shut in time of peace. From Romulus to Augustus it had been shut only twice; and Augustus shut it thrice in his reign. Sueton. cap. 22. *Janum Quirinum, semel atque iterum a condita urbe memoriam ante suam clausum, in multo breviori spatio temporis, terra marique pace parta, ter clausit.* Horace saw it shut only twice: it was about three or four years after his death, that Augustus shut it the third time.

12. *Et veteres revocavit artes.*] This passage is commonly misunderstood. By *veteres artes*, Horace means the ancient customs and manners, the religion, virtue, temperance, fidelity, discipline, patience, frugality, and all the other great qualities which had appeared with so much lustre in the first Romans, and to which the conquest of the world was almost entirely owing.

15. *Majestas.*] The Romans were so jealous of their liberty, that they would not suffer the name of majesty to be applied in any other manner than to the dignity of the people. *Majestas est in Imperio atque in omni populi Romani dignitate.* Cicero.

21. *Non qui profundum Danubium bibunt.*] This prophecy of Horace was not entirely fulfilled. The people of whom he here speaks revolted the same year, but were again brought under the yoke. Drusus vanquished the Sicambri, &c. passed the Rhine, pushed his conquests as far as the Elbe, and built upon the banks of the rivers several forts, in which he left garrisons. Tiberius, on his side, defeated the Pannonians and Dalmatians.

22. *Edicta Julia.*] Augustus was not satisfied with re-touching and re-establishing the laws that were already received, but he moreover made many new ones, which were

Virtute functos, more patrum, duces,
Lydis remisto carmine tibiis,
Trojamque, et Anchisen, et almæ
Progeniem Veneris canemus.

ORDO.

majorum, inter munera jocosi Liberi, canemus carmine remisto tibiis Lydis, duces functos virtute, Trojamque, et Anchisen, et progeniem almæ Veneris.

NOTES.

called *leges Juliæ*; as *Julia sumptuaria*, to regulate the expense of living; *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*, *Julia de adulteriis et pudicitia*, *Julia majestatis*, *Julia de vi publica et privata*, and many others. But, by the words *edicta Julia*, Horace means all the commands which Augustus had imposed upon the nations he had subjected.

31. *Trojamque, et Anchisen.*] After having said that the Romans should sing at their

tation of our ancestors, over a glass of generous wine, sing, in concert with the Lydian flutes, the praises of our late brave generals. Let us sing of Troy, Anchises, and the descendants of gracious Venus.

NOTES.

tables the great actions of heroes, Horace confines these praises to the single family of Augustus, by saying that the common subject of their song would be Troy, Anchises, and the descendants of Venus; that is, Augustus, Julius Cæsar, and all their ancestors up to Venus and Æneas, whence the Julian family flattered themselves that they were descended. There is in this a great deal of spirit and politeness. It must, at the same time, have been very pleasing to Augustus.

31. *Almæ.*] This is an epithet commonly given to Venus.

Æneadum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas,
Alma Venus.

Alma, that is, gracious, bountiful: this agrees very well to Venus, who animates all things, and makes a great part of the pleasure both of men and gods.

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI

EPODON LIBER.

ODE I.

Before we proceed to the odes themselves, it will be necessary to explain the title of this book, which is ordinarily called the Book of Epodes. The learned cannot agree among themselves about the explication which ought to be given of it. Some pretend that it derived its name from the inequality of the verses, which are ranged in such a manner, that every long verse is followed by a short, which is called *Epodus* or *Clausula*. Others are of opinion that it was called *Liber Epodon*, as if one should say ἐπὶ τῶν ᾠδῶν, after the odes, to denote that this book was written some time after the first four books. In fine, Torrentius imagined, that the true title is not *Liber Epodon*, the Book of Epodes; but *Liber Epodos*, that is, the Wizard-book; and that it was so called on account of the enchantments mentioned in the 5th ode against Canidia. This last opinion is insupportable; for there is not the least probability that a single ode should give so extravagant a title to the whole book. The second opinion is no less so; for this book was so far from being composed after the preceding four, that the greatest part of the odes were written before any of the others; so that were we to regard the order of time, this book would obtain rather the first than the last place. There remains only the first opinion to be examined, and indeed it is the only true one; but that we may thoroughly understand it, it will be necessary to carry the matter a little higher. Epode, in the lyric poetry of the Greeks, signifies the third, or concluding, part of the ode, that is, of the song that is divided into Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode. This word Epode signifies properly the end of the song; for ἐπᾴδειν is, in Latin, *super canere*. As, in the odes, what was called Epode concluded the song, so the name was afterwards given to a short verse, which being put after a long one, closed the period, and concluded the whole sense, which was left imperfect in the first verse. Hence this book has been entitled *Liber Epodon*; that is, *Liber versuum Epodon*, the Book of Epode Verses; the book where every long verse of the ode is followed by a short one, which finishes and takes in the sense. Marius Victorinus, who lived in the fourth century, writes at the end of the first

HORACE'S

BOOK OF EPODES.

ODE I.

book; "Epodos est tertia pars aut periodus Lyricæ odes. Igitur quæ post "strophen et antistrophen Epodon dicebant; ἐπάδειν quidem est super "canere: hinc sumptum vocabulum in has Epodos, quæ binos versus im- "pares habent; nam, ut illa canticum finiebat, sic hæ sensum versu inse- "quenti." "The Epode is the third part, or conclusion, of the lyric ode. "Hence what followed the strophe and antistrophe were called Epodes, from "the Greek ἐπάδειν, which signifies to sing after; and on the same account "this name has been given to these odes which have two unequal verses; "for as in lyric poetry the ode finishes the song, so in these odes the sense "is finished by the short verse, which is for this reason called Epode." The same Victorinus compares the epode to the pentameter verse in the elegiac; "Nam neque per se versus hexameter sine sequente pentametro "Elegiacum metrum implebit, neque in epodis singuli versus sine clausulis "suis et assequelis audiri poterunt." After this explication of the nature of the epode verses, it is easy to see that only the first ten odes of this book can properly be called by this name, and that the last eight are not all of this character. The first ten odes, therefore, must have given the name to this whole book; for although in the other odes there is also a short verse after a long, yet they are not of that kind which constitutes the character of the epode, as Dacier shows at large in his remarks at the beginning of this book. I have only one thing to add before I conclude this short dissertation. Horace himself could not be the author of this title, because it was not he that disposed his works in the order in which we now have them. Assuredly the grammarians who made this collection of them, gave also the name of Epodes to this fifth book, after having put together the ten odes which they found written in the same kind of verse; and this happened, no doubt, in the second or third century; for in the beginning of the fourth this title had been universally received, and all the works of Horace were divided in the same manner as they are at this day. I believe, after what

has been said, that there will remain no other difficulty on this head. We shall therefore only remark, farther, that, if the odes were ranked in their natural order, this, and the ninth of the same book, would immediately pre-

AD MÆCENATEM.

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
Subire, Mæcenas, tuo.
Quid nos, quibus te vita sit superstite
Jucunda; si contra, gravis?
Utrùmne jussi persequemur otium
Non dulce, ni tecum simul?
An hunc laborem mente laturi, decet
Quâ ferre non molles viros?
Feremus; et te, vel per Alpium juga,
Inhospitalem et Caucasum,
Vel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum,
Forti sequemur pectore.
Roges, tuum labore quid juvem meo,
Imbellis ac firmus parum.

ORDO.

O amice Mæcenas, ibis Liburnis *navibus* inter alta propugnacula navium, paratus subire omne periculum Cæsaris *periculo* tuo. Quid nos *faciemus,* quibus vita sit jucunda, te superstite; si contra, gravis? Utrumne jussi prosequemur otium, non dulce ni simul tecum? An laturi *sumus* hunc laborem mente, qua decet viros non molles ferre? Feremus; et sequemur te forti pectore, vel per juga Alpium, et Caucasum inhospitalem, vel usque ad ultimum sinum occidentis.

Roges, quid *ego* imbellis ac parum firmus

NOTES.

1. *Ibis.*] When Augustus departed with a design to fight Antony, he took along with him the principal senators, and the most considerable of the equestrian rank; and Mæcenas, though at that time governor of Rome, accompanied him also in his voyage. Horace, as well acquainted as any with the state of affairs, gives us to understand, that he was at least named. Torrentius, however, is of opinion that he did not go; nor is it at all probable, he thinks, that he was at the battle of Actium, because Virgil, speaking of that battle, makes mention only of Agrippa; whereas it is not at all likely he would have passed Mæcenas over in silence had he been present: but this reason is of no force; Virgil, who only gives a description of the fight, had no occasion to speak of Mæcenas, who had no share in the actual conflict. Although it is not necessary, for the understanding of this ode, to know whether Mæcenas went or not, it is however a point of history that deserves to be investigated.

1. *Liburnis.*] The Liburni were a people of Illyria. As they were properly a kind of corsairs, who subsisted by piracy, they made use of light and expedite vessels; whence all light vessels were called Liburnian.

1. *Inter alta navium propugnacula.*] We may refer on this occasion to Florus, who

cede the thirty-seventh of the first; for this was written some months before the battle of Actium, when Mæcenas was preparing to follow Augustus, who intended an expedition against Antony.

TO MÆCENAS.

YOU are resolved then, my *illustrious* friend, in defence of Cæsar, to hazard yourself in a fleet of small Liburnian galleys, amidst *Antony's* ships, which are like so many floating castles; *but* what shall I do, to whom, while I enjoy you, life is agreeable, but, if I should lose you, would be insupportable? Must I obey you, and content myself with repose, which I cannot relish without you, or encounter the toils of war with that resolution that becomes a hardy warrior? I will encounter them, and follow you with undaunted courage over the *stupendous* summits of the Alps, and *frightful* deserts of Caucasus, or even to the utmost bounds of the west.

You will ask me, *perhaps*, of what service can I be to you, as I am so infirm and unfit for war. *I grant, that I can give you little*

NOTES.

says, Chapter 11th, Book 4th *(Antonii naves) a senis in novenos remorum ordinibus, ad hoc turribus atque tabulatis allevatæ, castellorum et urbium specie, non sine gemitu maris et labore ventorum ferebantur:* "The ships of "Antony had from six to nine banks of oars; "they had besides a great number of towers "and bridges, which gave them a prodigious "height, and made them look like so many "castles and cities. The sea groaned under "the weight of those dreadful machines, "which could not be removed but by the "strongest efforts of the winds." Plutarch speaks of these towers and castles of Antony, and says, that when one such ship was surrounded by four or five of Augustus's galleys, the combat resembled rather the assault of a city than the attack of a vessel. It is on this account that Horace calls these ships *navium propugnacula.*

3. *Paratus omne Cæsaris.*] This is a very happy turn. Horace, by saying to Mæcenas, that he was always ready to put himself before Augustus, to guard him from the blows of his enemies, pays at the same time a handsome compliment to that prince, by insinuating, that during the heat of the battle he was regardless of himself, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

6. *Si contra, gravis.*] Horace, in another place, tells Mæcenas, in yet stronger terms, that he could not live without him, Ode seventeenth, Book second;

Ah, te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æque, nec superstes
Integer?

"Ah! if the destinies hasten to carry you "off, and wrest from me the better part of "myself, why should the other remain? "Why should I tarry any longer, I who am "neither so dear to the Romans, nor can be "called entire when you are gone?"

11. *Vel per Alpium juga.*] The meaning is, I would follow you not only to Tarentum, &c. where Augustus made the rendezvous of his fleet; but I would follow you over the Alps, over Caucasus, and to the utmost borders of the west.

15. *Roges, tuum.*] Two things rendered Horace very improper for war, his want of courage, and bad state of health. After

Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
Qui major absentes habet;
Ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
Serpentium allapsus timet,
Magis relictis; non, ut adsit, auxilî
Latura plus præsentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuæ spem gratiæ;
Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus
Aratra nitantur meis,
Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutet pascua,
Nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circæa tangat mœnia.
Satìs superque me benignitas tua
Ditavit: haud paravero
Quod aut, avarus ut Chremes, terrâ premam,
Discinctus aut perdam ut nepos.

ORDO.

juvem tuum *laborem* meo labore? Comes futurus sum in minore metu, qui major habet absentes; ut avis assidens pullis implumibus timet allapsus serpentium, magis *vero* relictis, non latura plus auxilii præsentibus, ut adsit. Hoc et omne bellum libenter militabitur in spem tuæ gratiæ; non ut aratra illigata nitantur pluribus meis juvencis, pecusve mutet pascua Lucana Calabris ante sidus fervidum, nec ut villa candens tangat Circæa mœnia Tusculi superni. Benignitas tua ditavit me satis superque. Haud paravero quod aut premam terra, ut avarus Chremes, aut perdam, ut nepos discinctus.

NOTES.

having answered the first in the four preceding verses, he proceeds to answer the second. I acknowledge, says he to Mæcenas, that I can afford you no help; but it will be a great advantage for me to be in your company. My own health will be the more confirmed when I have no inquietude about yours.—All this is said with such an air of familiarity, as makes it evident that Horace was sure of the friendship and esteem of Mæcenas.

assistance in the field of battle; but I shall be much more free from those anxious fears which disquiet me in your absence; as a bird, when at a distance from her new-hatched young, is more afraid of serpents springing upon them, than when she is by them, not that her presence could save them *from being devoured.* I will with pleasure make this campaign, and a hundred more, to keep and merit your esteem; not with a view of increasing the number of my cattle to till my grounds, or of having pastures, that I may remove my flocks from Calabria to *cool* Lucania, before the violent heats of the dog-star, or of extending *the inclosures of* my glittering villa to the walls of Tusculum. *No,* I am already rich beyond my utmost wants, in consequence of your generosity; nor have I the least desire, like Chremes *in the play,* to amass vast treasures that I may bury them in the earth, or, like a rake, squander them in luxury.

NOTES.

25. *Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus.*] Horace was one of the most disinterested men in the world, this appears every where in his works; it is known that he contented himself with the small house given him by Mæcenas, in the country of the Sabines. See Ode eighteenth, Book second. Princes and great men would be much happier, if those who attached themselves to their fortune, were influenced rather by sentiments of esteem and amity, than by a view of acquiring riches, and gratifying their ambition.

34. *Discinctus nepos.*] In all ages it has been observed, that children whose father and grandfather were still living, being free from all domestic concerns, have dreamed rather of spending than amassing and heaping up riches. Add to this, that they are ordinarily spoiled by the blind indulgence of their grandfathers. Hence the Latins sometimes employed the word *nepos* to signify a young debauchee. Horace joins an epithet with it, which plainly determines its signification. It is known that the Romans tucked up their robes with a belt on occasions that demanded action, and above all when they went to the army, it being impossible to fight otherwise. Hence it came to be looked upon as a mark of effeminacy and softness not to make use of a belt, but to let their gown hang dragging after them.

ODE II.

This ode is a master-piece in its kind. The poet, to show how unwilling the covetous man is to detach himself from his riches, supposes an usurer, who, convinced of the happiness and tranquillity of a country life, forms an intention of renouncing his unworthy traffic, and retiring into the country, there to spend the remainder of his days in a pleasant agreeable manner. He gathers together his riches, breaks all his connexion with others, and prepares to be gone. The passion awakes again, and opposes his design; at the very first assault he is lost. Those reflections so natural, those projects so reasonable, those so flattering ideas of a pure and constant felicity, suddenly vanish; and the usurer remains, as formerly, the prey of his unhappy avarice. The ad-

VITÆ RUSTICÆ LAUDES.

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni fenore;
Nec excitatur classico miles truci,
Nec horret iratum mare;
Forumque vitat, et superba civium
Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adultâ vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos,
Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,
Feliciores inserit;

ORDO.

Beatus *est* ille, qui procul negotiis, *et* solutus fenore omni, exercet rura paterna bobus suis, ut prisca gens mortalium; nec, *ut* miles, excitatur classico truci, nec horret mare iratum; vitatque forum et superba limina civium potentiorum. Ergo aut maritat populos altas adulta propagine vitium, amputansque inútiles ramos falce, inserit felici-

NOTES.

2. *Ut prisca gens mortalium.*] We ought to connect this second verse with the third. The first men were either labourers or shepherds. Perhaps, however, Horace does not refer to so distant an antiquity, but means this of the ancient Romans, who lived in the country, and laboured their fields with their own hands, as Quintus Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Curius Dentatus, &c. The greatest praise that could be given in those days to a Roman, was to call him a good labourer: Cato says, *virum bonum cum laudabant, ita laudabant agricolam, bonumque colonum.*

4. *Solutus omni fenore.*] This not only

ODE II.

dress of the poet is admirable. He leaves it to his readers to draw the moral which naturally flows from an event he had been relating; and he does not make known to him the person that speaks, till towards the end of the piece. A train of pleasing scenes amuse the imagination, and lead insensibly to an unexpected solution, that furnishes useful reflections, by which every one may profit. If this ode cannot be called the master-piece of Horace, at least it may dispute the prize with whatever he has left us most beautiful in lyric poetry. Never was Horace more pleasant in his style, more elegant in his expressions, or more harmonious in his versification. The constructions are so easy, that it is difficult to find one that stands in need of explication.

THE PRAISES OF A COUNTRY LIFE.

THRICE happy he, who, at a distance from the noise and hurry of business, and free from every species of usury, *lives* like our ancestors, and cultivates his paternal lands with his own oxen; who is not roused from his rest, as the soldier, with the alarming sound of trumpets; who does not expose himself, *as the merchant*, to the mercy of a raging sea; who is unconcerned in *tedious* law-suits, and attends not the levees of the great*, but amuses himself with binding the overgrown tendrils of his vines to the tall poplars, and with lopping off decayed branches to graft others more kindly.

* Nor fears a raging sea; and shuns the bar, and proud thresholds of powerful citizens.

NOTES.

signifies one who owes nothing to any person; but who lends nothing to any person, one that is clear of all kind of usury, who has no debt either active or passive; and this indeed is very pleasant in the mouth of an usurer, out of conceit for a little while with a commerce which by the first Romans was looked upon as infamous, and punished with greater severity than even death itself. *Majores enim nostri sic habuerunt, et ita in legibus posuerunt, furem dupli condemnari, fœneratorem quadrupli, quanto pejorem civem existimarunt fœneratorem quam furem.* CATO.

4. *Fenore.*] Columella says the same that Horace does in showing the vileness, injustice, and danger of trades and professions, in comparison of agriculture. War, says he, unjustly gives to some what it takes by violence from others; commerce and navigation exceed the bounds of nature, and expose the merchant to a thousand dangers; usury is odious even to the person whom it relieves. The lawyer's trade is a villany licensed by law; and a courtier is a lying, flattering, servile mercenary.

6. *Nec horret iratum mare.*] The meaning of the passage is, that such a one never ventures upon the sea, or exposes himself to its rage, either as a soldier or a merchant. Bias, speaking of those who go to sea, says

Aut in reductâ valle mugientium
Prospectat errantes greges;
Aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris;
Aut tondet infirmas oves:
Vel, cùm decorum mitibus pomis caput
Autumnus arvis extulit,
Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pyra,
Certantem et uvam purpuræ,
Quâ muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
Sylvane, tutor finium!
Libet jacere modò sub antiquâ ilice,
Modò in tenaci gramine:
Labuntur altis interim ripis aquæ;
Queruntur in sylvis aves;
Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
Somnos quod invitet leves.
At cùm tonantis annus hibernus Jovis
Imbres nivesque comparat,
Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multâ cane
Apros in obstantes plagas,
Aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
Turdis edacibus dolos;
Pavidumque leporem, et advenam laqueo gruem,
Jucunda captat præmia.

ORDO.

ores; aut prospectat errantes greges mugientium in valle reducta; aut condit pressa mella puris amphoris; aut tondet oves infirmas: vel cum Autumnus extulit arvis caput decorum pomis mitibus, ut gaudet decerpens insitiva pyra, et uvam certantem purpuræ, qua, O Priape, muneretur te, et te, O pater Sylvane, tutor finium! Modo libet jacere sub ilice antiqua, modo in gramine tenaci. Aquæ interim labuntur ripis altis; aves queruntur in sylvis; fontesque obstrepunt manantibus lymphis, quod invitet somnos leves.

At cum annus hibernus Jovis tonantis comparat imbres nivesque, aut multa cane trudit hinc et hinc apros acres in plagas obstantes, aut amite levi tendit retia rara dolos turdis edacibus; aut captat laqueo pavidum leporem, gruemque advenam, jucunda præmia.

NOTES.

very ingeniously, that they cannot be reckoned either among the living or the dead.

10. *Altas maritat populos.*] Some commentators pretend that Horace must have written here *albas;* but they mistake the point. They must certainly have overlooked that passage of Pliny, in the twenty-third chapter of his seventeenth book, where he says, that experience teaches us that the high trees make the goodness of the wine, and the low trees the quantity. Horace therefore here uses *altas,* to mark that this man made choice of the highest poplars, that his wine might be good. Cato says, *Quam altissimam vineam facito;* "Raise your vine as high as "possible." And Varro gives us the reason of the precept; *Altius vitis tollenda, quod in partu et alimonio vinum, non ut in calice quærit aquam, sed solem.*

21. *Priape.*] Sylvanus and Priapus were gods in the ancient mythology, in whom such as lived in the country were very nearly interested. The one had the care of the gardens, and the other provided for the preserva-

Sometimes he takes pleasure to view at a distance his cattle grazing in a winding valley, which resounds with their lowings; sometimes he fills his well-seasoned jars with honey expressed from the combs, or shears his over-burthened sheep; or when the pleasant autumn shows itself crowned with ripe fruits, oh! how he is pleased to gather the pears which he himself grafted, or the grapes that vie in colour with purple, of which he makes an offering to thee, Priapus, and to thee, father Sylvanus, the guardian of his grounds. Then he takes pleasure to rest himself sometimes under *the shade of* an old *bushy* oak, at other times on the matted grass, whilst the fall of waters from the mountains, the warbling of birds in the woods, and the murmur of streams flowing from their bubbling fountains, make an agreeable concert, and lull him asleep.

But when the wintry tempests begin to sound, and cover the ground with snow*, he diverts himself with closely pursuing wild boars, and forcing them with his pack of hounds into the toils, or stretches his nets on a polished hunting-staff to insnare voracious thrushes, and catches in his springes the timorous hare, and the crane that is seldom seen, which he reckons a sufficient recompense for his toil.

* But when the wintry season of thundering Jupiter brings rains and snows.

NOTES.

tion of the boundaries which separated and distinguished the lands. Fable says, that Priapus, the son of Bacchus and Venus, was born in Lampsacus, a city of Troas, where he was abandoned by his mother. This god was so late, that Hesiod makes no mention of him. Sylvanus is yet less known; some make him the son of Saturn, others of Faunus. It is not known in what place he was born. The Pelasgi first brought the knowledge of him from Greece into Italy.

22. *Tutor finium.*] The ancients acknowledged three gods, who all went by the name of Sylvanus. In the book of the boundaries of the lands, we find this passage: *Omnis possessio tres Sylvanos habet; unus dicitur domesticus, possessioni consecratus; alter dicitur agrestis, pastoribus consecratus; tertius dicitur orientalis, cui est in confinio lucus positus.* "Every heritage had three gods "under the name of Sylvanus; the one called "domestic, who was the god of the heritage; "the second had the care of the shepherds; "and the last, called oriental, had commonly "a grove dedicated to him upon the confines "of two or three inheritances." The first is the same with the god Lar, whence he is called Sylvanus Larum. The second was the same as Pan, or Faunus:

Agresti Fauno supposuisse pecus.
OVID.

The third was the same with Mars. Horace speaks here of this last, to whom was ascribed the fertility of the country, and who was considered as the author of all the blessings it afforded; this was the reason of addressing their prayers to him, when they implored a blessing on the fields. *Mars Pater, te precor, quæsoque uti si es volens propitius mihi, domo, familiæque nostræ, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduitatem vastitudinemque, calamitates, intemperiasque prohibessis, defendas, averruncesque, uti tu fruges, frumenta, vineta, virgulta, grandire beneque evenire sinas, pastores pecoraque salva servassis, duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi, domo, familiæque nostræ,* &c.

31. *Multâ cane.*] Singulars are always

Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
Hæc inter obliviscitur?
Quòd si pudica mulier in partem juvet
Domum atque dulces liberos,
(Sabina qualis, aut pérusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli)
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum,
Lassi sub adventum viri;
Claudensque textis cratibus lætum pecus,
Distenta siccet ubera;
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio,
Dapes inemtas apparet;
Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia,
Magisve rhombus, aut scari,
Si quos Eöis intonata fluctibus
Hiems ad hoc vertat mare;
Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
Non attagen Ionicus
Jucundior, quàm lecta de pinguissimis
Oliva ramis arborum,
Aut herba lapathi prata amantis, et gravi
Malvæ salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis cæsa Terminalibus,
Vel hœdus ereptus lupo.
Has inter epulas, ut juvat pastas oves
Videre properantes domum!
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentes languido;

ORDO.

Quis inter hæc non obliviscitur *curarum* malarum quas curas amor habet?

Quod si mulier pudica in partem juvet domum atque liberos dulces (qualis Sabina, aut uxor Apuli pernicis perusta solibus) *et* extruat focum sacrum lignis vetustis sub adventum viri lassi; claudensque lætum pecus cratibus textis, siccet ubera distenta, et, promens horna vina dolio dulci, apparet dapes inemtas; Lucrina conchylia, rhombusve, aut scari, si quos hiems intonata vertat Eois fluctibus ad hoc mare, non juverint me magis; non avis Afra, non attagen Ionicus, descendat jucundior in ventrem meum, quam oliva lecta de pinguissimis ramis arborum, aut herba lapathi amantis prata, et malvæ salubres corpori gravi, vel agna cæsa festis Terminalibus, vel hœdus ereptus lupo.

Inter has epulas, ut juvat videre pastas oves properantes domum! *Ut juvat* videre fessos boves trahentes vomerem inversum, collo langui-

NOTES.

more noble than plurals. *Multo milite* for *multis militibus*. When the Latins speak of hunting dogs, they generally use *canis* in the feminine gender.

4. *Sabina qualis.*] In the time of Horace it was very rare to find a woman who was willing to live in the country, and take upon herself the care of her own family. Luxury had entirely corrupted them; and it was not without difficulty that they could resolve

Would not the most passionate lover, amidst these innocent diversions, forget the jealous and smarting pains of love?

But if, with all these pleasures, a chaste wife takes part with him in the care of his house and children, like a virtuous Sabine matron, or the frugal, though homely, wife of an industrious Apulian, and in the evening when her husband returns fatigued with his labour, makes a blazing fire for him of well-dried faggots, and having pent up his well-pleased ewes, goes herself and drains their extended udders *of the rich milk*, and drawing a bowl of this year's wine from a sweet cask, sets before him a supper of unbought dainties; I would prefer such a meal to the fine oysters of the Lucrine lake, the choicest turbot, or the scar, forced sometimes by a storm from the eastern seas to ours. No turkeys or heath-poults are so delicious to my taste as *sweet* olives just pulled from the over-loaded boughs, or sorrel, that is plentiful in meadows, or mallows so salutary to our sickly bodies, or a lamb killed for a sacrifice at the feast of Terminus, or a kid snatched from the jaws *of a growling wolf*.

Amidst these plain repasts, what pleasure he has in seeing his well-fed sheep hastening home, his weary oxen heavily dragging

NOTES.

to pass so much as a few days in the country, unless they were going to some pleasant seat. This was what gave rise to farmers. This is also the reason that Horace takes his examples from the Sabines and Apulians, who retained some remains of their ancient frugality and laborious diligence. Columella says, in the preface to his second book, *Quam ob causam cum in totum non solum exoleverit, sed etiam occiderit, vetus ille matrum familiarum mos Sabinarum atque Romanarum, necessaria irrepsit villicæ cura, quæ tueretur officia matronæ.* "Wherefore as the practice of the ancient Sabine and Roman ladies is not only become unfashionable, but entirely laid aside, it has been thought necessary to commit business to the care and inspection of a farmer, who may discharge the duties that properly belong to the mistress of the family."

48. *Dapes inemtas apparet.*] She does not go to the neighbouring city to buy wherewith to furnish her table; she makes her own garden supply her with every thing necessary. Virgil says the same of an old Corycian. See the prose translation of Virgil, Georg. 4th, v. 132.

——————*seraque revertens*
Nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemtis.

"He returned home late in the evening, and loaded his table with meats which he was not under a necessity of buying." Columella alludes to this passage of Virgil, when, speaking of the culture of gardens, he says, *Hortorum æque curam suscipere debebit; ut et quotidiani victus sui levet sumptum, et advenienti domino præbeat quod ait poeta, inemptas ruris dapes.* "A man who has a small heritage to cultivate, and is a good manager, ought to buy nothing for his subsistence." And it is a precept of Cato, *Patrem-familias vendacem et non emacem esse oportere.* "That the father of a family should love to sell and not to buy."

59. *Vel agna festis cæsa Terminalibus.*] This is another evidence of the frugality of these good people, who made a feast but once

Positosque vernas, ditis examen domûs,
Circum renidentes Lares!
Hæc ubi locutus fenerator Alphius,
Jam jam futurus rusticus,
Omnem relegit Idibus pecuniam;
Quærit Calendis ponere.

ORDO.

do; vernasque, examen domus ditis, positos circum Lares renidentes! Ubi fenerator Alphius locutus *esset* hæc, jam jam futurus rusticus, relegit omnem pecuniam Idibus, quærit *vero* ponere Calendis.

NOTES.

a year, and that when they offered sacrifices to the god who had the care of their boundaries. We have elsewhere spoken of the great respect which the Romans had for this deity. The festival they kept in honour of him was on the twenty-first of February, and called *Terminalia*; it was instituted by Numa. They usually sacrificed a lamb. Plutarch therefore was certainly in a mistake, when he assures us in the fifteenth of his Roman questions, that they never sacrificed any beast to the god of their borders. This is evident,

ODE III.

Horace, having supped with Mæcenas, found himself disordered by eating of a dish of herbs in which garlic had been put, and upon that occasion writes to

AD MÆCENATEM.

Parentis olim si quis impiâ manu
Senile guttur fregerit,
Edat cicutis allium nocentius.
O dura messorum ilia!
Quid hoc veneni sævit in præcordiis?
Num viperinus his cruor
Incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?

ORDO.

O si quis olim fregerit senile guttur parentis impia manu, edat allium nocentius cicutis. O dura ilia messorum! Quid hoc veneni *est*, *quod* sævit in præcordiis *meis*? Num viperinus cruor incoctus his herbis fefellit me? an Canidia tractavit dapes malas?

NOTES.

8. *Canidia.*] The old scholiast pretends, that this Canidia is a fictitious name, and that Horace speaks here of a celebrated practitioner in poison, named Gratidia, who was

back the inverted plough, and crowds of servants, a sure sign of riches, sitting cheerful round his clean hearth.

The *griping* usurer Alphius had not well ended this harangue, but he presently resolved to go and live in the country, calls in all his money on the Ides, *but he had scarcely got it in, when* he wants to put it out again on the *following* Calends.

NOTES.

not only from the present passage, but from many others which it would be needless to quote.

70. *Quærit Calendis ponere.*] By *ponère* here is meant putting out to interest; but, says M. Dacier, the greatest part of interpreters have misunderstood what Horace means by *Calendis ponere;* for it is ridiculous, says he, to imagine, that Alphius, after having called in all his money the fifteenth of the month, was so bad a manager as to keep it the rest of the month, and not lay it out till the beginning of the next. *Calendis ponere* therefore is to lend it out till the Calends. Horace says, that Alphius having gathered in his money on the Ides, endeavours the same day to put it out for another term, that is, to the Calends; but P. Sanadon says, M. Dacier does violence to the text; for if *relegit Idibus* signifies *he called it in on the Ides,* as M. Dacier himself interprets it, *ponere Calendis* must signify to put it out on the following Calends, as it is translated in this version.

ODE III.

his friend. This is the true subject of the ode, which does not contain any particular whence we may draw a conjecture of the time of its composition.

TO MÆCENAS.

If there be such an *unnatural* impious wretch upon earth as has strangled his aged father with his own hands, let him, *by way of punishment,* eat garlic, which is a *thousand times* more poisonous than hemlock. The reapers' stomachs must be strong indeed *to digest this nauseous plant.* What poison is this that consumes my entrails? Was it the blood of vipers poured on these herbs that thus deceived me, or did Canidia touch the cursed dish, *and impart to it her magic?*

NOTES.

of Naples. He founds his conjecture upon this, that it was forbidden by the laws to name any person to speak evil of them. There was a law relating to this in the twelve tables, and Augustus had, as it were, renewed it, by ordering that information should be given against those who, by their writings, wounded any one's reputation; but both he and they who follow him mistake the point. Horace intimates that this law was made only against calumniators, against those who accused people of things they had never done, who reproached them with crimes they were not guilty of; and maintains, that in writing

Ut Argonautas præter omnes candidum
Medea mirata est ducem,
Ignota tauris illigaturum juga,
Perunxit hoc Jasonem :
Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem,
Serpente fugit alite.
Nec tantus unquam siderum insedit vapor
Siticulosæ Apuliæ ;
Nec munus humeris efficacis Herculis
Inarsit æstuosius.
At, si quid unquam tale concupiveris,
Jocose Mæcenas, precor
Manum puella suavio opponat tuo,
Extremâ et in spondâ cubet.

ORDO.

Ut Medea mirata est ducem candidum præter Argonautas omnes, perunxit Jasonem hoc *allio*, illigaturum juga ignota tauris : ulta pellicem donis delibutis hec fugit serpente alite.

Nec tantus vapor siderum unquam insedit Apuliæ siticulosæ ; nec munus æstuosius inarsit humeris Herculis efficacis.

At, o jocose Mæcenas, si unquam concupiveris quid tale, precor ut puella opponat manum suavio tuo, et cubet in sponda extrema.

NOTES.

against those who merited censure, far from exposing himself to the penalty annexed to the laws, he was, on the contrary, sure of the protection and approbation of Augustus. This is evident from the latter part of the first satire of the second book ;

——————*si quis*
Opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse,
Solventur risu tabulæ, tu missus abibis.

Thus Horace did not scruple to mark those by their proper names whom he lashed in his verses ; he never feigned one to them, as it would be easy to show : he is not content with mentioning Canidia by her own name, but also points her out by that of her father, Sat. first, Book second.

Canidia Albuti, quibus est inimica, venenum.

9. *Ut Argonautas.*] *Ut* here stands for *postquam* ; the passage ought to be construed in this manner ; *Postquam Medea mirata est ducem candidum præter omnes Argonautas, perunxit allio eum illigaturum tauris juga*

When Medea became an admirer of Jason, that most comely prince who headed the Argonauts, she surely anointed him with this before he dared to engage the fiery bulls, or made them submit tamely to the yoke. Rubbing her presents over with this, she avenged herself of her rival, then mounted into the air in a chariot drawn by winged dragons.

Never did the violent heat of the Dog-star thus scorch dry Apulia; nor could the gift sent to indefatigable Hercules kindle such a fire in his body.

But, my jocose friend, should you ever entertain a desire to eat garlic, may your mistress deny you a kiss, and lie *at a distance from you all night* in the farthest part of the bed.

NOTES.

ignota. Every one knows the history of Jason, who, in order to come at the golden fleece, was obliged to bring under the yoke two bulls who vomited up flame, whose feet were of brass, and whose horns were of iron.

12. *Perunxit hoc.*] Horace found the effects of the garlic so terrible, that he assures us the drug wherewith Medea anointed Jason was true garlic, and not a compound oil, as Pindar would have it, or the juice of an enchanted herb, according to Ovid and some others of the ancients. But how can this be reconciled with what he says in the sequel, that the robe which Medea sent to the daughter of Creon was poisoned with garlic? Whence comes it that garlic produces such contrary effects? Here it is salutary to Jason, and in the following verse destructive to Glauca. This is a difficulty raised by Julius Scaliger, and indeed at first sight it appears plausible; but it is easy to answer it; Horace pretends that Medea gave Jason some antidote, and that the garlic wherewith she anointed him could not prevail against him, but only against the bulls he wished to subdue.

13. *Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem.*] Jason returning from Colchis with Medea, took Corinth in his way, and there declared himself the lover of Glauca, the daughter of king Creon. Medea, provoked at this ingratitude, resolved to take revenge on his mistress. That she might the better effect her design, she thought it prudent to dissemble her resentment, and sent to that young princess a very magnificent nuptial-robe and a crown of gold, which she had poisoned. These presents produced the desired effect; and Glauca no sooner put them on, than she found herself consumed by a fire which it was impossible to extinguish. Euripides composed an excellent tragedy on this subject, under the name of Medea. *Dona* therefore here are the crown of gold and the marriage-robe which Euripides calls ποικιλους πεπλους, *variam vestem.*

17. *Munus.*] This gift was the robe which Deianira sent to Hercules, after she had dipped it in the blood of Nessus, the centaur,

ODE IV.

Horace writes here against a slave whose name was Menas, whom Pompey the Great had set at liberty, and who, after the death of his first master, attached himself to the interest of the young Pompey, who loaded him with favours, and made him lieutenant-general of his naval forces; but the civil wars beginning afresh between this last Pompey and Augustus in the year of Rome 715, Menas forsook the party of his benefactor, and joined that of Augustus, to whom he gave up Sardinia, and the army under his command. This treachery was not unprofitable to him; Augustus added new favours to those he had already received; he ennobled him; gave him the privilege of wearing a gold ring; raised him to the dignity of a Roman knight, and for some time did him the honour to make him eat at his own table. But all these great favours were not able to fix this perfidious man, who, being accustomed to govern his masters, and to see no person above him, took it ill that Augustus did not give him the command. For this reason he forsook him in the following year, and returned to Pompey, who, taking his

IN SEX. MENAM, POMPEII LIBERTUM.

Lupis et agnis quanta sortitò obtigit,
Tecum mihi discordia est,
Ibericis peruste funibus latus,
Et crura durâ compede.
Licèt superbus ambules pecuniâ,
Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videsne, sacram metiente te viam
Cum bis ter ulnarum togâ,
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
Liberrima indignatio?

ORDO.

Quanta discordia sortitò obtigit lupis et agnis, *tanta* est mihi tecum, *O Mena*, peruste *quoad* latus funibus Ibericis, et crura dura compede. Licet ambules superbus pecuniâ, fortuna non mutat genus.

Videsne ut liberrima indignatio euntium vertat ora huc et huc, te metiente viam sacram cum toga bis ter ulnarum? "Hic

NOTES.

5. *Superbus ambules pecuniâ.*] Menas had amassed great wealth under Pompey the Great, under his son, and under Augustus, but more under the young Pompey than under either of the others; for that weak man suffered himself to be entirely governed by his slaves and freed-men. Velleius says of him, *Libertorum suorum libertus, servorumque servus.*

ODE IV.

return for a true repentance, pardoned him, restored him to his command, and re-established him in his first favour. This goodness was one of the principal causes of Pompey's ruin; for Menas, who was destitute both of integrity and respect, quitted him a second time, about the year of the city 717, and joined again the party of Augustus with the fleet under his command; discovered to Augustus all the secrets he had been intrusted with, and proved very serviceable to him in that war. Augustus, willing to profit by the advice of this vile slave, and fearing to lose him a second time, made him tribune of the soldiers, but nevertheless detested his perfidy and ingratitude; and this was the very thing that gave Horace the boldness to write against him, and to handle him so roughly in this ode; which assuredly he would not have done, if Menas had been as well with Augustus the second time as the first. It is certain therefore that this ode was written about the 717th year of Rome, some months before the battle of Milazzo. The year following Menas was slain at the siege of Belgrade.

AGAINST SEXTUS MENAS, A FREED-MAN OF POMPEY.

NATURE has not implanted a greater antipathy between the wolves and lambs, than I feel in myself against you, *vile and odious slave*, whose back still retains the scars of the Spanish whips, and whose legs yet bear the marks of the slavish chain.

Though you are proud of your immense riches, and give yourself airs of grandeur, yet fortune cannot change your *mean* extraction.

When you strut proudly up the sacred hill in your robe *with a train* six yards long, do not you see the crowd and generous *Ro-*

NOTES.

6. *Fortuna non mutat genus.*] All the care and pains that the young Pompey and Augustus had taken to efface, by employments and dignities, the meanness of Menas' birth, were fruitless and nugatory. It was not in the power of fortune to alter his condition, or hinder him that was a freed-man from being a slave.

10. *Liberrima indignatio.*] Indignation is a passion directly opposite to pity. Pity is, when one grieves at the misfortunes which befall a person that does not deserve them. Indignation is, when one is displeased to see any thing happen well to a person who is unworthy of it. *Liberrima indignatio*, an open avowed indignation, which is at no pains to conceal itself. Horace uses the epithet *liberrima*, on account of what follows, *sectus*

Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus,
Præconis ad fastidium,
Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera,
Et Appiam mannis terit;
Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques,
Othone contemto, sedet.
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
Rostrata duci pondere,
Contra latrones atque servilem manum,
Hoc, hoc tribuno militum?

ORDO.

" sectus flagellis triumviralibus, ad fastidium " præconis, arat mille jugera fundi Falerni, " et terit *viam* Appiam mannis, equesque " magnus sedet in sedilibus primis, Othone " contempto. Quid attinet tot rostrata ora " navium gravi pondere duci contra latrones " atque manum servilem, hoc, hoc tribuno " militum?"

NOTES.

flagellis; for it is not the poet that speaks here, but the people; therefore the old scholiast has very judiciously remarked on this passage, *hæc quasi indignantis populi verba sunt in Menam.*

11. *Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus.*] There were at Rome three judges called *triumviri*, or *tres viri capitales*. They were keepers of the public prison, and had the power to punish malefactors, whom they either chastised themselves, or ordered to be chastised in their presence near a pillar called *Menia*, which stood in the *Comitium*.

12. *Præconis ad fastidium.*] At Rome, when any person was punished in public, the criminal was preceded by a public crier, who proclaimed with a loud voice the crime for which he was led to punishment.

mans sneer, and hear them with indignation say, "Mind that fellow "who has so oft been scourged by order of the Triumvirs, that the "common crier could hold out proclaiming his crime no longer; "now he possesses a thousand acres of land in Campania, tears up "the Appian way with his *prancing* nags, and in contempt of Otho's "laws, places himself in one of the first seats among those of eques- "trian dignity at the public shows. What a shame is it to fit out "such a great and powerful fleet against pirates and servile villains, "while such a slave as this is made a military tribune!"

NOTES.

16. *Othone contemto.*] Lucius Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, had enacted a law, which assigned the places where the knights were to sit at the public shows in the amphitheatre, upon fourteen seats behind the senators, separate from those of the people. This law also distinguished the knights who were so by birth from all others, and allowed them the liberty of placing themselves upon the first of these fourteen seats preferably to those who had been raised to that dignity by favour, or for the services they had done the commonwealth. This prerogative, due only to birth, did not at all belong to the person of whom Horace speaks here; and he could not lay claim to it, but in contempt of the law enacted by Otho, *Othone contemto.*

19. *Contra latrones atque servilem manum.*] The young Pompey had received into his service all the corsairs and slaves he could find, and had made of them a considerable army. —*O quam diversus a patre! Ille piratas Cilicas extinxerat, hic secum piratas navales agitabat.* "How different was the son from "the father! Pompey the Great had done "his utmost to extirpate the pirates, whereas "the young Pompey put himself at their "head." FLORUS.

20. *Hoc, hoc tribuno militum.*] Menas himself had been a slave and a corsair. It was therefore a very ridiculous thing to send, against slaves and corsairs, an army under the conduct of a leader who had been himself a corsair and slave. When Horace wrote this ode, it was, without doubt, believed at Rome, that Augustus would intrust Menas with some command in the fleet, as he had before given him one of considerable importance, after his first defection from Pompey; but that prince, who put little confidence in him, thought proper to send him with the degree only of a simple tribune of the soldiers.

ODE V.

Of all the remains of antiquity, the following piece is one of the most bitter and satirical. Horace writes against Canidia, and reproaches her for having stripped a youth of quality of all his ornaments, and designing to make him undergo a cruel death, that out of his marrow and liver she might compose an amorous draught to be given to one of her lovers, named Varus, who had abandoned her. He explains the preparatives to that death, and all the ceremonies which precede it. This ode is remarkable on account of its style,

IN CANIDIAM VENEFICAM.

At ô Deorum quidquid in cœlo regit
Terras et humanum genus,
Quid iste fert tumultus? et quid omnium
Vultus in unum me truces?
Per liberos te, si vocata partubus
Lucina veris adfuit,
Per hoc inane purpuræ decus precor,
Per improbaturum hæc Jovem;
Quid ut noverca me intueris, aut uti
Petita ferro bellua?
Ut hæc trementi questus ore, constitit
Insignibus raptis puer,

ORDO.

At o quicquid Deorum in cœlo regit terras et genus humanum, quid iste tumultus fert? et quid truces *hi* vultus omnium in me unum *volunt?*

O Canidia, precor te per liberos, si Lucina vocata adfuit partubus veris; *precor te* per hoc inane decus purpuræ, per Jovem improbaturum hæc, quid intueris me ut noverca, aut uti bellua petita ferro?

Ut puer questus hæc ore trementi constitit,

NOTES.

1. *At.*] This is a particle used with a very good grace at the beginning of a performance; it gives, at the same time, a great force to the expression, and prepares the mind for the reception of something new and surprising. The scene opens here in a manner very pathetic and affecting. A boy finds himself surrounded by a troop of sorceresses who breathe nothing but rage and fury. He represents to them his birth, youth, and innocence; he conjures them by all the tenderness of mothers towards their children, and the reverence and submission they owe to the gods, the avengers of impiety and wickedness. It will be proper here to take notice of the admirable address of the poet. The reader, struck with the vivacity that appears in the beginning of this discourse, is impatient to know who it is that speaks: but the suspension and delay serve only to increase this desire, and, when he comes afterwards to know the actors, his indignation is raised

ODE V.

which is pure, and very compact; of its turns, which are lively and ingenious; and the great number of particulars it makes us acquainted with. But what appears to me most fine and delicate in the whole performance is, that, without seeming to be sensible of it, Horace throws upon this Varus a certain ridicule, which cannot but infinitely please the reader, as soon as he fully perceives it.

AGAINST CANIDIA, A SORCERESS.

BUT, O ye heavenly powers, who govern the earth, and *regulate the affairs of* men, what is the cause of this tumult, and what mean the frightful looks of these *old hags,* all fixed on me alone?

Canidia, I conjure you by your tender infants, if ever Lucina, when invoked, was present and assisted at their birth; I conjure you by this shining purple, the proof of my innocence; and, *in fine,* by Jupiter himself, who cannot but detest such barbarous actions, why do you look upon me with the fierceness of a step-mother, or of a savage tigress wounded with a spear?

After the innocent boy had in this manner with trembling lips uttered his complaints, they stripped him of his robes, which were

NOTES.

to the greatest height. We have seen in the ode, *Beatus ille,* the effect of a like suspension, but carried yet farther than this.

5. *Si vocata partubus Lucina veris adfuit.*] Torrentius has given an erroneous explication of this passage. Horace reproaches Canidia, not only because she had never had any children, but because she sometimes counterfeited being brought to bed, as was the custom of the sorceresses of that age. They gave out that they were pregnant, that they might have a pretence to claim the children they stole as their own, and make their own use of them upon occasion.

7. *Purpuræ decus.*] By this Horace means the robe which usually went under the name of the *toga prætexta,* which had a border of purple. Many are of opinion that the youth quitted the habit at the age of fourteen, to put on the *toga virilis;* but it is a mistake. Observe in a few words the practice of the Romans in this matter: to the age of twelve they wore a kind of waistcoat called *alicata chlamys;* at that age they quitted this for the *toga prætexta,* a gown with a border of purple round the edges; this they continued till they came to the age of puberty, or the seventeenth year, when they put on the *toga virilis.* This *prætexta* was not only a token of the youth and quality of the wearer, but also had the repute of a sacred habit; and therefore, when they assigned it for the use of the boys, they had this especial consideration, that it might be a kind of guard or defence to

Impube corpus, quale posset impia
Mollire Thracum pectora;
Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis
Crines et incomtum caput,
Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Jubet cupressus funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine,
Plumamque nocturnæ strigis,
Herbasque, quas Iolcos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejunæ canis,
Flammis aduri Colchicis.
At expedita Sagana, per totam domum
Spargens Avernales aquas,
Horret capillis, ut marinus, asperis,
Echinus, aut currens aper.
Abacta nullâ Veia conscientiâ,
Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat, ingemens laboribus;
Quò posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terve mutatæ dapis
Inemori spectaculo;
Cùm promineret ore, quantùm exstant aquâ
Suspensa mento corpora:
Exsucta utì medulla, et aridum jecur
Amoris esset poculum;

ORDO.

insignibus raptis, corpus impube quale posset mollire impia pectora Thracum; *tum* Canidia, implicata crines et incomptum caput brevibus viperis, jubet caprificos erutas sepulchris, jubet funebres cupressus, plumamque et ova strigis nocturnæ uncta sanguine ranæ turpis, herbasque quas *et* Iolcos atque Iberia ferax venenorum mittit, et ossa rapta ab ore jejunæ canis, aduri flammis Colchicis.

At expedita Sagana, spargens aquas Avernales per totam domum, horret capillis asperis, ut echinus marinus, aut currens aper. Veia, abacta nullâ conscientiâ, ingemens laboribus, exhauriebat humum ligonibus duris, quo puer infossus posset inemori spectaculo dapis longo die bis terve mutatæ; cum promineret ore, quantum corpora suspensa mento exstant aquâ: uti medulla exsucta, et jecur aridum esset poculum amoris, cum pupulæ semel fixæ cibo

NOTES.

them against the injuries to which that age was exposed. This is the reason why the youth conjures Canidia by his habit.

12. *Insignibus raptis.*] By *insignia* Horace here means the robe edged with purple, and the *bulla aurea*, which was hung about the necks of children the same day they were made to assume the *toga prætexta*. It was a piece of gold in the shape of a heart, which, according to some, was designed as an incitement to courage, and to teach them that they ought to apply themselves seriously to the acquisition of sense and reason, that they might be able to govern themselves with wisdom and prudence; and the purple of the gown, it is supposed, was intended to remind

the marks of his quality, and exposed his naked body,—a frame so delicate, as would have touched the savage hearts even of Thracians with pity. But the cruel Canidia, *lost to all sense of prayers*, with disheveled hair twisted with small *hissing* snakes, persists; and such were her commands:

"Take these wild fig-branches torn from gloomy sepulchres; "these funeral cypresses, with these feathers and eggs of a screech "owl, smeared with the gore of a venomous toad; to them add the "deleterious herbs that grow in Spain, or in Sicily so fertile of "poisons, and these bones snatched from a hungry bitch, and boil "them *all* on a magic fire*."

Immediately Sagana tucks up her robe, and with her bristled hair, like a hedge-hog, or a wild boar pursued by the hunters, stares, and sprinkles the house with water taken from the lake Avernus; and Veia, *on her part*, without remorse of conscience *for the heinous sin*, turns up the earth with a spade, groaning as she digs, and makes a hole in which she fixes the innocent boy to starve, longing for meat which was set before him and changed two or three times a day, but which he could not touch, as nothing appeared but his head, like swimmers who seem suspended in the water by the chin: and thus, when his eye-balls were worn out with pain and

* In Colchian flames.

NOTES.

them of the modesty that became them at that age.

17. *Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas.*] Horace here gives an enumeration of the greatest part of the ingredients generally used by sorcerers in the composition of their philtres. The wild fig-tree enters among them, because it bears neither blossom nor fruit, and was reckoned in the number of the unlucky trees.

19. *Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine.*] Horace puts *rana*, a frog, for *rubeta*, a toad. The toad is of a much more venomous nature than the frog, which is the reason that sorcerers made use of the former in almost all their compositions. Sometimes they took only the blood, at other times the lungs. Here Canidia orders the feathers and eggs of a screech-owl to be dipped in the blood of a toad; for it is thus that we ought to understand the passage, *Et plumam et ova nocturnæ strigis, uncta sanguine turpis ranæ.*

26. *Spargens Avernales aquas.*] The ancients were of opinion, that one might descend to hell by the lake Avernus, which was in Campania. This is the reason why so great virtues were attributed to its waters, and that they made use of them in their sacrifices to propitiate the infernal deities.

29. *Abacta multâ Veia conscientiâ.*] Veia is here the proper name of a sorceress, who, Horace tells us, was employed in digging up the earth, to make a hole wherein she might place the devoted child without the least remorse.

33. *Longo die.*] This phrase has perplexed interpreters. Many explain it of a summer's day, as if a child, buried up to the chin, would certainly die in the space of one day. *Longo die*, here, is the same as, by degrees, slowly; for the child, in this condition, might live three or four days.

37. *Exsucta uti medulla, et aridum jecur.*] The meat which was served up to this child, and which it was not in his power to touch, served only to augment his desire and hunger, which dried up his marrow, and entirely consumed his liver; this is the reason why it was vulgarly believed, that the marrow and liver were in a peculiar manner fit for

Interminato cùm semel fixæ cibo
Intabuissent pupulæ.
Non defuisse masculæ libidinis
Ariminensem Foliam,
Et otiosa credidit Neapolis,
Et omne vicinum oppidum;
Quæ sidera excantata voce Thessalâ,
Lunamque cœlo deripit.
Hìc irresectum sæva dente livido
Canidia rodens pollicem,
Quid dixit? aut quid tacuit? O rebus meis
Non infideles arbitræ,
Nox, et Diana, quæ silentium regis,
Arcana cùm fiunt sacra,
Nunc, nunc adeste; nunc in hostiles domos
Iram atque numen vertite.
Formidolosis dum latent sylvis feræ,
Dulci sopore languidæ,
Senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
Latrent Suburanæ canes,
Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius
Meæ laborârint manus.

ORDO.

interminato intabuissent.

Et Neapolis otiosa et omne oppidum vicinum credidit Foliam Ariminensem libidinis masculæ non defuisse; quæ deripit sidera lunamque cœlo excantata voce Thessala.

Hic sæva Canidia rodens pollicem irresectum dente livido, quid dixit? aut quid tacuit? "O Nox, et Diana, quæ regis silentium, cum arcana *nostra* sacra fiunt; *O vos* arbitræ non infideles rebus meis, nunc, nunc adeste; nunc vertite iram atque numen in domos hostiles. Dum feræ languidæ sopore dulci latent sylvis formidolosis, canes Suburanæ latrent senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum perunctum nardo, quale manus meæ non laborarint perfectius."

NOTES.

the composition of the philtre; and that they gave to him who swallowed them, the same love and passion for the person who made the philtre, as the child had felt for the provisions in sight of which he had died, without being able to satisfy his hunger.—*Exsucta medulla* is marrow dried up and consumed, a common effect of violent desires.

40. *Intabuissent.*] This is a very proper word to express the effect produced in the eyes of a person, who looks intently upon an object he is desirous to enjoy, and which yet he cannot come at. The crystalline humour is gradually consumed, the sight becomes dim, and, from the heaviness and languor which they contract, they resemble the eyes of one who is dying. It is thus that a shepherd says to Daphnis in Theocritus, "And you, when you see our young shepherdesses smile and dance, are apt to languish, and your eyes fade, because you cannot dance along with them." It is impossible to give a stronger idea of what Horace expresses in these two lines, *Interminato cum semel fixæ cibo*, &c. than by the recital of a fact which the history of the seventeenth century furnishes us with. After the storming of Geneva, the magistrates ordered all those to be executed

gazing on the forbidden meat; of his parched marrow, and dried liver, they made an amorous draught.

Naples, notorious for idleness, and all the neighbouring towns, believed that Folia was also there, that famous Ariminian sorceress of rampant lust, who, by her enchantments, it was said, could force the moon and stars from heaven.

When every thing was ready, the inexorable Canidia, now gnawing the unpared nail of her thumb *for madness* with her yellow teeth, *began her imprecations. Good gods,* what did she say? or rather, what did she not say, *and how did she pray for vengeance?*

" Night and Diana, ye faithful witnesses of all my enterprises, " who command silence when we are celebrating our most secret " mysteries, come to my assistance, and turn all your power and " wrath against my enemies. Now, while the most savage beasts, " sunk in sleep, lie concealed in the frightful obscurities of the " woods, let all the dogs *in the quarter* of Subura pursue this old " infamous lecher, *whom I have* anointed with the strongest oint- " ment I ever composed, that he may be exposed to the ridicule of " the whole city."

NOTES.

who were taken in the city, and exposed their heads to public view upon the walls. The wife of one of these unhappy officers went to demand the head of her husband; but the magistrates refused to grant her request. This poor woman, in despair, seated herself as near as possible to the place where his head, so much desired, was exposed, and kept her eyes continually fixed upon this melancholy object of her love and despair, until death deprived her of sight. It is impossible to represent better the condition of this sorrowful and distressed woman, than by this expression of Horace, if we change only one word, *Interminato cum semel fixæ* eapiti, *intabuissent pupulæ.*

43. *Neapolis.*] Naples is an august, beautiful, and ancient city of Italy. From the advantage of its situation, and the temperateness of the climate, it has been looked upon in all ages as the seat of pleasure and idleness; *In otia natam Parthenopen,* says Ovid. Its Latin name implies the New City, to distinguish it from Palæopolis, that is, the Ancient City, which was at a small distance from it. Some are rather of opinion, that this name was given it when it was rebuilt by Hercules, or, according to others, by Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum. Canidia had probably retired to the neighbourhood of this city, that she might carry on with the greater security and secrecy her bloody execution.

45. *Quæ sidera excantata.*] The sorcerers made the people, who are always given to superstition and credulity, believe that they had the power to bring the moon and stars from heaven to earth by their enchantments. For this end they usually fixed upon the time of eclipses, and made use of certain transparent stones, which they fitted for their purpose, and in which they made the credulous people see either the sun or the moon.

45. *Voce Thessalâ.*] The Thessalians passed for the most expert sorcerers in the world, whence those of other nations often made use of their incantations, as Horace here tells us of Canidia, *Voce Thessalâ.*

58. *Latrent Suburanæ canes.*] *Subura* was a street in Rome, between *Mons Esquilinus* and *Mons Celius.* It was chiefly inhabited by courtezans, and was the ordinary place of rendezvous for all debauchees. Per-

Quid accidit? cur dira barbaræ minùs
Venena Medeæ valent,
Quibus superbam fugit ulta pellicem
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cùm palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.
Ah, ah, solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.
Non usitatis, Vare, potionibus
(O multa fleturum caput!)
Ad me recurres; nec vocata mens tua
Marsis redibit vocibus.
Majus parabo, majus infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum:
Priùsque cœlum sidet inferius mari,
Tellure porrectâ super,
Quàm non amore sic meo flagres, utî
Bitumen atris ignibus.
Sub hæc puer, jam non, ut antè, mollibus
Lenire verbis impias;
Sed dubius unde rumperet silentium,
Misit Thyesteas preces.

ORDO.

Quid accidit? cur venena *mea* dira minus valent *iis* Medeæ barbaræ, quibus ulta fugit superbam pellicem filiam Creontis magni, cum palla, munus imbutum tabo, abstulit incendio novam nuptam?

Atqui nec herba, nec radix latens in locis asperis fefellit me. Indormit cubilibus pellicum omnium unctis oblivione. Ah, ah, solutus carmine veneficæ scientioris ambulat. O Vare, *(O* caput fleturum multa!) recurres ad me potionibus non usitatis; nec mens tua vocata vocibus Marsis redibit.

Parabo *pharmacum* majus, infundam poculum majus tibi fastidienti *me:* cœlumque sidet inferius mari, tellure porrecta super, prius quam non sic flagres amore meo, uti bitumen *flagrat* ignibus atris.

Sub hæc puer non jam *tentat*, ut ante, lenire *mulieres* impias verbis mollibus, sed, dubius unde rumperet silentium, misit preces *has* Thyesteas.

NOTES.

sius, in the fifth satire, says,

Cum blandi comites, totaque impune Subura
Permisit sparsisse oculos jam candidus umbo.

It was on the same account that this street was also called *Luparia.* Canidia wishes that the dogs of Subura might bark at Varus, who always went and spent the nights with courtezans. It is impossible to conceive any thing more ingenious than this stroke of satire; and any one, who considers the matter narrowly, will find that Varus is no less roughly handled than Canidia.

59. *Nardo perunctum.*] I have not met with any person who has thoroughly dived into the meaning of this passage. Some commentators imagine that *nardus,* in this place, is the same with the essence of

But what has happened *that I cannot prevail?* Whence comes it that my compositions are less efficacious than those which Medea made use of to be revenged of her rival, the daughter of the great Creon, whom she destroyed on the very day of her marriage, by the *horrible* present of a poisoned robe?

Surely I am acquainted with the virtues of the herbs, and of all the roots that grow on the wild mountains; yet Varus, forgetful of me, sleeps with tranquillity in the anointed beds of my rivals. Alas! I see that some more powerful sorceress has disengaged him from my charms. Unhappy man, by an uncommon draught I will make you return to me, *whom you have forsaken;* nor shall all the enchantments of the Marsi be able to rescue you.

I will prepare a philtre infinitely stronger and more efficacious than the former to vanquish your disdain. Sooner shall the heavens sink below the sea, and the earth rise up above the heavens, than you not burn in love with me, as *this* pitch does in *these* violent flames.

After these dreadful words, the *harmless* boy no more attempted, as formerly, to soften the wicked hags with his prayers and tears, but, struck for a long time with silent horror, broke out into these bitter imprecations:

NOTES.

which we have spoken upon the eleventh ode of the second book. Nothing can be conceived more remote from the sense of Horace. Canidia was a sorceress and dealer in poison, and not a vender of perfumes and essences. The understanding of this ode depends entirely on this single verse; and, in order to comprehend it rightly, we must suppose that Canidia had in her possession an image of wax which represented Varus. This was the custom in all enchantments; and people were so foolish as to think, that whatever was done to that figure, was felt by the person it represented. Here Canidia is willing to recover Varus, without coming to the decisive extremity, which was, to put the child to death, that out of his marrow and liver she might prepare an amorous draught. She applies therefore to this waxen figure the drug she was going to make up, and gives it the name of *nardus* by way of ridicule, and in allusion to the essence wherewith Varus was perfumed when he went to visit his mistresses.

61. *Quid accidit?*] Canidia, in the magical transport, perceives that the applications she had made to the waxen figure representing Varus, in order to break his new chains, were without effect; she imagines she sees him going to visit her rivals without any hinderance, and in contempt of her enchantments; yet she flatters herself, that the philtre she was going to prepare, would bring him back to his former engagements.

71. *Ah, ah.*] At last she finds out the truth, and discovers that Varus had prevented or destroyed the effect of her enchantments by those of a more expert sorceress; for the simplicity and superstition of the heathens were such, as to believe that the only way to resist the charms of magic, was by opposing sorcery to sorcery, and that the most expert was always the strongest.

73. *Non usitatis, Vare, potionibus.*] Canidia now prepares to make a draught of the marrow and liver of the child, and this is what she calls *non usitatæ potiones;* either because recourse was had to these philtres only in cases of extremity, or because Canidia was the only person who had invented and made use of this detestable remedy.

Venena, magnum fas nefasque, non valent
Convertere humanam vicem.
Diris agam vos: dira detestatio
Nullâ expiatur victimâ.
Quin, ubi perire jussus exspiravero,
Nocturnus occurram furor;
Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus;
Quæ vis Deorum est Manium;
Et, inquietis assidens præcordiis,
Pavore somnos auferam.
Vos turba vicatim, hinc et hinc saxis petens,
Contundet obscœnas anus;
Pòst, insepulta membra different lupi
Et Esquilinæ alites;
Neque hoc parentes (heu, mihi superstites,)
Effugerit spectaculum.

ORDO.

" Venena, *etsi convertant* magnum fas ne-
" fasque, non valent convertere vicem huma-
" nam. Agam vos diris: dira detestatio ex-
" piatur victima nulla. Quin ubi *ego* jussus
" perire exspiravero, occurram *vobis velut*
" furor nocturnus; umbraque petam vultus
" unguibus curvis, quæ vis est Deorum Ma-
" nium; et, assidens præcordiis inquietis,
" auferam somnos pavore. Turba, vicatim
" petens vos saxis hinc et hinc, contundet
" anus obscœnas; post, lupi et alites Esqui-
" linæ different membra insepulta; neque
" hoc spectaculum effugerit parentes, heu
" superstites mihi."

NOTES.

92. *Nocturnus occurram furor.*] It was an opinion that prevailed very much among the ancients, that murderers were haunted and tormented with the ghosts of those they had killed. Cicero, and many others, attribute this to remorse of conscience, which makes wicked men apprehend they see objects where they really are not. But it is certain that historians have not understood the thing in this manner. They believed the very facts as they related them; and this their opinion was founded upon an article of their theology, by which they were taught, that the souls of those who died a violent

" Your charms may confound what is lawful and unlawful, yet " they cannot alter the course of justice *which the gods have fixed* " to govern men. I will load you with imprecations which cannot " be expiated by victims. As soon as you shall have satisfied your " rage, and I expire, my ghost shall haunt you every night. I will " mangle your cheeks with my nails, for such is the power the " Manes give to spectres; *every night I will wait round your beds*, " and, incumbent on your troubled breasts, I will disturb your sleep " by the most frightful appearances*. The mob, pursuing you from " street to street, shall pelt you ugly hags with showers of stones, " till they dispatch you; then wolves and vultures shall tear your " unburied limbs; and my *disconsolate* parents, who survive me " contrary to their expectations, shall have the pleasure of witness- " ing this agreeable spectacle."

* Terror.

NOTES.

death, were not received into the regions below, till after they had wandered a long time up and down the world, and revenged themselves of their enemies.

93. *Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus.*] The word *umbra* makes the whole beauty of these verses. This boy tells the sorceresses, that he would torment them after his death, and that he would tear their faces with his nails, though he was but a shade; and herein is the miracle, that a shade should have nails, which is the reason that he adds afterwards,

Quæ vis Deorum est Manium.

Nothing is impossible to these gods; they give, even to ghosts, nails, torches, whips, chains, &c. This is the true sense of the passage, which has been greatly misunderstood.

100. *Et Esquilinæ alites.*] Esquilian birds; that is, birds of prey, who usually flew about the Esquiliæ, because the poor people were interred there, and there they threw the bodies of such as had been made to suffer death.

ODE VI.

Horace wrote this ode against the celebrated orator Cassius Severus, who made a trade of accusing people in full senate. It was he who accused Nonius Asprenas, a near relative of Augustus, of having poisoned a hundred and thirty persons at one entertainment; but his accusations were usually unsuccessful, the accused being declared innocent, and absolved. Some historians relate upon this a very smart saying of Augustus, who, tired out with the tediousness and delays of an architect, to whom he had given it in charge to finish the Forum, exclaimed, *Vellem Forum etiam meum accusâsset Cassius.* This turns upon the equivocal signification of the word *absolvere*, which may either be translated to finish, or to declare innocent. Cassius

IN CASSIUM SEVERUM.

Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis,
Ignavus adversùm lupos?
Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas,
Et me remorsurum petis?
Nam, qualis aut Molossus, aut fulvus Lacon,
Amica vis pastoribus,
Agam per altas aure sublatâ nives,
Quæcunque præcedet fera.
Tu, cùm timendâ voce complêsti nemus,
Projectum odoraris cibum.
Cave, cave; namque in malos asperrimus
Parata tollo cornua;
Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener,
Aut acer hostis Bupalo.

ORDO.

O canis, ignavus adversum lupos, quid vexas hospites immerentes? Quin vertis huc minas inanes, si potes, et petis me remorsurum? Nam, quæcunque fera præcedet, *ego*, aure sublata, agam *eam* per nives altas, qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon, vis amica pastoribus. Tu cum complêsti nemus voce timendâ, odoraris cibum projectum.

Cave, cave; namque asperrimus in malos tollo cornua parata: qualis gener spretus infido Lycambæ, aut acer hostis Bupalo.

NOTES.

5. *Nam, qualis aut Molossus.*] After having compared Cassius to a cowardly timorous dog, Horace likens himself to a dog of Epirus or Laconia; that is, to a courageous dog, who did not stick to pursue the most ferocious beasts; for the dogs of Epirus and Laconia were held in great esteem, and had the same reputation at that time as the English dogs have now.

6. *Amica vis pastoribus.*] This is very

ODE VI.

not only rendered himself formidable by his accusations, but also by his writings, in which he attacked the reputation of all without distinction, not sparing people of the highest rank or of either sex. This abusive malignity drew upon him the public hatred, and occasioned Augustus to make a law that informations should be given in against the authors of such libels. At length Cassius was banished to the isle of Crete. This chastisement did not make him wiser: he continued his defamatory writings; and ten years after the death of Augustus, Tiberius sent him to the isle of Seriphos, where he died.

AGAINST CASSIUS SEVERUS.

WHY, snarling cur, do you growl at strangers who do you no harm, but only show cowardice when attacked by wolves? Turn, if you dare, your vain menaces against me, who can bite again with equal force; for, like a mastiff of Epirus, or dog of Laconia, the faithful friend of shepherds, with my ears pricked up, I will pursue the most savage beast through the deep snow. You, when you have filled the forest with the frightful sound of your voice, will stoop and truckle for a crust of bread.

Take care, take care of yourself; for I am always ready to fall on the wicked with the greatest fury, as Archilochus, who knew so well how to revenge the perfidy of Lycambe, or *Hipponax* the mortal enemy of Bupalus.

NOTES.

happily expressed; dogs are the best friends to shepherds, because they guard their flocks.

9. *Tu, cùm timendâ voce.*] We ought not to pass over without notice the artifice of these lines, where Horace imitates the noise made by a great dog, who barks in a forest. It is impossible to make any one rightly sensible of this in a remark: it is necessary in this case to consult the ear.

10. *Projectum odoraris cibum.*] He reproaches Cassius for suffering himself to be corrupted by gold, which was offered him by bad men to oblige him to hold his peace, like those cowardly, greedy dogs, to whom thieves threw a morsel of bread, that they might cease to bark.

12. *Parata tollo cornua.*] This is a metaphorical expression. Horns, among the ancients, were the symbols of strength and courage. Plautus has used the expression *cornuta bestia*, for a man who could not bear an injury, and who never was attacked without giving evident tokens of his resentment.

13. *Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener.*] Lycambe having promised his daughter Neobule to the poet Archilochus, and refusing

An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,
Inultus ut flebo puer?

ORDO.

Si quis petiverit me dente atro, an flebo inultus ut puer?

NOTES.

afterwards to stand to his engagement, Archilochus wrote a poem against him in iambic verse, so sarcastic and severe, that the father and daughter hanged themselves out of despair. This is the reason of Horace's adding to Lycambe the epithet *infido*, perfidious, who would not adhere to his promise; and that he calls Archilochus *gener spretus*, the despised son-in-law, because his pretended father-in-law had refused to give him his daughter, after he had agreed to the match. This Archilochus was a Greek poet of Paros, and held in the greatest esteem at the court of Candaules and Gyges, kings of Lydia, about the thirty-eighth year of Rome. He was regarded as the inventor of iambic verse. Quintilian has given us, in few words, a very magnificent eulogium of this poet; *summa in hoc vis elocutionis, quam validæ, tum breves vibrantesque sententiæ, plurimum san-*

ODE VII.

Brutus and Cassius perished at the battle of Philippi in 712. Sextus Pompeius was put to death in 719. Lepidus was stripped of all power and authority in 720. There remained only Octavius and Antony in a capacity to dispute for supremacy. The jealousy, so natural between two persons of equal authority, broke out at several times; sometimes Octavia, the wife of Antony, and sister of Octavius, and at other times the friends of both parties, brought about a reconciliation; but at last, in 722, they came to an open rupture, and these two celebrated rivals were seen to arm all their forces against each other, in order to give the last blow to the liberty of Rome. During these commotions, (that is, for the space of three years) Horace wrote upon this subject five or six odes, of which this is one in 724, about

AD POPULUM ROMANUM.

Quo, quò scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
Fusum est Latini sanguinis?

ORDO.

O scelesti, quo, quo ruitis? Aut cur enses conditi aptantur dexteris? Parumne Latini sanguinis est fusum super campis atque

NOTES.

1. *Quò, quò scelesti.*] Horace has several times used the word *scelus* to express the civil wars: thus Book first, Ode second,

Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi Jupiter?

If any dog like you should dare to bite me, do you think that I will *sit down and* weep like a child, who has not power to resent the injury done him?

NOTES.

guinis atque nervorum; adeo ut videatur quibusdam, quod quoquam minor est, materiæ esse, non ingenii vitium.

14. *Aut acer hostis Bupalo.*] By *acer hostis* Horace here means the poet Hipponax, who flourished in Greece about the sixtieth Olympiad. Bupalus and Anthermus, two brothers, celebrated painters, seeing him one day, were struck with his figure. They drew his portrait, and gave it an air the most comical and ridiculous in their power. The poet called his art to his assistance in order to revenge this cruel outrage, and wrote against them in so sharp a strain, as drove them to despair. Some authors have assured us that they hanged themselves; but others maintain that they were content with quitting Ephesus. Pliny is of this last opinion, and pretends, that after this satire of Hipponax, these two painters produced several pieces that were held in very great esteem.

ODE VII.

the end of the year, before the war had declared itself by any hostility on either side. The style is animated and nervous throughout. The design of the poet is to represent to both parties the horrors of their criminal dissensions, which threatened their country with total ruin. The policy of Horace is no less conspicuous than his eloquence. He was not ignorant that the ambition of the two chiefs was the sole cause of these calamities; yet he is very cautious in speaking of it. The uncertainty of success makes him speak with a reserve, which he did not think it prudent to lay aside, so long as he believed he could not declare himself without hazarding his fortune. The reader will see further proofs of this wise conduct in some of the following odes.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ROME.

WHITHER are ye hurrying, seditious Romans, whither are ye hurrying? Why are your swords now drawn again which were sheathed so lately? Has there not been enough of Roman blood shed already

NOTES.

1. *Aut cur dexteris aptantur enses conditi?*] This passage has not been rightly explained by commentators. When Horace demands of the Romans why they again drew their swords, which they had some time before put up, he has an eye to the political contract, or agreement for power, between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus, which had been now broken a second time, Lepidus having some time before been despoiled of his power by Augustus.

Non ut superbas invidæ Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret,
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacrâ catenatus via :
Sed ut, secundùm vota Parthorum, suâ
Urbs hæc periret dexterâ.
Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar, feris.
Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa ? responsum date.
Tacent; et ora pallor albus inficit,
Mentesque perculsæ stupent.
Sic est : acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelusque fraternæ necis,
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor.

ORDO.

Neptuno? Non *aptantur enses dexteris, aut sanguis jam funditur*, ut Romanus *miles* ureret superbas arces Carthaginis invidæ, aut ut intactus Britannus descenderet catenatus via sacra; sed ut hæc urbs, secundum vota Parthorum, periret dexterâ sua. Neque hic mos unquam fuit lupis nec leonibus feris, nisi in *animal* dispar. Furorne cæcus, an vis acrior, an culpa rapit *vos?* Date responsum. Tacent; et pallor albus inficit ora, mentesque perculsæ stupent.

Sic est. Fata acerba agunt Romanos, scelusque necis fraternæ, ut cruor Remi immerentis sacer nepotibus fluxit in teram.

NOTES.

5. *Invidæ Carthaginis.*] In the time of Augustus, Carthage was subject to the Romans; it was even a Roman colony. Why therefore does Horace say, that it was not for the destruction of Carthage that they had shed their blood both by land and sea? It is to impress upon these madmen the great difference between them and their ancestors, who had fought so many battles for the conquest of Africa, and at last destroyed Carthage under the conduct of Scipio. This is the true meaning of the passage.

7. *Intactus aut Britannus.*] Julius Cæsar was the first of the Romans that carried his arms into Britain. Suetonius, chap. 24, says, *Aggressus est et Britannos, ignotos antea; superatisque pecunias et obsides imperavit.* "He attacked the Britons, formerly unknown to the Romans; and, being victorious, he imposed a tribute upon them, and exacted hostages." But it may with justice be said, that Cæsar only showed the way to the conquest of Britain, which was not brought into actual subjection till long after, the greatest part of it remaining unsubdued to the time of Agricola, who may be said to have given the finishing stroke to the liberty of that island. Augustus had no

both on sea and land? Not to destroy the lofty towers of Carthage the rival of Rome, or to lead in triumph along the sacred way the Britons who have not yet been attacked, but to destroy Rome by her own power, according to the very wishes of the Parthians.

Such cruelty is not to be seen even among wolves and lions; they never exert their rage but against animals of a different species. Is it blind rage, or is it some superior force that urges you? Is it owing to your crimes? Answer me instantly.—They are silent: *See!* paleness covers their faces, and they are confounded.

There is no room for doubt; it is the murder of Remus, it is his innocent blood shed by the hands of a brother, that cries for vengeance, and hath brought upon his posterity the resentment of the gods.

NOTES.

thought of reducing it to obedience when this ode was written: he did not take that resolution till some years after; so that Horace had good reason to call the British nation *intactus*, which had not hitherto been reduced, which had not felt the weight of the Roman arms; as Ode twenty-fourth, Book third,

Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum, &c.

7. *Descenderet.*] From the top of the Sacred Street they went downward to the Forum, and the way thence ascended to the Capitol, which ascent was called *Clivus Capitolinus.*

11. *Neque hic lupis mos.*] There is no wild animal that makes war upon those of its own kind. Man alone, as being the most furious and outrageous of all creatures, does not spare his own likeness. It is common to see men most animated against one another, and entering into more cruel and bloody wars with each other, than they do with the very beasts. This, no doubt, arises from their being subject to more and stronger passions than any other kind of animal.

18. *Scelusque fraternæ necis.*] Virgil refers all the calamities that befell Rome to the perfidy of Laomedon;

————*Jampridem sanguine nostro*
Laomedonteæ luimus perjuria Trojæ.

But Horace, with a greater resemblance of truth, attributes them to the death of Remus, which touched the Romans far more sensibly.

20. *Sacer nepotibus cruor.*] This is a very substantial proof of the opinion of the heathens, that the crime of one single man might bring down the anger of the gods upon his posterity, and involve them in those punishments which might seem to be merited only by the original offender.

ODE VIII.

Some grammarians are of opinion that Horace wrote this ode against Gratidia, of whom we have spoken in our remarks upon the sixteenth ode of the first book. If it really be so, this is without doubt the poem which he there promises to suppress; but they have advanced this conjecture with-

IN ANUM

Rogare longo putidam te seculo,
Vires quid enervet meas?
Cùm sit tibi dens ater, et rugis vetus
Frontem senectus exaret,
Hietque turpis inter aridas nates
Podex, velut crudæ bovis.
Sed incitat me pectus, et mammæ putres,
Equina quales ubera,
Venterque mollis, et femur tumentibus
Exile suris additum.

NOTES.

3. *Dens ater.*] He says the same to Lyce in the thirteenth ode of the fourth book;

——Te quia luridi
Dentes, te quia rugæ
Turpant——.

"Because your yellow teeth, your deep "wrinkles, and grey hairs, do so much disfigure you."

11. *Imagines ducant triumphales.*] At Rome, both men and women, who numbered among their ancestors, either generals of armies, or those who had borne any civil office, that is, such as had been advanced to the highest dignities of the republic, had the right of causing to be carried before their coffin at their funeral solemnities the images of all their race; which privilege was styled *Jus imaginum.*

ODE VIII.

out foundation; it is even highly probable that they are deceived. Gratidia was not a woman of quality; whereas the person here spoken of, numbered consuls and prætors among her ancestors.

LIBIDINOSAM.

Esto beata: funus atque imagines
Ducant triumphales tuum;
Nec sit marita quæ rotundioribus
Onusta baccis ambulet.
Quid, quòd libelli Stoici inter Sericos
Jacere pulvillos amant?
Illiterati num minùs nervi rigent,
Minùsve languet fascinum?
Quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine,
Ore allaborandum est tibi.

NOTES.

13. *Rotundioribus onusta baccis.*] *Baccæ* are properly the small berries or fruit of the laurel or myrtle; and this name they gave to pearls, because of the great resemblance they bear to this fruit. Hence they say *Monile baccatum*; a pearl neck-lace. *Rotundioribus*; for the rounder pearls are, the more valuable they are. Pliny describes all their qualities in the xxxvth chapter of his IXth book. *Dos omnis in candore, magnitudine, orle, lævore, pondere, haud promptis rebus, in tantum ut nulli duo reperiuntur indiscreti, unde nomen Unionum Romanæ scilicet imposuere deliciæ.* "All their value depends on their "whiteness, largeness, roundness, smooth-"ness, and weight; qualities so rare, that it "is not very easy to find two pearls entirely "alike; which induced the Romans to call "them *Uniones*."

ODE IX.

This ode is extremely beautiful; it was written to celebrate the victory at Actium in 722, and consequently, according to the order of time, should immediately follow the first of this same book, and precede the thirty-sixth of the first, Horace being at this time almost thirty-five years complete. This date is evidently pointed out to us in several places of the ode; yet M. Masson asserts that it was composed before the battle of Actium, and that Horace wrote it with a view of foretelling to Augustus the victory

AD MÆCENATEM.

Quando repôstum Cæcubum ad festas dapes,
Victore lætus Cæsare,
Tecum sub altâ (sic Jovi gratum) domo,
Beate Mæcenas, bibam,
Sonante mistum tibiis carmen lyrâ,
Hâc Dorium, illis Barbarum?
Ut nuper, actus cùm freto Neptunius
Dux fugit ustis navibus,
Minatus urbi vincla, quæ detraxerat
Servis amicus perfidis.

ORDO.

O beate Mæcenas, quando *ego*, lætus victore Cæsare (sic Jovi gratum) bibam tecum *vinum* Cæcubum repositum ad festas dapes, sub domo *tua* alta, lyra sonante carmen mistum tibiis, hac Dorium; illis Barbarum? Ut nuper *fecimus* cum Neptunius dux actus freto fugit, ustis navibus, minatus urbi vincula, quæ amicus detraxerat servis perfidis.

NOTES.

5. *Sonante mistum.*] It would be a matter of no small difficulty to speak at large of the variety of concerts among the ancients. Horace alone furnishes us with several kinds, as is evident from the foregoing books. This concert is produced by a harp and two flutes.

5. *Mistum tibiis.*] *Tibiis* here is in the dative. He says after the same manner in the first ode of the fourth book,

——lyræque et Berecyntiæ
Delectabere tibiæ
Mistis carminibus.

6. *Hâc Dorium, illis Barbarum.*] The ancients had three principal kinds of music, the Dorian, the Lydian, and the Phrygian. The first was grave and majestic, the second brisk and airy, and the third a mixture of the other two. The Romans made use of these different kinds in their concerts, according to the nature of the subject and occasion. On grave and solemn occasions they used the Dorian, on gay and joyful the Lydian; and, where religion was concerned, and it was necessary to excite strong and passionate emotions, the Phrygian. Sometimes, to render the harmony more complete, they mixed

ODE IX.

which he should obtain soon after. The reasons by which he endeavours to support this conjecture are not worthy of an answer. They only serve to make us sensible that there is nothing so remote from probability, which some will not undertake to maintain. The very words of the ode are an ample refutation, as will appear from the remarks.

TO MÆCENAS.

WHEN, dear Mæcenas, will the time come, that, abandoning myself to the joy which the victory of Augustus has occasioned, and in obedience to the commands of Jupiter, I shall drink with you, in your fine palace, of the choicest wine reserved for solemn feasts, and hear the agreeable concert of the flutes and harp, this in the Doric, and those in the Phrygian strain? Such an one as you gave us a few years ago, when the leader of the rebels, the pretended son of Neptune, was driven from our seas, and his whole fleet burned, notwithstanding all his threats to put Rome in those very chains, from which he had freed a few perfidious slaves, his followers.

NOTES.

them. For example, in the concert of a harp and flute, the harp might be of the Dorian kind, and the flute of the Lydian; but as the concert which Horace speaks of here is of two flutes with a single harp, the flutes were Phrygian, and the harp Doric; for had the flutes been Lydian, they had overpowered the harp; and, on the other hand, had the harp been Phrygian, and the flutes Doric, these last would have reigned too much, the harmony would have been too grave, and the concert not at all adapted to express the cheerfulness and gaiety which Mæcenas and Horace wished to show on this occasion.

7. *Ut nuper.*] After the victory which Augustus obtained over young Pompey, who was entirely defeated in the straits of Sicily, and constrained to fly into Asia. *Tota mole belli penitus in Siculo freto juvenis oppressus est.* FLORUS.

7. *Neptunius dux.*] Horace does not here speak of Antony, as Scaliger very judiciously thinks, but of the younger Pompey, who, glorying that his father had been sovereign of the seas, would pass for the son of Neptune, and wore a robe of the colour of that element.

10. *Servis amicus perfidis.*] The young Pompey received among his troops all the slaves that offered themselves; which occasioned so great a desertion over all Italy, that the Vestals offered up prayers and sacrifices.

Romanus (eheu, posteri negabitis),
Emancipatus feminæ,
Fert vallum et arma miles, et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest;
Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol aspicit conopeum.
Ad hunc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli, canentes Cæsarem;
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum sitæ.
Io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
Currus, et intactas boves?
Io Triumphe! nec Jugurthino parem
Bello reportâsti ducem,

ORDO.

Miles Romanus (eheu posteri negabitis), emancipatus feminæ, fert vallum et arma, et potest servire spadonibus rugosis; solque aspicit conopeum turpe inter signa militaria. Ad hunc, *scilicet Antonium*, Galli frementes, verterunt equos bis mille, canentes Cæsarem; puppesque navium hostilium sitæ sinistrorsum latent portu.

Io triumphe, tu moraris currus aureos et intactas boves? Io triumphe! nec reportavisti ducem parem *ex* bello Jugurthino, neque, *ex bello* Africano, *Augusto parem ducem eum*

NOTES.

15. *Interque signa turpe militaria.*] The word *turpe* may be either joined with *Conopeum*, as Propertius, speaking of the same subject, uses the expression *fœda conopea*; or one may very well separate them, and make an exclamation of it, *Turpe!* a shocking, a shameful thing!

16. *Sol aspicit conopeum.*] This was a kind of tent or pavilion, which the ladies made use of in Egypt, to guard them from the gnats with which that country is infested, by reason of the neighbourhood of the sea, or the morasses of the Nile. Horace therefore says, that, to the everlasting shame of the Romans, such a pavilion was to be seen in the very middle of their camp, which supplied the place of the general's tent, called properly the *Prætorium*.

17. *Ad hunc frementes.*] Scaliger remarks, that this does not at all correspond to a naval engagement; but he ought to have remembered, that, besides the two hostile fleets, there were two armies by land, and that two thousand Gallic horse, deserting the army of Antony, ranged themselves under the banners of Augustus. See Servius on the sixth Book of the Æneid.

18. *Galli.*] Amyntas, king of Galatia, who had come to the assistance of Antony with two thousand cavalry, deserted him with the forces under his command, and delivered himself up to Octavius. *Rex Amyntas*, says Velleius, *maximo et præcipiti periculo transmisit ad Cæsarem.* It is of these Galati that Horace here speaks. Livy more frequently calls them *Galli* than *Gallogræci*.

20. *Sinistrorsum.*] To the left hand, that is, towards Alexandria and the coast of Egypt. For when one is in the port of Actium, and sets his face towards the sea, Italy is on the right, and Egypt on the left hand. Cleopatra therefore had so stationed her fleet, that upon a signal given they might be ready to row for Alexandria.

21. *Io Triumphe.*] Horace here makes a person of Triumph, and addresses him as a god. The reader may consult the remarks upon these words in the second ode of the fourth book.

21. *Tu moraris aureos currus?*] This passage is very difficult, and in my way of thinking has hitherto been greatly misinterpreted. I believe it even impossible to make sense of it in the manner in which it is

A Roman (future ages will be unwilling to believe it) bore arms under the conduct of a woman. He was so mean as to submit to the commands of withered eunuchs; and the sun beheld an infamous Egyptian canopy spread in the midst of our standards. Mutinying against him, two thousand Gallic horse went over to Cæsar, making the air to ring with his name; and, *in an instant*, the enemy's vessels that lay on the left retired, *and steered their course towards Egypt.*

Divine Triumph, after so complete a victory, why do you delay your gilded car, and defer offering the bullocks in sacrifice that have never yet submitted their necks to the yoke? Divine Triumph! never did you conduct in pomp so great a general; neither *Marius*, so famous for defeating Jugurtha, nor *even* Scipio, who by the

NOTES.

usually written: we ought rather to read it with a note of interrogation:

Io triumphe, tu moraris aureos
Currus, et intactas boves?

Horace, after he had spoken of the defeat and flight of Antony, addresses himself to Triumph, and demands of him, if so great and signal a victory, which delivered Rome from the most shameful of all affronts, did not merit that he should conduct Augustus in a chariot of gold, &c. Word for word, "Tri-"umph, what means this? After so celebrated "a victory, do you still keep back the chariots "of gold, and the oxen that have never yet "felt the yoke?" After the first news brought to Rome of the happy success of the battle of Actium, they were also informed that Augustus was making preparations to follow Antony and Cleopatra, until they should be entirely defeated, and, if possible, taken prisoners; this is what Horace would have delayed from a motive of love and tenderness for that prince, whose return he expected with impatience. He would therefore have him to understand that there was nothing wanting to his victory to render it worthy of a triumph, and that he ought to come and enjoy the glory he had so justly acquired, without amusing himself in the pursuit of a fugitive. The expression is inimitably happy, and the sense extremely beautiful.

21. *Aureos currus.*] The triumphal car of ivory. Ovid says,

——*currus spectat eburnos:*

"He views the ivory chariot:

And Tibullus;

Portabit niveis currus eburnus equis.

"A chariot of ivory, drawn by milk-white "horses, shall carry you." But the upper part was of gold, which is the foundation of the epithet used by Horace. Eutropius in like manner, speaking of Paulus Emilius, says, *Aureo curru triumphavit:* "He triumphed in a chariot of gold." And Florus in the fifth chapter of his first Book; *Inde est quod aurato curru quatuor equis triumphatur:* "On this account it is that the "general triumphs in a chariot of gold drawn "by four horses."

23. *Nec Jugurthino parem.*] The four or five following verses prove beyond dispute the justness of my remark upon these lines;

——*Tu moraris aureos*
Currus?

Horace would prove to that god, that he ought not any longer to keep back the chariots of gold; and, to come to the point, says, that never did he make these chariots proceed on a more worthy account; and that neither Marius, after the defeat of Jugurtha, nor Scipio, after the conquest of Africa, had so just a title to triumph, as Augustus after the defeat of Antony. Let one read these

Neque Africano, cui super Carthaginem
Virtus sepulcrum condidit.
Terrâ marique victus hostis, Punico
Lugubre mutavit sagum:
Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
Ventis iturus non suis,
Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
Aut fertur incerto mari.
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos,
Et Chia vina aut Lesbia;
Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coerceat,
Metire nobis Cæcubum.
Curam metumque Cæsaris rerum juvat
Dulci Lyæo solvere.

ORDO.

cui virtus condidit sepulcrum super Carthaginem.

Hostis victus terra marique mutavit sagum lugubre *sago* Punico: ille aut iturus *est* Cretam nobilem centum urbibus ventis non suis, aut petit Syrtes exercitatas Noto, aut fertur mari incerto.

Puer, affer huc scyphos capaciores, et vina Chia, aut Lesbia, vel metire *vinum* Cæcubum nobis, quod coerceat nauseam fluentem. Juvat solvere curam metumque rerum Cæsaris dulci *vino* Lyæo.

NOTES.

passages as oft as he will, he will find that no other sense can reasonably be put upon them.

37. *Curam metumque Cæsaris rerum.*] Torrentius is of opinion that Horace speaks

ODE X.

As Horace, in the third ode of the first book, offers up his prayers for Virgil, and expresses his good wishes to that poet, who was going to Athens, in this he throws out imprecations against Mævius, who was also preparing for a voyage into Greece. Perhaps, this ode was written some time before

IN MÆVIUM.

Mala soluta navis exit alite,
Ferens olentem Mævium.
Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
Auster, memento fluctibus:

ORDO.

Navis soluta exit alite mala, ferens Mævium olentem. O Auster, memento *ut* verberes latus utrumque fluctibus horridis:

NOTES.

2. *Ferens olentem Mævium.*] The second verse contains the reason and proof of the first. The ship set sail under unlucky auspices, because it carried the offensive Mæ-

destruction of Carthage raised an eternal monument to his valour, can be compared with Cæsar.

The enemies *of Rome*, conquered by land and sea, were obliged to change their purple robes for mourning; and, though the winds were contrary, were forced to hasten towards Crete, famous for its hundred cities, or to the *Libyan* quicksands agitated by stormy winds, or roam on the seas without observing any certain course.

Come, boy, bring us larger glasses, fill them with Chian or Lesbian wine; or rather rich Cæcubian, which strengthens the stomach. I intend to drown in a hearty glass all the care and anxiety which I have felt for Cæsar.

NOTES.

here of the fear and inquietude which they were yet under for Augustus, who was preparing to pursue Antony; but he is certainly in an error. Horace was not so bad a courtier as to write to Mæcenas that he ought to drink and make merry while his prince was exposing himself to new dangers. I have already remarked, that Horace pretends Augustus had done enough, and that he ought not to think of pushing his victory; he speaks of the apprehensions they were under before the battle of Actium; the news of that victory had by this time begun to dissipate them, and it belonged to wine to do the rest. This is very natural.

ODE X.

that to which I have referred; for, although Mævius was hated and despised by all men of sense and a just taste, and this alone was very capable of drawing these maledictions upon him from Horace, he was moreover the bitter enemy of Virgil, than which nothing was more likely to raise Horace's resentment against him.

AGAINST MÆVIUS, A POET.

THE ship which carries the squalid *and detested* Mævius sets sail with unlucky omens. Be mindful, south-wind, to lash both sides of her with terrible waves: may the tempestuous east-wind raise

NOTES.

vius. By this Horace would have us to understand, that Mævius was a wretch hated by gods and men, and that of consequence he drew upon them the storm, and was the cause of the loss of the vessel.

2. *Olentem Mævium.*] Mævius was not only the most contemptible poet of his time, but also a disgusting loathsome creature, as appears from the following verses of Virgil in the third eclogue:

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi,
Atque idem jungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.

When Virgil says *jungat vulpes*, &c. he would have us to understand, as Pomponius Mela has very well explained it, that such as

Niger rudentes Eurus, inverso mari,
Fractosque remos differat:
Insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
Frangit trementes ilices.
Nec sidus atrâ nocte amicum appareat,
Quâ tristis Orion cadit;
Quietiore nec feratur æquore
Quàm Graia victorum manus,
Cùm Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
In impiam Ajacis ratem.
O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis,
Tibique pallor luteus,
Et illa non virilis ejulatio,
Preces et aversum ad Jovem,
Ionius udo cùm remugiens sinus
Noto carinam ruperit!
Opima quòd si præda curvo litore
Porrecta mergos juveris,
Libidinosus immolabitur caper,
Et agna Tempestatibus.

ORDO.

Eurus niger, mari inverso, differat rudentes remosque fractos; *et tantus* Aquilo insurgat, quantus frangit ilices trementes montibus altis.

Nec sidus amicum appareat nocte atra, qua tristis Orion cadit; nec *ea* feratur æquore quietiore quam Graia manus victorum *ferebatur*, cum Pallas vertit iram ab usto Ilio in impiam ratem Ajacis.

O quantus sudor instat navitis tuis, pallorque luteus tibi, et ejulatio illa non virilis, et preces ad Jovem aversum, cum sinus Ionius remugiens Noto udo ruperit carinam! Quod si *tu* præda opima porrecta litore curvo juveris mergos, libidinosus caper et agna immolabitur Tempestatibus.

NOTES.

loved these two poets, ought to love also nastiness itself, and be always among foxes and goats, who, though deemed the most loathsome of animals, were less so than these two poets. Hence we may see the reason why Horace says *olentem Mævium; olentem*, that is, *fœtentem*, offensive in point of smell.

5. *Inverso mari.*] This expression is very strong, and serves admirably to mark the violence of the east-south-east wind, which, to use the words of Horace, turns the sea upside down in such manner, that the waves that threatened heaven fall into the deep, and those that were at the bottom of the deep, mount up to heaven.

14. *In impiam Ajacis ratem.*] This Ajax was the son of Oileus, king of the Locrians. He debauched Cassandra in the temple of Pallas; and thereby raised the anger of that goddess, not only against himself, but the whole Grecian fleet.

17. *Et illa non virilis ejulatio.*] Horace represents this Mævius as the most spiritless and cowardly of men; for nothing was looked upon as more infamous and unmanly than to cry in the midst of dangers. Cicero, in the third book of his Tusculan questions, says, that it is sometimes allowable in a man to complain and grieve over his misfortunes, but to weep aloud is unworthy even of a woman. *Ingemiscere nonnunquam viro concessum est, idque raro; ejulatus vero ne mulieri quidem.*

18. *Preces et aversum ad Jovem.*] Horace ranks among the marks of pusillanimity and unmanliness the prayers that were addressed to the gods in times of great danger; and in this he follows the maxims of the Stoics,

the seas, crack her cables, and break in pieces her oars; and may the impetuous north-wind rage against her with the same fury as when it rends the trembling oaks on the high mountains.

May no favourable star appear in that dreadful night in that quarter where Orion sets. May the sea be as tempestuous as it was at the return of the victorious Grecian fleet; when Pallas, after having reduced Troy to ashes, turned all her rage against the impious ship in which Ajax was carried.

Unhappy wretch, when the tempest shall have shattered your vessel in the middle of the Ionian sea, what vain efforts will the mariners make! What death-like paleness will seize you! What effeminate complaints will you utter, and in vain make your addresses to Jupiter, who will turn a deaf ear to all of them! But should your carcase, stretched upon the shore, become a rich prey to the sea-fowls, I promise to sacrifice a lascivious goat and a lamb to the Tempests.

NOTES.

who pretended that it was not upon occasions of this nature, that recourse should be had to prayers. Horace valued himself upon his steadiness and magnanimity in this respect; for in Ode twenty-ninth, Book third, he says,

Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere.

21. *Opima quòd si præda.*] The word *opima* makes the whole beauty and humour of this passage, by a happy allusion to the spoils called by the ancients *opima*; but we must necessarily suppose, that Mævius was a very fat corpulent man, that he might be as considerable a prey to the divers, as the *opima spolia* were accounted by the Romans.

23. *Libidinosus immolabitur caper et agna.*] The Greeks sacrificed a lamb entirely black to the tempests. "Boys, bring speedily a black lamb, that I may sacrifice to the tempests." *Aristoph.* The Romans sacrificed a black ewe. Virgil, in the third book of the Æneid, says,

Nigram hyemi pecudem;

And Book fifth,

Et tempestatibus agnam
Cædere deinde jubet.

The reason of this difference is, that the Greeks made their tempests gods; whereas, among the Romans, they were accounted goddesses; and it was customary to offer the males to the gods, and the females to the goddesses; but there is no example that they ever sacrificed a goat to them. Whence comes it therefore that Horace promises them this victim? It is, without doubt, because the goat is the most offensive of animals, as Mævius was the most loathsome of men. He adds the epithet *libidinosus*, as being natural to the goat; whence the Romans used to say *hirquitalli* and *hirquitallire* of those who entered the age of manhood, and began to make love. The goat is of so amorous a complexion, that Pliny writes, *Hirci si casu aliquos coeuntes vident, adeo indignantur ut in eos pene impetum faciant.* From this it was that Virgil drew the image, *Transversa tuentibus hircis.*

24. *Tempestatibus.*] They had a temple at Rome. Ovid says, in the sixth book of his Fasti,

Te quoque, tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur,
Cum pene est Corsis obruta classis aquis.

This happened in the year of Rome 494. When the elder Scipio, who was again consul, took that island, his fleet was in great danger. Upon this he vowed, if it was preserved, to build a temple in Rome to the Tempests. There is, in the two last verses, a stroke of humour, which Theodorus Marcilius alone had the good fortune to discover. The design of promising sacrifices to Tempests, was to avert them, or make them cease; but Horace here does quite the contrary, and promises with a view of exciting them.

ODE XI.

Horace in this ode laments that he could never for a moment be free from the passion of love; he tells us that Cupid had so much the ascendency over him, that his friends but lost time in giving him advice; for he could no otherwise extricate himself from one engagement than by entering into another; and upon this he recounts in a very facetious manner a few of the follies he had been guilty of while he was in love with Inachia. This is the true subject of the ode, which has appeared so difficult, and hitherto has been so little understood; for assuredly Scaliger has mistaken the design of it, when he pronounces so boldly that it is rude, unmannerly, and unworthy of a perusal. I hope the world will judge of it after a quite different manner upon seeing my remarks. It was composed some years after the twelfth. Before we proceed to the explication of the ode itself, it will be necessary to take notice that Lambinus was the first who divided every second verse

AD PETTIUM.

Petti, nihil me, sicut antea, juvat
Scribere versiculos, amore perculsum gravi;
Amore, qui me, præter omnes, expetit
Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.
Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti
Inachiâ furere, sylvis honorem decutit.
Heu me! per urbem (nam pudet tanti mali)
Fabula quanta fui! conviviorum et pœnitet,
In queis amantem et languor et silentium
Arguit, et latere petitus imo spiritus.
Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
Pauperis ingenium? querebar, applorans tibi,

ORDO.

O Petti, nihil juvat me, sicut antea, scribere versiculos perculsum amore gravi; amore qui præter omnes expetit urere me in mollibus pueris, aut in puellis.

Hic tertius December decutit honorem sylvis, ex quo destiti furere Inachiâ. Heu me, quanta fabula fui per urbem (nam pudet *me* tanti mali)! Pœnitet et conviviorum, in queis et languor et silentium et spiritus petitus imo latere arguit amantem. Simul Deus invercundus fervidiore mero promôrat loco arcana calentis, applorans tibi que-

ODE XI.

into two, led thereto by the authority of Buchanan, and some ancient manuscripts. But this is contrary to what the ancients have written who have treated of the measure of verse. They make it apparent, that all the couplets which Lambinus, and after him Torrentius, have divided into three verses, consist only of two, in the following manner:

Petti, nihil me sicut antea juvat
Scribere versiculos amore perculsum gravi.

Bentley has a very learned remark upon this, where he restores to this ode its true measure, as it is in the best editions, such as that which appeared at Basle or Basil, in 1527, and that of Cruquius, 1579.

TO PETTIUS.

PETTIUS, I do not take that pleasure I used to do in writing verse, being persecuted by cruel Cupid,—by Cupid, *I say*, who vents all his malice against me, and rekindles soft and violent passions in my breast.

This is the third December in which the woods have cast their leaves since I freed myself of that violent passion I had for Inachia. Ah, wretch that I am, how much have I been the subject of conversation all over the city, of which I am very much ashamed! It vexes me also to think of those entertainments, at which I could not help discovering my passion by my languishing eye, my *sullen* silence, and deep sighs. But as soon as *Bacchus*, who unfolds every thing, warmed my breast with his cheering liquor, I disclosed all

NOTES.

6. *Inachiâ furere.*] This Inachia was one of the first of whom Horace became enamoured: she is no where mentioned but in this ode and the following.

10. *Et latere petitus imo spiritus.*] It is impossible to paint in a more lively manner the nature of a lover's sighs. As they are the effect of a desire which possesses all the powers of the soul, they are drawn, as Virgil says, *imo pectore*, from the bottom of the heart.

Simul calentis inverecundus Deus
Fervidiore mero arcana promôrat loco.
Quòd si meis inæstuet præcordiis
Libera bilis, ut hæc ingrata ventis dividat
Fomenta, vulnus nil malum levantia,
Desinet imparibus certare summotus pudor.
Ubi hæc severus te palam laudaveram,
Jussus abire domum, ferebar incerto pede
Ad non amicos, heu, mihi postes, et heu,
Limina dura, quibus lumbos et infregi latus.
Nunc, gloriantis quamlibet mulierculam
Vincere mollitiâ, amor Lycisci me tenet;
Unde expedire non amicorum queant
Libera consilia, nec contumeliæ graves;
Sed alius ardor, aut puellæ candidæ,
Aut teretis pueri, longam renodantis comam.

ORDO.

rebar " candidum ingenium pauperis nil va-
" lere contra lucrum. Quod si libera bilis
" inæstuet præcordiis meis, ut dividat ventis
" hæc ingrata fomenta, nil levantia malum
" vulnus, *protinus* pudor summotus desinet
" certare imparibus."

Ubi *ego* severus laudaveram hæc palam te, jussus abire domum, ferebar pede incerto ad postes, heu non amicos mihi, et limina heu dura, quibus infregi lumbos et latus.

Nunc amor Lycisci, gloriantis vincere quamlibet mulierculam mollitia, tenet me, unde non libera consilia nec graves contumeliæ amicorum queant expedire, sed alius ardor, aut puellæ candidæ, aut pueri teretis, renodantis comam longam.

NOTES.

14. *Arcana promôrat loco.*] We ought not to explain this passage in the sense of the Arabian proverb, " When wine is in, wit is out :" for it would be ridiculous to imagine that Horace, intoxicated with wine, discovered, even in spite of himself, his secrets to Pettius. This is a silly, weak character, that is far from agreeing to Horace. When he says that Bacchus stole his secrets from him, it ought to be explained from its relation to the custom of which the poet speaks in these verses of the twenty-seventh ode of the first book;

dicat Opuntiæ
Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.

In these parties of pleasure, when they began to be a little heated with wine, every one was made to tell the name of his mistress, the favours he had received from her, or the hardships she had made him undergo; and this was sometimes spoken aloud, but most commonly each whispered it to his neighbour, which gave rise to a thousand little pleasantries. This is plainly what Horace intended to express here; and nothing can appear to me more unreasonable than to take his words in any other sense.

16. *Ut hæc ingrata ventis dividat fomenta.*] This passage has very much puzzled the commentators; nor have any of them given a natural explication of it. Horace by *fomenta* understands the complaints, the tears, the sighs, and sullen silence, which usually accompany love. A lover who takes pleasure in this silence, who complains, who sighs, thus only cherishes and entertains the passion of love, and gives it new strength. It is like the case of a man who abandons himself to his discontent; the more he thinks of it,

my secrets, and complained to you, lamenting thus: "Is it so, that, "*with the ladies*, virtue and merit, with poverty, stand no chance "against the attractive charms of gold? Wherefore, could I once "entertain a just resentment of this affront, and suffer myself to be "deceived no longer with vain amusements, which only sooth my "passion, but do not relieve it, I would break my chains, ashamed "to have contended so long with my rich rivals for such an un-"worthy mistress."

After I had declared this my firm resolution in your presence, being desired by you to go home, *I had gotten but a little way from you, when*, without knowing whither I went, I was carried, in spite of me, to that fatal gate, where I have often laid my wearied body and aching limbs.

Now I am charmed with Lyciscus, who is a most engaging person, from whose chains neither the serious advice nor severe reproofs of my friends can disengage me, *nor will any thing*, till some more lovely charmer does.

NOTES.

the more it grows upon him; whereas it would gradually wear off, if he would think no more of it.

18. *Desinet imparibus certare summotus pudor.*] This is one of those passages that have greatly embarrassed commentators; nor is it possible to conceive the many ridiculous explications that have been given of it. I shall not spend time in giving an account of them, but content myself with simply explaining the passage. Horace says, *Pudor summotus desinet certare imparibus*, for *pudor ita summovebitur ut desinat.* This is the first sentiment which rises in the breast of a maltreated lover, who, shutting his eyes to every thing that could nourish or inflame his passion, clearly sees, that, far from being a shameful thing to yield a mistress to his rival, whom she prefers on account of his wealth, it would rather be so to dispute with him. This is the only natural sense that can be given to this passage. And this agrees also very well with what he moreover says, that it is their opulence they are valued for, and by which they are enabled to triumph over his merit.

26. *Nec contumeliæ graves.*] *Contumeliæ* are properly reproaches and censures accompanied with contempt. The Romans had not a stronger word than this; it was even more expressive than *injuria*. When any one used it against another, it was to treat him with the highest disdain. Pacuvius says, *Patior facile injuriam, si est vacua a contumelia.* "I can voluntarily bear inju-"ries, if they do not proceed to censures "accompanied with contempt." And Cæcilius, *Etiam injuriam (ferre possum) nisi contrà constat contumelia.* "I can bear in-"juries, but not contempt." Hence you learn the reason why Horace adds the epithet *graves*.

ODE XII.

This ode was written while Horace was in love with Inachia, and consequently before the one that precedes; for that was not composed till two years after he had been delivered from that passion.

IN ANUM

Quid tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas
Mittis, nec firmo juveni, neque naris obesæ?
Namque sagaciùs unus odoror,
Polypus an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis,
Quàm canis acer, ubi lateat sus.
Quis sudor vietis, et quàm malus undique membris
Crescit odor! cùm pene soluto
Indomitam properat rabiem sedare; nec illi
Jam manet humida creta, colorque
Stercore fucatus crocodili; jamque subando
Tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit;

NOTES.

2. *Quidve tabellas.*] They commonly wrote their love-letters on table-books; and the person to whom the letter was addressed wrote his answer upon the same book, which was then sent back again. It is upon this that the forty-third ode of Catullus is founded:

Jocum ne putat mœcha turpis,
Et negat mihi vestra reddituram
Pugillaria.

The pocket-books were almost of the same make with those used at this day, except that the leaves were of wood; whence they had the name of *tabellæ*, that is, *parvæ tabulæ*. They consisted of two, three, or five leaves; and, according to the number of these leaves, they were called *diptycha*, if they had two, *triptycha*, if they had three, and *pentaptycha* if they had five; if the number of leaves exceeded this, they were called *polyptycha*.

3. *Neque naris obesæ.*] *Obesus* signifies properly fat; and as those who are very fat, are seldom persons of quick parts or a ready conception, *obesus* and *pinguis* are frequently referred to stupid and dull persons, and are applied to all the senses, as Horace here says *naris obesæ*, a nose that smells nothing, and Calpurnius, *obesis auribus*, ears that do not hear.

ODE XII.

This and the eighth ode of this book are of the same character; and though some may say that Horace, in writing them, had a good intention, *viz.* to paint vice in its most hideous colours; yet I have omitted giving a translation of them for an obvious reason.

FŒDAM.

Vel mea cùm sævis agitat fastidia verbis:
Inachiâ langues minùs ac me;
Inachiam ter nocte potes; mihi semper ad unum
Mollis opus. Pereat malè, quæ te,
Lesbia, quærenti taurum, monstravit inertem!
Cùm mihi Cöus adesset Amyntas,
Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
Quàm nova collibus arbor inhæret.
Muricibus Tyriis iteratæ vellera lanæ
Cui properabantur? tibi nempe,
Ne foret æquales inter conviva, magis quem
Diligeret mulier sua, quàm te.
O ego non felix, quam tu fugis, ut pavet acres
Agna lupos, capreæque leones!

NOTES.

21. *Muricibus Tyriis iteratæ.*] As in the sixteenth ode of the second book:

——— *Te bis Afro*
Murice tinctæ
Vestiunt lanæ.

"You are clothed in Tyrian purple of the "deepest dye."

21. *Iteratæ vellera lanæ.*] It would have been sufficient to have said *Vellera iterata*, but it is much more elegant to say *Vellera lanæ iteratæ*. Silius hath said, after the same manner,

——— *Niveæ splendentia vellera lanæ.*

And in this the Latins imitated the Greeks, who said διπλοος εριων, *Vellus lanæ.*

25. *O ego non felix, quam tu fugis.*] Carisius, who cites this passage, reads, *O ego infelix*, and the generality of commentators have followed this reading, it being confirmed by several manuscripts. But I much prefer *O ego non felix*; for *non felix* is far more expressive than *infelix*. It is as if she had said, *O ego infelicissima.* In Virgil *non unquam* is more expressive than *nunquam*, and *non ulla*, than *nulla.*

——— *Non ulla laborum,*
O virgo, nova mî facies.

ODE XIII.

The subject of this ode is unknown to us; it only appears from the tenth verse that Horace speaks to friends who were disturbed at some bad news which had been brought to Rome, importing perhaps that the Romans had been vanquished in battle. Torrentius is of opinion, that this ode was composed

AD AMICOS.

Horrida tempestas cœlum contraxit, et imbres
Nivesque deducunt Jovem: nunc mare, nunc sylüæ,
Threïcio Aquilone sonant. Rapiamus, amici,
Occasionem de die; dumque virent genua,
Et decet, obductâ solvatur fronte senectus.
Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.
Cætera mitte loqui: Deus hæc fortasse benignâ
Reducet in sedem vice. Nunc et Achæmeniâ
Perfundi nardo juvat, et fide Cylleneâ
Levare diris pectora solicitudinibus;

ORDO.

Tempestas horrida contraxit cœlum, et imbres nivesque deducunt Jovem: nunc mare, nunc sylüæ sonant Aquilone Threicio. O amici, rapiamus occasionem de die; dumque genua virent, et decet, senectus solvatur obducta fronte.

Tu move vina pressa Torquato meo consule. Mitte loqui cætera: Deus fortasse reducet hæc in sedem benigna vice.

Nunc et juvat perfundi nardo Achæmenia, et levare pectora diris solicitudinibus fide Cyllenea; ut Centaurus nobilis cecinit alumno grandi:

NOTES.

1. *Cœlum contraxit.*] The old scholiast is of opinion that Horace here puts *cœlum* for *aer*, and that the expression, *tempestas contraxit cœlum*, means nothing more than *nubes coegit*, has assembled the clouds; but we do not agree with him. *Contrahere* is a term opposed to *explicare*, *pandere*. When the clouds meet together and unite, they conceal the heaven, and, as it were, snatch it from our sight; and when they dissipate, they really seem to open it, and expose it to our view, so that we see it entirely, as when one unfolds a piece of tapestry. This is the true force of the word *contrahere*, which makes here a very beautiful image, though some have not perceived it.

ODE XIII.

in the camp of Brutus; but this has not the least degree of probability; for we believe it to be certain, that all the odes we have of Horace were written after the battle of Philippi.

TO HIS FRIENDS.

A DREADFUL tempest obscures the heavens, and the whole air seems converted into hail and snow; the billows roar, and the woods resound by the violence of the north-wind. Let us then, my friends, embrace the present occasion: while we are young, and pleasure is becoming, let us keep at a distance the troubles and anxieties that old-age brings with it.

Let us have instantly a bottle of that excellent wine, which has been kept since the consulship of Torquatus, in which I was born; and let us avoid all discourse that may be disagreeable. How do we know that the gods, by a happy turn, will not bring every thing to rights again?

Let us think of nothing at present but to perfume ourselves with essence, and divert all anxious thoughts with an agreeable tune

NOTES.

1. *Imbres nivesque deducunt Jovem.*] In order rightly to understand this passage, we need only call to mind that Jupiter is the same with the air, and that the ancients considered rain as nothing but a certain modification of the air: *aer enim in pluvias solvitur.*

3. *Threicio Aquilone sonant.*] Horace calls the north-wind Thracian, because Thrace was regarded as the habitation of the winds, and because it came directly from Thrace, which was situated north or north-east of Rome.

5. *Obductâ solvatur fronte senectus.*] This passage is at first sight difficult; but two words are sufficient to clear up the whole. *Senectus* is here put for *senium*, the chagrin and peevishness of old-age; and *senectus obductâ fronte*, is the same as *senectus quæ frontem obducit, tegit*; old-age, which covers the forehead, which conceals it as the clouds conceal the heavens, or as darkness conceals the earth. We find in Lucretius,

Tenebris obducere terras.

Virgil uses the expression *obductum dolorem*, for grief that was suppressed; and Lucilius says,

Vos interea lumen afferte, atque aulæa obducite.

"In the mean time, bring a light, and draw "the curtains."

6. *Torquato consule.*] For Horace was born under the consulate of L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta. We have already spoken of the Roman custom of marking wine with the name of one of the consuls who governed when it was put up.

7. *Cætera mitte loqui.*] From this it is

Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno:
Invicte mortalis, Deâ nate puer Thetide,
Te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi
Findunt Scamandri flumina, lubricus et Simöis;
Unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcæ
Rupere; nec mater domum cærula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
Deformis ægrimoniæ dulcibus alloquiis.

ORDO.

" O invicte mortalis, puer nate Dea The-
" tide, tellus Assaraci manet te, quam frigida
" flumina Scamandri parvi et Simois lubri-
" cus findunt; unde Parcæ rupere reditum
" tibi subtemine certo; nec mater cærula re-
" vehet te domum. Illic levato omne malum
" vino cantuque, dulcibus alloquiis ægrimo-
" niæ deformis."

NOTES.

evident, that the present ode was written upon occasion of some misfortune that had befallen the republic.

11. *Nobilis ut grandi.*] Horace here makes Chiron speak to Achilles, as he had made Teucer speak to his friends in the seventh

ODE XIV.

Horace had promised to Mæcenas a certain poem in iambic verse, and had actually begun it; but as he was of a very amorous disposition, he never could find time to finish a work of any considerable length. Mæcenas did not cease to importune him, and reproach him with his indolence. Horace

AD MÆCENATEM.

Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
Oblivionem sensibus,
Pocula Lethæos ut si ducentia somnos
Arente fauce traxerim,
Candide Mæcenas, occidis sæpe rogando.
Deus, Deus nam me vetat,

ORDO.

O candide Mæcenas, occidis *me*, sæpe rogando cur mollis inertia diffuderit oblivionem tantam sensibus imis, ut si traxerim pocula ducentia somnos Lethæos, fauce arente. Deus,

on the harp, which Mercury invented *for our benefit.* This is the counsel which heretofore the famous Centaur gave to the great Achilles:

"Invincible mortal," said he, "son of the goddess Thetis, you must "appear in the kingdom of Assaracus, watered by the cold Scaman- "der and impetuous Simois. There the fatal sisters have deter- "mined you shall end your days; nor shall your mother have the "consolation of conducting you home again. Be mindful, when "you are there, to alleviate all your misfortunes by wine and music, "the only remedies against grief and melancholy."

NOTES.

ode of the first book. Homer calls him the most just of the Centaurs. And the scholiast is of opinion that the most just, in that passage, signifies the only just among the Centaurs. This high reputation for wisdom, justice, and knowledge, procured him a great many illustrious disciples, as Jason, Hercules, Æsculapius, Achilles, Æneas.

17. *Illic omne malum vino.*] Horace has taken this from the Iliad, where Achilles is represented solacing himself with wine, and singing the great actions of heroes on his harp.

ODE XIV.

answers, that it was not sloth, but the most powerful of all the gods, that obstructed the completion of his poem, and that, being one who was acquainted with love by experience, he could not be ignorant that the man who was enslaved by that passion, was incapable of turning his thoughts to any other object.

TO MÆCENAS.

You kill me, dear Mæcenas, with demanding so often whence it comes that an effeminate indolence has thrown me into so deep a lethargy, as if I had imbibed with greediness all the water in the river of oblivion. It is a god, yea, a powerful god, that debars me

NOTES.

1. *Mollis inertia.*] These are the very words which Mæcenas made use of in reproaching Horace. This was what the poet could not bear. It is not, says he, an effeminate sloth, but it is a powerful god, that forbids, that hinders me from making good my promise.

Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
Ad umbilicum adducere.
Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teïum,
Qui persæpe cavâ testudine flevit amorem
Non elaboratum ad pedem.
Ureris ipse miser: quòd si non pulchrior ignis
Accendit obsessam Ilion,
Gaude sorte tuâ. Me libertina, neque uno
Contenta, Phryne macerat.

ORDO.

nam Deus vetat me adducere ad umbilicum inceptos iambos, carmen olim promissum.

Dicunt Anacreonta Teium, qui persæpe flevit amorem testudine cavâ ad pedem non elaboratum, non aliter arsisse Samio Bathyllo. *Tu* ipse miser ureris. Quòd si non pulchrior ignis accendit Ilion obsessam, gaude sorte tuâ. Phryne libertina, neque contenta uno, macerat me.

NOTES.

12. *Non elaboratum ad pedem.*] Interpreters think that Horace calls the feet of Anacreon's verse *non elaboratos*, not laboured, instead of natural, which occurred to him without premeditation; but this is by no means what he designs. *Non elaboratum ad pedem* is here said of Anacreon, because he gave himself no trouble about the number of syllables: without minding the regularity of feet, he made no scruple to put an iambus, or a trochee, for a spondee, or a spondee for an iambus. He also frequently joined together verses of different kinds. This passage is very remarkable; for by it we may discover that the learned who have commented on that Greek poet, have not had sufficient reason

ODE XV.

This ode is very simple, and its simplicity is perhaps the reason why the generality of interpreters have not known the value of it; for the natural is what strikes them least in performances of this kind. As for myself, I for the most part judge of things according to this rule, and acknowledge that I am

AD NEÆRAM.

Nox erat, et cœlo fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera,
Cùm tu, magnorum numen læsura Deorum,
In verba jurabas mea,

ORDO.

Nox erat, et luna fulgebat inter sidera minora, cœlo sereno, cum tu, læsura numen Deorum magnorum, jurabas in mea verba, adhærens brachiis lentis arctius atque ilex

from finishing the poem I promised you, and which I had begun to compose.

The amorous Anacreon, who lamented so tenderly his fate by playing on his harp with a negligent air, never felt so violent a passion for Bathyllus; and even you yourself, Mæcenas, are passionately in love as well as I; and if Helen, who set all Troy on flames, was not more beautiful than the lady with whom you are charmed, rejoice in your good fortune. *As for me*, I adore Phryne, who is only a freed-woman, and cannot content herself with one lover.

NOTES.

to condemn some odes, and assure us that they are none of his, under pretence that the feet are not exactly observed, and that the poet does not always follow the same measure.

13. *Quòd si non pulchrior ignis.*] Mæcenas might answer Horace, It is true, I am in love, but then it is with a person of quality, and the most amiable woman in the world, whereas he was in love with a freed-woman. Horace very dexterously prevents this reply, by making him understand, that the love one had to a freed-woman, did not less possess and torment the soul, than that which might be conceived for a queen.

15. *Me libertina, neque uno contenta.*] Horace here agreeably flatters Mæcenas, by the difference which he acknowledges to exist between his mistress and that of this favourite minister of Augustus. Phryne was a freed-woman, and Licinia was descended from one of the noblest families in Rome: Phryne was not satisfied with one lover, and Licinia loved only Mæcenas, as he has already told us in the 12th ode of the second book:

—— *Et bene mutuis*
Fidum pectus amoribus!

ODE XV.

very much affected with this short ode, which is full of passion, and where the expressions are so natural, that it is easy to see it is truly the heart that speaks.

TO NEÆRA.

It was night, and the moon shone bright among the smaller stars in a serene sky, when, embracing me in your tender arms, more closely than the ivy twines round the tall oak, you took this solemn oath which I dictated to you, though you intended at that

NOTES.

1. *Nox erat, et cælo.*] Lovers are always circumstantial in the description of those happy moments, which they look back upon with pleasure; but this is not the only reason that moves Horace to be particular in the description of these smaller matters; he is

Arctiùs atque ederâ procera astringitur ilex,
Lentis adhærens brachiis;
Dum pecori lupus, et nautis infestus Orion,
Turbaret hibernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos,
Fore hunc amorem mutuum.
O dolitura meâ multùm virtute, Neæra;
Nam si quid in Flacco viri est,
Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
Et quæret iratus parem;
Nec semel offensæ cedet constantia formæ,
Si certus intrârit dolor.
At tu, quicunque es felicior, atque meo nunc
Superbus incedis malo;

ORDO.

procera astringitur ederâ: *jurabas* amorem hunc *nostrum* fore mutuum, dum lupus *infestus* pecori, et Orion infestus nautis, turbaret mare hybernum, auraque agitaret intonsos capillos Apollinis.

O Neæra! multum dolitura virtute meâ; nam si quid viri est in Flacco, non feret te dare noctes assiduas potiori, et iratus quæret parem; nec, si dolor certus intrârit, constantia *mea* cedet formæ semel offensæ.

At o tu quicunque es felicior, atque nunc

NOTES.

moreover desirous of augmenting the confusion of Neæra, by making her call to mind that the night and moon were witnesses of her oaths.

3. *Magnorum numen læsura Deorum.*] This is the severest reproach that can be cast upon a woman, to tell her, that the very moment she binds herself by oaths, she is contriving at the same time to violate and elude them; and that she takes an oath for this very purpose, that she may have the pleasure of being perjured. This is the true sense of the passage, which the old scholiast has endeavoured to explain after a different manner.

4. *In verba jurabas mea.*] *Jurare in verba alicujus*, to swear after the words of any one, is the same with what they meant by *conceptis verbis jurare*, when the party himself pronounced the form of the oath which he required, and the person who bound himself repeated it after him; or very often was satisfied with saying, at the end of the malediction which commonly accompanied these oaths, *Idem in me.* He who spoke first was said *præire verbis.* There was no kind of oath among the ancients more religious and binding than this, the reason of which is very evident: for when one gives another the power of drawing up the form of the oath, and the promises which he requires of us, we establish his right, and cannot deceive him, without violating all that is most sacred and venerable.

5. *Arctiùs atque ederâ.*] Horace is not contented with telling us that Neæra swore; he further describes the posture she was in when she took these oaths. This renders the picture much more lively, and makes up a very beautiful image; for nothing can be more pleasant than to take a view of this girl hanging about the neck of Horace, and repeating after him all the oaths and promises which he dictates.

6. *Lentis adhærens brachiis.*] The difficulty of this passage consists in determining whether *brachiis* be in the dative or ablative, that is, if Horace speaks of his own arms, or those of Neæra, and if *meis* or *tuis* be understood. Commentators adhere mostly to the first opinion; but, in matters of gallantry, I question how far the delicacy of their taste is to be depended upon. *Brachiis* is without doubt in the ablative; for it was Neæra that hung about the neck of Horace.

very time to offend the majesty of the supreme gods, by breaking it.

"So long," said you, "as the wolf shall continue an enemy to the "sheep, and Orion, formidable to mariners, swell the winter sea; "while the beautiful locks of Apollo shall wanton in the wind, so "long you may assure yourself, Horace, that the love you have for "me will meet with an equal return."

Neæra, *thou faithless jilt*, the time will come, that you will dearly repent *of being false to me*, when you reflect on my constancy; for if there is one spark of manhood left in Horace, he will not bear to see you riot every night with his rival, whom you prefer, without resenting it, by looking out for a mistress *that will make more* equal *returns to his passion*. Nor imagine, though you should sincerely repent *of having used me ill*, that, after so much provocation, all your beauty will ever make me fall from my resentment.

And you, whoever you are, happy favourite, who now laugh and

NOTES.

This is no inconsiderable remark, for it is what constitutes the chief beauty of this passage. In this meeting it belonged to Neæra to testify the greatest forwardness, because it was she that was to take an oath. They only who are acquainted with nature, are capable of thoroughly discerning and feeling the truth of this observation.

13. *Potiori.*] Commentators have not rightly understood the meaning of this word, as here used: *potior* signifies simply more happy, better received, as in Ode ninth, Book third,

Nec quisquam potior brachia candidæ
Cervici juvenis dabat.

Potior is the same thing as *felicior* in the fourth verse after this. Tibullus, in like manner, in the sixth elegy of his fourth book, says,

At tu qui potior nunc es.

14. *Et quæret iratus parem.*] *Parem*, an equal, that is, one who will return his love; as, on the contrary, *impar* signifies a person who makes no return to the passion which another has for her. It is a metaphor taken from coach-horses; when they draw equally, they are called *pares*; but when one draws better than the other, they are called *impares*.

18. *Superbus incedis.*] *Incedere* is a word full of majesty and dignity, and it was only used when they spoke of those who discovered by their gait a consciousness of their high birth and superior station. Virgil, in the first book of the Æneid, makes Juno say,

Ast ego quæ Divum incedo regina, Jovisque
Et soror et conjux.

See the Prose Translation of Virgil, Book 1st, p. 8. where Servius has very well remarked, *Incedere est nobilium personarum; hoc est, cum aliqua dignitate ambulare.* Horace is not contented with the force of this term; he adds *superbus*, in order to paint more strongly the pride of his rival.

Sis pecore et multâ dives tellure licebit,
Tibique Pactolus fluat,
Nec te Pythagoræ fallant arcana renati,
Formâque vincas Nirea;
Eheu, translatos alió mœrebis amores:
Ast ego vicissim risero.

ORDO.

superbus incedis meo malo; licebit sis dives pecore et tellure multa, Pactolusque fluat tibi; nec arcana Pythagoræ renati fallant te, et vincas Nirea formâ; eheu mœrebis amores translatos alio; ast ego vicissim risero.

NOTES.

20. *Tibique Pactolus fluat.*] The Pactolus is a river of Lydia, which takes its rise in mount Tmolus, and running into the Hermus, empties itself along with it into the

ODE XVI.

This ode was produced in the time of the civil wars, and consequently is one of the first of Horace's performances. M. le Fevre says it is the work of a young man; but that this does not preclude its being well written. Scaliger judges less favourably of it; for he says, except the verses, which are all laboured, and of which the second or epode verses are all pure iambics, which are very difficult to make, the ode is impertinent and ridiculous, and that it is an unparalleled piece of impudence in the poet, to endeavour to persuade three hundred thousand Roman citizens to quit their party. We never fail to judge amiss when we allow ourselves to be prejudiced, and are not at due pains to examine accurately the points of which we form a judgement. When war arose between Antony and Augustus in the year of the city 721, Rome was full of disorders and dissensions; the citizens preparing, some to follow the fortune of Antony, others to range themselves on the side of Augustus. Horace, who was a witness of these divisions, and who knew, from experience, the mischiefs that might attend them, expresses his concern and trouble in this ode, and endeavours to persuade his coun-

AD POPULUM ROMANUM.

Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas;
Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit;

ORDO.

Altera ætas jam teritur bellis civilibus, et ipsa Roma ruit viribus suis;

triumph over me, though you be rich in land and cattle, though all the gold that flows down the Pactolus were yours*; even if the mysteries of the philosophy of Pythagoras, who so often returned to life, should be known to you, and you should exceed even Nireus in beauty, soon shall you have the mortification to see this inconstant fair one *jilt you too, and* transfer her love to another; then I shall *have the pleasure to* laugh *and triumph over you* in my turn.

NOTES.

Ægean Sea. In the time of Crœsus this river brought down with it from the mountains a kind of gold sand, which was the chief cause of the prodigious riches of that monarch. But it no more did so in the time of Strabo, as he tells us himself in his thirteenth book. Although this had ceased long before the time of Augustus, yet they still used the proverbial expression, *tibi Pactolus fluit*, for, *you are as rich as Crœsus.*

* And the Pactolus should flow only to you.

ODE XVI.

trymen, that these divisions which prevailed among them, did not proceed from the ambition and avarice of their chiefs, but from the wrath of the gods, who raised these heats among them to revenge the murder of Remus; and that so long as they inhabited a city whose walls were cemented with blood, it was in vain that they hoped to see an end of these miseries: that the only wise course they could take, therefore, was to quit Rome, and go in quest of more peaceful and happy habitations, in imitation of the Phocæans, who, to avoid the mischiefs of a war, voluntarily quitted their native country. It was probably this history of the Phocæans that gave Horace the idea of this ode, where we have an admirable description of the Fortunate Isles, in order the better to represent, by a sensible opposition, the desolation and calamities of Italy and Rome. Let any one but carefully peruse this ode, and I am persuaded he will be astonished at the severe and injudicious criticism of Scaliger. Heinsius could not have more condemned him, than by saying, "In Epodis decimam sextam, quæ antiquitatis universæ excedit conatum, ineptam judicavit."

TO THE PEOPLE OF ROME.

A SECOND age is now *almost* worn out in our *destructive* civil wars, and Rome falls by her own strength; that mistress of the world,

NOTES.

1. *Altera jam teritur.*] Horace divides the civil wars into two ages; the first comprehends all the civil wars that afflicted Italy, from the dissension of Marius and Sylla, till

Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi,
Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus,
Æmula nec virtus Capuæ, nec Spartacus acer,
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
Nec fera cæruleâ domuit Germania pube,
Parentibusque abominatus Annibal.
Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis ætas,
Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum?
Barbarus, heu, cineres insistet victor, et urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungulâ;
Quæque carent ventis et solibus, ossa Quirini
(Nefas videre) dissipabit insolens?
Fortè quid expediat, communiter, aut melior pars,
Malis carere quæritis laboribus.
Nulla sit hac potior sententia: (Phocæorum
Velut profugit exsecrata civitas,
Agros atque lares patrios, habitandaque fana,
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis)
Ire, pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas
Notus vocabit, aut protervus Africus.
Sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere? secundâ
Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
Sed juremus in hæc: Simul imis saxa renârint
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;

ORDO.

quam neque Marsi finitimi valuerunt perdere, aut Etrusca manus Porsenæ minacis, nec æmula virtus Capuæ, nec Spartacus acer, Allobroxque infidelis *studens* rebus novis, nec Germania fera pube cærulea domuit, Annibalque abominatus parentibus. *Nos* impia ætas devoti sanguinis perdemus, solumque rursus occupabitur feris? Heu, barbarus victor insistet cineres *urbis*, et eques verberabit urbem sonante ungulâ, insolensque dissipabit ossa Quirini, quæ carent ventis et solibus; *quod* nefas *est* videre? Forte communiter, aut melior pars, quæritis quid expediat carere malis laboribus.

Sententia nulla potior hac; Ire quocunque pedes ferent, quocunque Notus, aut protervus Africus, vocabit per undas, velut exsecrata civitas Phocæorum profugit, atque reliquit agros, lares patrios, fanaque habitanda apris, et lupis rapacibus.

Sic placet? an quis habet melius suadere? Quid moramur occupare ratem alite secunda? Sed juremus in hæc, ne redire sit nefas, simul saxa levata imis vadis renarint; neu pigeat

NOTES.

the death of Cæsar, and the second comprehends those which occurred from the death of Cæsar to the battle of Actium.

4. *Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus.*] Tarquin the Proud, being expelled from his kingdom by the Romans, retired to the court of Porsena king of Tuscany, who, in order to re-establish him on his throne, laid siege to Rome, and seemed to be on the point of reducing it: but, admiring the courage of the inhabitants, he entered into an alliance with them, and raised the siege.

5. *Spartacus.*] Some have thought that the Spartans are here alluded to: but this is a false supposition; for the rebel gladiator was obviously in the poet's eye.

6. *Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox.*] There is an ellipsis here, and we must supply *studens: Rebus novis studens infidelis Allobrox.* The Allobroges were properly the people in-

whom neither the Marsi her neighbours, nor the Tuscan army of the menacing Porsena, nor all the power of Capua her rival, nor the turbulent Spartacus, nor the perfidious Allobroges, lovers of revolutions, nor fierce Germany with her azure-eyed youth, nor *all the fury of* Hannibal, who was hated by our forefathers, were able to conquer.

And shall we impious wretches destroy it, whose blood is devoted to destruction for the expiation of our crimes, and the ground, *on which the city stands*, be again possessed by wild beasts? Shall the victorious barbarians in an insulting manner ride over the ruins of our city; and, what is dreadful to think of, shall these insolent men scatter the bones of Romulus, which have lain concealed from *the injuries of* the sun and winds for so many ages? Perhaps all of you, or at least the wiser part, will demand what expedient can be found to avoid these great calamities.

Our best course, in my opinion, is to imitate the example of the Phocæans: after having engaged themselves by the most inviolable oaths, to forsake for ever their native country, they abandoned to bears and wolves their houses, their temples, and their city. Let us likewise quit our dear country, and wander by land as far as our feet will carry us, or roam on the ocean wherever the violent south-west winds may blow us.

Does this advice please? or has any one a better to offer? Why do we delay to embark under lucky auspices? "But *stop*, let us "first swear not to return till stones, rising from the bottom of the "deep, swim on its surface; and then, *and not before*, turn our

NOTES.

habiting about Savoy and Dauphiné. Horace calls them perfidious and lovers of innovations, because they had embarked in the conspiracy of Catiline, their ambassadors being gained by Lentulus. The reader may consult Sallust, and the first chapter of the fourth book of Florus. This is the explication which the generality of interpreters give of this passage; but as this conspiracy of the Allobroges was discovered as soon as formed, and the danger was not so great, to be enumerated with those of which he here speaks, I am of opinion, that by the Allobroges he means the Gauls, and that he had in his eye all the bloody wars which that people carried on with the Romans.

7. *Germania.*] It is probable that he here means the Teutones and Cimbri, who would infallibly have sacked Rome, had they not been opposed by a Marius.

15. *Fortè quid expediat.*] The construction of this passage is as follows: *Forte communiter, aut melior pars, quæritis quid expediat carere*, instead of *quid expediat ut careatis*: "What "is proper to be done, in order to free our-"selves from these calamities."

17. *Phocæorum velut profugit exsecrata.*] The Phocæans, a people of Ionia, being closely pressed by Harpagus, earnestly demanded one day's truce, as if to deliberate upon the propositions he had made them, and begged him to withdraw his army a little from their walls: which he had no sooner done, than they put in their ships all that they could carry along with them of their goods, with their wives, their children, and the statues of their gods, and sailed to Chio. Afterwards they returned to Phocis, where, having put the garrison left by Harpagus to the sword, they re-embarked, and throw-

Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Apenninus,
Novâque monstra junxerit libidine
Mirus amor; juvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
Adulteretur et columba milüo;
Credula nec flavos timeant armenta leones;
Ametque salsa lèvis hircus æquora.
Hæc, et quæ poterunt reditus abscindere dulces,
Eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
Aut pars indocili melior grege: mollis et exspes
Inominata perprimat cubilia.
Vos quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
Etrusca præter et volate litora.
Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
Petamus arva, divites et insulas,
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis,
Et imputata floret usque vinea;
Germinat et nunquam fallentis termes olivæ,
Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem;
Mella cavâ manant ex ilice; montibus altis
Levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
Illic injussæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ,
Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera;
Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
Nec intumescit alta viperis humus:
Pluraque felices mirabimur; ut neque largis
Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,

ORDO.

dare lintea conversa domum, quando Padus laverit cacumina Matina, seu Apenninus celsus procurrerit in mare, mirusque amor junxerit monstra nova libidine; ut juvet tigres subsidere cervis, et columba adulteretur milvo; nec armenta credula timeant leones flavos; hircusque levis amet salsa æquora. *Quum* civitas omnis exsecrata *sit* hæc, et quæ poterunt abscindere reditus dulces, eamus, aut pars melior grege indocili: *pars* mollis et exspes perprimat cubilia inominata. Vos, quibus virtus est, tollite luctum muliebrem, et volate præter litora Etrusca.

Oceanus circumvagus manet nos; petamus arva et insulas divites, ubi tellus inarata quotannis reddit Cererem, et vinea imputata usque floret; et *ubi* termes olivæ nunquam fallentis germinat, ficusque pulla ornat suam arborem; *ubi* mella manant ex ilice cava, et lympha levis desilit montibus altis pede crepante. Illic capellæ injussæ veniunt ad mulctra, grexque amicus refert ubera tenta; nec ursus vespertinus circumgemit ovile, nec humus alta intumescit viperis: felicesque mirabimur plura; ut neque Eurus aquosus radat arva imbribus largis, nec semina pinguia uran-

NOTES.

jing a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, swore they would never return into their own country, till that mass of iron should swim upon the water.

" sails homeward, when the Po shall flow up to the top of the Ma-
" tinian mountains, and the lofty Apennine throw itself into the
" middle of the sea; when a monstrous love shall join the tiger
" with the hind, and the dove with the kite; when our flocks no
" more dread the tawny lions; and the goats, grown smooth, take
" pleasure in the briny ocean."

Having bound ourselves by this or any stricter oath, that may cut off all hopes of a return which has so many charms in it, let us go all together, or the chief part of us who are above the vulgar: let him that has no bravery or resolution abide in these accursed places. But you, who have courage, relinquish your effeminate complaints, and fly speedily beyond the Etrurian coasts.

The wide ocean invites us; let us be gone to those lands, those happy lands, and rich islands, where the untilled earth produces every year plenty of corn, the unpruned vines never miss to flourish in their season, the olive-branches are loaded with fruit, and never deceive the farmer's hope; *where* the fig-trees look beautiful with ripe figs, honey flows from the hollow oak, and the rivulets make an agreeable murmur, descending from the lofty mountains. There the she-goats and ewes, with their distended udders, come to the milk-pail of their own accord; no evening bear stalks growling round the sheepfold, nor do poisonous vipers heave the swelling soil. *When we are there*, we shall rejoice in our happiness, and find innumerable subjects of admiration. The east-wind never brings immoderate rains to overflow this country; nor do excessive heats

NOTES.

31. *Juvet ut tigres*, &c.] If there be any mark of youth in this ode, it is certainly in the great number of impossibilities which Horace here amasses. When one handles a subject of so dismal a nature as this, and treats of the execution of some very difficult enterprise, it is not at all likely that he will take the liberty of ransacking nature to furnish himself with images. And even though he had that liberty, he ought not to use it. True grief expresses itself after another manner.

35. *Reditus abscindere dulces.*] This epithet *dulcis* is in a manner the foundation of all the oaths he requires of them; for, as our country has many charms, which naturally excite a desire of returning into it, the engagements one is brought under never to return, can never be too strong.

41. *Beata petamus arva.*] The greatest difficulty of this passage is, to know what are those isles and habitations of which the poet has left us so lovely a description. It is generally thought they were two isles bordering upon Andalusia, where the ancients placed their Elysian Fields, as has been already remarked on the first book.

53. *Ut neque largis aquosus Eurus arva.*] There is a beautiful passage of Plutarch, in his life of Sertorius, that will serve as a commentary to this. That historian, speaking of the Fortunate Isles, says, that there very seldom fall any showers, which, when they do, are always soft; and that commonly there blows a mild and gentle gale, which brings a dew along with it, that moistens the earth in such a manner as to render it fat and fertile: that the winds blowing from the land, soon lose all their force and violence; and that those which come from the sea, bring sometimes along with them a gentle shower, but most commonly they serve only to refresh

Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis;
Utrumque rege temperante cœlitum.
Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
Neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem;
Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautæ,
Laboriosa nec cohors Ulyssei.
Nulla nocent pecori contagia; nullius astri
Gregem æstuosa torret impotentia.
Jupiter illa piæ secrevit litora genti,
Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum:
Ærea dehinc ferro duravit secula; quorum
Piis secunda, vate me, datur fuga.

ORDO.

tur glebis siccis; rege cœlitum temperante utrumque.

Pinus, remige Argoo, non contendit huc, neque Colchis impudica intulit pedem *huc:* nautæ Sidonii non torserunt cornua huc, nec laboriosa cohors Ulyssei. Contagia nulla nocent pecori; æstuosa impotentia astri nullius torret gregem. Jupiter secrevit litora illa genti piæ, ut inquinavit aureum tempus ære, dehinc duravit ærea secula ferro: quorum *seculorum*, fuga secunda datur piis, me vate.

NOTES.

the air with a moisture and softness, that give nourishment to all things.

59. *Non huc Sidonii torserunt.*] Commentators pretend that Horace speaks here of Cadmus and his companions; but I can by no means see what advantage he could propose to himself to draw from this circumstance, that Cadmus never landed in those isles, inasmuch as Cadmus did nothing but good in all the places that he visited. This therefore cannot be the poet's meaning. Tyre and Sidon were the chief maritime towns in

burn up the corn, the ruler of the skies always preserving a mild and temperate air.

The *plundering* Argonauts never attempted to go near this coast, nor was it ever known to dire Medea; neither the Sidonian sailors, nor the indefatigable companions of *famed* Ulysses, ever landed here. Here no contagious humour hurts the cattle, no fiery planet injures the flocks. This happy land was set apart by Jove for pious men, when he first changed the golden age into one of brass, and afterwards that of brass into one of iron.

By following this my oracular advice, the pious may escape the calamities of these corrupt and unhappy times.

NOTES.

the world, and consequently held the first rank for commerce; and as merchandise and deceit are too often joined together, Horace tells us that the Sidonians never set their foot in these Fortunate Isles, in order by this to make us understand, that deceit and injustice are there unknown.

60. *Laboriosa nec cohors Ulyssei.*] Horace excludes from the Fortunate Isles the companions of Ulysses, because they were imprudent, and altogether slaves to their passions. It is for this reason that he says in the second epistle of his first book,

Sirenum voces et Circes pocula nosti:
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors;
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.

64. *Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum.*] The golden age was not immediately followed by that of brass; there was, between these two, an age of silver; but as this last retained a great deal of the golden age, Horace considers them as one.

66. *Vate me.*] For these migrations were scarcely ever made, but by the command of an oracle. Horace therefore here clothes himself with all that authority, and tells the Romans, that they ought to follow his counsel as an undoubted oracle, he having the honour to be one of the priests of Apollo.

ODE XVII.

Horace, in this ode, disavows all that he had written against Canidia; but the manner in which he sings this recantation, renders it far more satirical and provoking than any thing he had thrown out against her. For in

AD CANIDIAM.

Jam jam efficaci do manus scientiæ;
Supplex et oro regna per Proserpinæ,
Per et Dianæ non movenda numina,
Per atque libros carminum valentium
Refixa cœlo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris,
Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.
Movit nepotem Telephus Nereïum,
In quem superbus ordinârat agmina
Mysorum, et in quem tela acuta torserat.
Unxere matres Iliæ addictum feris
Alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,
Postquam relictis mœnibus rex procidit,
Heu, pervicacis ad pedes Achilleï.

ORDO.

Jam jam do manus scientiæ efficaci, et supplex oro per regna Proserpinæ, et per numina Dianæ non movenda, atque per libros carminum valentium devocare sidera refixa cœlo; O Canidia, tandem parce vocibus sacris, retroque solve, solve turbinem citum.

Telephus movit nepotem Nereium, in quem superbus ordinaverat agmina Mysorum, et in quem torserat tela acuta. Matres Iliæ unxere Hectorem homicidam addictum feris alitibus atque canibus, postquam rex, relictis mœnibus, procidit, heu, ad pedes Achillei pervicacis.

NOTES.

1. *Efficaci do manus scientiæ.*] *Dare manus alicui*, to give the hands to any one, is the same as to yield to him, to acknowledge his power; and it is a metaphor taken from the ancient manner of combating, where the vanquished gave his hands to the conqueror to receive his chains, and as a token that he yielded to his discretion. Lucretius, in like manner with Horace, says,

—— *Et, si tibi vera videtur,*
Dede manus,

"And if my reasons appear to you good and "valid, give the hands;" that is, yield, give up the point. Our poet gives to magic the epithet *efficaci;* but it is by way of irony.

4. *Per atque libros.*] In the time of Augustus there were still extant the books of magical secrets; and the poet might refer to a collection of what Zoroaster, Hermes, Democritus, and many others, had written upon that subject.

ODE XVII.

this way of satire and eulogium, there is a great deal more of poignancy, and the impression made is much stronger, than by a professed slandering, or a direct panegyric.

TO CANIDIA.

I SUBMIT, I submit, Canidia, to the power of your art, and humbly pray you by the realms of Proserpine, the majesty of Diana, which it is dangerous to violate, and by those your conjuring books which teach to make the very stars descend, forbear pronouncing your imprecations against me; and turn, O backward turn your magic wheel.

The grandson of Nereus suffered himself to be overcome by the prayers of Telephus, though he proudly led his Mysian troops against him, and charged him with a shower of arrows. After Priam abandoned Troy, and threw himself at the feet of implacable Achilles, a piteous sight! he gave the Trojan dames liberty to embalm the body of Hector, who had killed his friend Patroclus, though he had destined it for a prey to dogs and vultures. *The enchantress* Circe at last consented that the bristles should fall off the skins of

NOTES.

7. *Citumque retro solve turbinem.*] *Turbo* is the same with what was otherwise called *rhombus* after the Greeks. In my judgement it was a kind of wheel made of iron or wood, which sorcerers used in their enchantments. They rolled it up in small leathern thongs, and made it turn round, believing that the motion of this magical wheel had the virtue of raising in men those passions and movements which they wished to inspire. When they had made this wheel turn round after a certain manner, and wanted to correct the effect which it had produced, and make it produce the contrary, they were obliged to make it describe a circle in an opposite direction to that in which it had moved before. This is the reason of Horace's saying, *retro solve turbinem.*

8. *Movit nepotem Telephus Nereium.*] Telephus was the son of Hercules, king of Mysia, and an ally of the Trojans. When the Greeks landed in his kingdom, in their way to Troy, he attacked them vigorously, and slew a great number of them; he was wounded by Achilles in the battle, and as he could find no remedy for his wound, he went and consulted the oracle, who answered, he was to expect his cure from the same iron which had given him the wound. Upon this he applied to Achilles, who caused some of the filings of his lance to be put into the wound, and thus effected his cure.

8. *Nepotem Nereium.*] Achilles was the son of Thetis, who was the daughter of Nereus.

11. *Unxere matres,* &c.] The sense of this passage is very clear, that the Trojan ladies had the liberty to perfume the body of Hector, after Priam had thrown himself at the feet of Achilles, who had resolved to expose it to dogs and vultures. Some, instead of *unxere,* read *luxere;* either word will do.

Setosa duris exuere pellibus
Laboriosi remiges Ulyssei,
Volente Circe, membra: tunc mens, et sonus
Relatus, atque notus in vultus honor.
Dedi satis superque pœnarum tibi,
Amata nautis multùm et institoribus.
Fugit juventas, et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta luridâ:
Tuis capillus albus est odoribus.
Nullum à labore me reclinat otium:
Urget diem nox, et dies noctem; neque est
Levare tenta spiritu præcordia.
Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,
Sabella pectus increpare carmina,
Caputque Marsâ dissilire næniâ.
Quid ampliùs vis? ô mare et terra! ardeo,
Quantùm neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervidâ
Virens in Ætnâ flamma. Tu, donec cinis
Injuriosis aridus ventis ferar,
Cales venenis officina Colchicis.
Quæ finis? aut quod me manet stipendium?
Effare: jussas cum fide pœnas luam,
Paratus expiare, seu poposceris
Centum juvencos, sive mendaci lyrâ
Voles sonari: tu pudica, tu proba,
Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vice,

ORDO.

Remiges laboriosi Ulyssei exuere membra setosa pellibus duris, volente Circe: tunc mens et sonus relatus *est*, atque honor notus in vultus.

O Canidia, multum amata nautis et institoribus, dedi satis superque pœnarum tibi. Juventas fugit, et color verecundus reliquit ossa amicta pelle lurida. Capillus est albus odoribus tuis. Otium nullum reclinat me a labore; nox urget diem, et dies *urget* noctem; neque est levare tenta præcordia spiritu. Ergo *ego* miser vincor ut credam negatum, carmina Sabella increpare pectus, caputque dissilire nænia Marsa.

Quid amplius vis? O mare et terra! ardeo quantum neque Hercules delibutus atro cruore Nessi, nec fervida flamma virens in Ætna Sicana.

Tu cales officina venenis Colchicis, donec *ego* cinis aridus ferar ventis injuriosis. Quæ finis? aut quod stipendium manet me? Effare: cum fide luam pœnas jussas, paratus expiare, seu poposceris centum juvencos, sive voles sonari lyra mendaci: tu pudica, tu proba, sidus aureum perambulabis astra. Castor offensus vice infamis Helenæ, fraterque magni Castoris, *ambo* victi prece, reddidere

NOTES.

15. *Setosa duris exuere pellibus.*] When Circe had transformed the companions of Ulysses, she was prevailed upon by his prayers to restore them to their former shape. Homer says, that they even appeared more beautiful, young, and handsome, than they had been before.

indefatigable Ulysses' crew, whom she had changed into wild boars, and that they should recover their reason, speech, and former features.

Canidia, thou darling of the mariners and traders, much too severely have I smarted for my insolence to thee; my youth has vanished, my blooming colour is gone, and I have nothing left on my brow but a pale withered skin; my head is also covered with grey hairs *before the usual time* by the power of your drugs. Nor can I have the least ease or respite from my pain: neither by day nor by night can I breathe with freedom, even for one moment, to refresh my heaving lungs. Unhappy wretch that I am, I now know too well from experience, what I could not formerly believe, that the *powerful* charms of the Samnites and Marsi discompose the heart and destroy our reason.

What more would you have? O sea and earth! I burn with a fire more violent than that which was kindled in the body of Hercules by the blood of Nessus; nor is the flame that is nourished in the bosom of mount Ætna more furious. Yet thou, forge of Colchic poisons, continuest to glow till I am reduced to ashes, and become the sport of the winds. When will you put an end to my tortures? Or what penalty will you inflict upon me? Speak, I am willing to submit to your determination, and ready to expiate my crime in whatever manner you please.

Do you demand the sacrifice of a hundred oxen? *I will make an offering of them to you.* Or do you rather wish that on my harp, which you call insincere, I should celebrate your virtue and your probity? In a moment you shall have a place among the stars. Castor, and Pollux the brother of the great Castor, though provoked

NOTES.

17. *Tunc mens, et sonus relatus.*] In saying that the companions of Ulysses were restored to the use of their reason and understanding, Horace differs from Homer, who assures us, that notwithstanding their metamorphosis, they continued to preserve their reason.

23. *Tuis capillus albus est odoribus.*] Horace's hair was of a white colour, as he informs us himself in the last epistle of his first book. And he attributes this very pleasantly here to the drugs which Canidia had made use of in her enchantments, which magical drugs he, by way of irony, calls *odores*.

32. *Sicana.*] The Sicanians were the natural inhabitants of Sicily, descended from the Lestrygones by Sicanus, whence they had their name. They were originally the same with the Sicilians, from whom they were distinguished only by their name, and the place of their abode. They possessed the southern and western coasts of the island. The historian Timeus, who was of Sicily, and lived under Agathocles, treats of the fable which Thucydides advances, that the Sicanians came originally from the neighbourhood of the river Sicanus, and a city called Sicana, in Spain.

35. *Cales venenis officina.*] The expression, *cales officina*, is in a peculiar manner worthy of our notice. It is the same as if he had said, she was a shop of poisons. Porphyrion has very well remarked, *Ipsam Canidiam officinam venenorum diserte dixit.*

42. *Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vice.*] Stesichorus had satirised Helen in some verses; and afterwards losing his sight, imagined that Castor and Pollux had punished him in

Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
Ademta vati reddidere lumina.
Et tu (potes nam) solve me dementiâ,
O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
Nec in sepulcris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare pulveres!
Tibi hospitale pectus, et puræ manus;
Tuusque venter partumeius; et tuo
Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
Utcunque fortis exsilis puerpera.

ORDO.

vati lumina ademta. Et tu (nam potes) solve me dementia, *O Canidia*, nec obsoleta sordibus paternis, nec anus prudens dissipare novendiales pulveres pauperum, in sepulcris! Pectus hospitale, et puræ manus, *sunt* tibi; venterque tuus *est* partumeius; et obstetrix lavit pannos rubros tuo cruore, utcunque exsilis fortis puerpera.

NOTES.

this manner, to revenge the injury done to their sister; and indeed he was right in his conjecture; for no sooner had he satisfied Helen by singing a recantation, than those two gods, being appeased, restored to him the use of his sight. Plato has preserved this piece of history to us; and to him we are also obliged for the beginning of this recantation.

46. *O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus.*] The old scholiast remarks, that they used the expression *obsoletus sordibus paternis*, of children born in adultery. If this be so, Horace here reproaches Canidia, that she owed her birth to the most criminal kind of commerce.

47. *Nec in sepulcris pauperum.*] The old scholiast has very well remarked, that Horace speaks here only of the sepulchres of the poor, because those of the rich were commonly enclosed with walls, and guarded with great care; by which means they were not exposed to the insolence of the sorcerers. Virgil says,

Quem circum lapidum lævi de marmore formas
Conserit.

by the injury offered to their sister Helen, yet had the goodness to pardon the poet who had defamed her, and, prevailed on by his prayers, restored him to his sight, of which he had been deprived. Follow their example, and, as nothing is impossible to you, let me *soon* recover the use of my reason. *This I beg of you, Canidia,* who art not stained by a mean and sordid birth, nor art one of those wicked sorceresses who disturb the ashes of the poor nine days after they are dead. You have a heart sensible to pity, and hands that were never polluted *with blood;* you are fruitful, and fill the world with children, in bearing of which you suffer no diminution of your strength.

NOTES.

And Suetonius, in the life of Nero, *Denique bustum ejus consepiri, nisi humili levique materia, neglexit.*

48. *Novendiales dissipare pulveres.*] Servius has given an excellent explication of this passage, in his remarks upon the verses of the fifth book of the Æneid,

Præterea si nona diem mortalibus almum
Extulerit.

Apud majores (says he) *ubi quis fuisset extinctus, ad domum suam referebatur; unde est,*

Sedibus hunc refer ante suis, et conde sepulchro.

Et illic septem erat diebus, octavo incendebatur, nono sepeliebatur; unde Horatius, novendiales dissipare pulveres: unde etiam ludi qui in honorem mortuorum celebrantur, novendiales dicuntur. "Among our forefathers, "when any one died, he was carried to his "own house, where he was kept seven days; "on the eighth he was burned, and on the "ninth interred. This is the reason of Ho- "race's using the expression, *novendiales* "*dissipare pulveres;* and the public shows, "which were instituted in honour of the "dead, were also called *novendiales.*" Horace, therefore, could not have reproached Canidia in a severer manner, than by telling her that she had the insolence to go and disturb the ashes of the dead the same day they were interred, and at a time when it was customary to pay them the highest respect.

52. *Fortis.*] Horace says that her *accouchemens* or deliveries had not in the least diminished her strength, to make us understand that they were but feigned. Every word is full of satire and raillery.

CANIDIÆ RESPONSIO.

The ridicule of this answer consists in this, that Canidia takes in a literal sense all that Horace had said, and declares that her resentment against

QUID obseratis auribus fundis preces?
Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.
Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis?
Et Esquilini pontifex venefici
Impunè ut urbem nomine implêris meo?
Quid proderit ditâsse Pelignas anus
Velociusve miscuisse toxicum,
Si tardiora fata te votis manent?
Ingrata misero vita ducenda est, in hoc,
Novis ut usque suppetas doloribus.
Optat quietem Pelopis infidus pater,
Egens benignæ Tantalus semper dapis;
Optat Prometheus obligatus aliti;
Optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
In monte saxum: sed vetant leges Jovis.
Voles modò altis desilire turribus,
Modò ense pectus Norico recludere;
Frustraque vincla gutturi innectes tuo,
Fastidiosâ tristis ægrimoniâ.

ORDO.

Quid fundis preces auribus obseratis? Neptunus hibernus non tundit saxa surdiora nudis navitis alto salo.

Ut tu inultus riseris Cotyttia vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis? Et *tanquam* pontifex Esquilini venefici, ut impune impleveris urbem nomine meo?

Quid proderit ditavisse anus Pelignas, miscuisseve toxicum velocius, si fata tardiora votis manent te?

Vita ingrata ducenda est *tibi* misero, in hoc, ut usque suppetas doloribus novis. Tantalus infidus pater Pelopis, semper egens benignæ dapis, optat quietem; Prometheus obligatus aliti optat *quietem*; Sisyphus optat collocare saxum in supremo monte: sed leges Jovis vetant. *Sic tu* modo voles desilire turribus altis; modo recludere pectus ense Norico; tristisque ægrimonia fastidiosa, frustra innectes vincula gutturi tuo.

NOTES.

55. *Neptunus alto tundit hibernus.*] Here is another instance of an epithet taken from the circumstance of time, and applied to the person. *Neptunus hibernus tundit*, for *Neptunus tundit hiberno tempore.*

56. *Ut tu riseris Cotyttia.*] Cotys, or Cotytto, was a goddess, whose worship first began in Thrace, passed into Phrygia, and thence into Greece. She was the goddess of impurity and debauchery. She did not pro-

CANIDIA'S ANSWER.

him proceeded from his having divulged all her magical secrets, and the ceremonies practised by sorcerers in their nocturnal meetings.

WHY do you lose time in making supplications to me who will not hear them? Rocks, battered by the stormy billows of a winter sea, are not more insensible to the cries of the shipwrecked mariners.

Do you expect to escape unpunished, after having ridiculed and divulged the ceremonies of Cotytto, and the mysteries sacred to Cupid? And, as if you were the grand pontiff, *do you think to sit judge* of all the enchantments I exercise on the Esquiline mount, and expose me as a jest to all Rome, and I not resent it?

What will it avail you to have enriched all the Pelignian sorceresses, and to have composed the most ready and efficacious poisons, if you cannot prevent my prolonging your days beyond what you would wish?

Unhappy wretch! you must live even against your will, to suffer from day to day new torments. Tantalus, the perfidious father of Pelops, who always pines with a desire after the provisions which surround and fly from him, earnestly desires, *as well as you*, some respite: Prometheus, given as a prey to the vulture, longs to be delivered from it; and Sisyphus is earnest to rest on the top of the mountain the fatal stone *which he has rolled for so many ages:* but the decrees of Jupiter forbid. You, *in like manner*, wasted by an insupportable melancholy, shall sometimes attempt to throw yourself headlong from a lofty tower, sometimes to plunge a dagger into your breast, and sometimes to strangle yourself with a cord; but all in vain; *for death will refuse to come to your assistance.* Then

NOTES.

perly preside over the assemblies of the sorcerers; but as there were great irregularities and much licentiousness committed in these meetings, Horace, by a very severe stroke of satire, makes Canidia herself give them the name of *Cotyttia*.

58. *Et Esquilini pontifex venefici.*] This verse is somewhat difficult; to understand it properly, we must call to mind that the grand pontiff was arbiter and judge of all that concerned religion. Festus says, *Maximus Pontifex dicitur, quod maximus rerum, quæ ad sacra et religiones pertinent, judex sit, vindexque contumaciæ privatorum magistratuumque.* In this verse of Horace the word *tanquam* must be supplied.

60. *Pelignas anus.*] The Peligni were neighbours to the Marsi; all that country was full of sorcerers and sorceresses. Horace had made use of their aid to oppose their enchantments to those of Canidia, and thus deliver himself from them.

65. *Optat quietem.*] In the prayers addressed by Horace to Canidia, he endeavours

Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eques;
Meæque terra cedet insolentiæ.
An quæ movere cereas imagines,
(Ut ipse nôsti curiosus) et polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possum meis,
Possum crematos excitare mortuos,
Desiderîque temperare poculum;
Plorem artis in te nil agentis exitum?

ORDO.

Tunc ego eques vectabor humeris inimicis; terraque cedet insolentiæ meæ.

An ego plorem *ergo* artis nil agentis exitum in te, quæ possum movere imagines cereas, (ut ipse curiosus nôsti), et vocibus meis deripere lunam polo, *quæ* possum excitare mortuos crematos, poculumque desiderii temperare?

NOTES.

to move her by some examples of mildness and good-nature which he lays before her; and in the answer Canidia makes, she shows him, by some examples of a contrary nature, that he is to expect no favour from her. For, says she, Tantalus, Prometheus, Sisyphus, and many more unhappy wretches, wish, as well as you, to be delivered from their torments; but this is a favour they can by no means obtain from the gods.

74. *Vectabor humeris tunc ego.*] *Vectari humeris alicujus*, was a phrase very familiar to the Greeks and Romans, and meant the same as to triumph over any one, to reduce him to servitude; and in this they imitated the Hebrews, who used, in the same sense, *inequitare capiti alicujus*.

75. *Meæque terra cedet insolentiæ.*] She means, that she will render Horace so unhappy, as to become a dreadful example to

shall I have the pleasure of avenging myself of my enemies, and triumphing over them, and the whole earth shall submit to my irresistible power.

Do you imagine, poor mortal, that I who (as you yourself, led by your curiosity, have seen) can give motion to figures of wax, call down the moon from heaven by the force of my incantations, and re-animate the ashes of the dead; that I, who know so well to compose a potion of love *from whose influence none can be exempt*, shall have the mortification to see my art baffled, and have no effect upon you?

NOTES.

all men, and that the whole earth shall be thereby made to acknowledge her power. *Insolentia*, here, is a power which nothing can resist, which never had an equal.

79. *Possum crematos excitare mortuos.*] She adds *crematos*, the better to show her power and strength; for, to raise up a dead body was within the sphere of the meanest sorcerer, but to re-animate a body that had been reduced to ashes, required an extraordinary power, like that of Canidia.

81. *Plorem artis in te nil agentis exitum?*] It would be almost an endless task to read all that interpreters have said upon this verse, who have changed it after twenty different ways, without determining the true sense of it. *Plorem artis*, &c. word for word, "I "should have cause to lament on account of "my art, if it were not successful against "thee." We must either supply *causa* or *ergo;* as in Virgil,

Justitiæne prius mirer, belline laborum?

"Shall I admire you most on account of "your justice, or your glorious achieve-"ments?"

QUINTI HORATII FLACCI

CARMEN SECULARE.

This poem was produced by order of Augustus, in the year of the city 736. It is in all respects the master-piece of Horace, and I question whether antiquity can furnish us with any thing so finished and complete. *Carmen Seculare*, says Julius Scaliger, *doctum, plenum, tersum, laboratum*. But in order to understand it thoroughly, and read it with pleasure, it is absolutely necessary to be acquainted with the origin, and all the ceremonies, of those secular games for which it was composed. The Romans had a very great veneration for the Sibylline oracles, of which the Decemviri, afterwards the Quindecimviri, were keepers. When any signal misfortune happened to the republic, the senate commanded the Decemviri to consult these writings. The Decemviri religiously executed the order, and made their report to the senate, who decreed sacrifices and ceremonies.

In these sacred writings there was one famous prophecy to this effect: that if the Romans, at the beginning of every age, should hold solemn games in the Campus Martius, to the honour of Pluto, Proserpine, Juno, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and the Parcæ, or Three Fatal Sisters, their city should ever flourish, and all nations be subjected to their dominion. They were very ready to obey the oracle, and in all ceremonies used on that occasion, conformed themselves to its direction. The whole manner of the solemnity was as follows: In the first place the heralds received orders to make an invitation to the whole world to come to a feast which they had never seen before, and should never see again. Some few days before the beginning of the games, the Quindecimviri, taking their seats in the Capitol, and in the Palatine temple, distributed among the people purifying compositions, as flambeaux, brimstone, and sulphur. Hence the people passed on to Diana's

HORACE'S

SECULAR POEM.

temple on the Aventine mountain, carrying wheat, barley, and beans, as offerings; and after this they spent whole nights in devotion to the Destinies. At length, when the time of the games actually arrived, which continued three days and three nights, the people assembled in the Campus Martius, and sacrificed to Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Latona, Diana, the Parcæ, Ceres, Pluto, and Proserpine. On the first night of the feast, the emperor, accompanied by the Quindecimviri, commanded three altars to be raised on the bank of the Tiber, which they sprinkled with the blood of three lambs, and then proceeded to burn the offerings and the victims. After this, they marked out a space which served for a theatre, being illuminated with an innumerable multitude of flambeaux and fires; here they sang certain hymns composed on this occasion, and celebrated all kinds of sports. On the day after, when they had been at the Capitol to offer the victims, they returned to the Campus Martius, and held sports to the honour of Apollo and Diana. This lasted till the next day, when the noble matrons, at the hour appointed by the oracle, went to the Capitol to sing hymns to Jupiter. On the third day, twenty-seven young boys, and as many girls, sang, in the temple of Palatine Apollo, hymns and verses in Greek and Latin, to recommend the city to the protection of those deities, whom they designed particularly to honour by their sacrifices. The present poem was written for this last day. Before it was sung, Horace wrote two odes to exhort the choral officiators to acquit themselves well in the part they were to act, and to entreat Apollo to hear their prayers, and do honour to his verse. The first is the twelfth of Book first, and the other the sixth of Book fourth. Horace was at this time in the forty-ninth year of his age.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

PHŒBE, sylvarumque potens Diana,
Lucidum cœli decus, ô colendi
Semper, et culti, date quæ precamur
Tempore sacro;
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus,
Virgines lectas puerosque castos,
Dîs, quibus septem placuere colles,
Dicere carmen.

Chorus Puerorum.

Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas, aliusque et idem
Nasceris, possis nihil urbe Româ
Visere majus.

ORDO.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

O Phœbe, Dianaque potens sylvarum, lucidum decus cœli, ô semper colendi et culti, date quæ precamur tempore sacro; quo versus Sibyllini monuere virgines lectas, puerosque castos, dicere carmen Diis, quibus septem colles placuere.

Chorus Puerorum.

O alme Sol, qui promis et celas diem curru nitido, aliusque et idem nasceris, possis visere nil majus urbe Roma.

NOTES.

1. *Phœbe, sylvarumque potens Diana.*] These hymns which were sung on the third day, began always with an invocation of Apollo and Diana, because they were sung in their temple. Apollo and Diana were *Averrunci*, gods who averted calamities, whence they were addressed in these hymns.

4. *Tempore sacro.*] He calls this a sacred time, not only on account of the feasts and sacrifices which were made to the gods, but chiefly because the Romans had a particular veneration for the beginning of the age, which always happened in the beginning of the twenty-third *lustrum*, and of the sixth Roman period, which consisted of twenty-two years, at which time the year recommenced with the sun, and the first day of the *lustrum* was found to be the same with that on which the *lustra* had been instituted. This time was to them therefore truly sacred.

5. *Quo Sibyllini monuere versus.*] The ancient books of the Sibyls, which were bought by Tarquin the Proud, were burned in the time of Sylla. Yet there were others of their inspired writings, or at least copies or extracts of them, (collected in Greece and other parts, upon a special search made by order of the senate,) which were kept with the same care as the former. The writings became so numerous, and were so filled with

The Chorus of Youths and Virgins.

PHŒBUS, and thou Diana, guardian of the woods, bright ornaments of heaven, *powerful deities*, who always will be adored, and always have been, grant us what we ask on this solemn occasion, when, by the order of the Sibyls, two choirs of select virgins and chaste youths sing new songs to the tutelar gods of our *city erected on* seven hills.

The Chorus of Youths.

Gracious Sun, who, *when you appear* in your bright chariot, give us day, and *by your absence* deprive us of it; who, at your rising, seem always different, and yet the same, may you no where *in your whole course* behold a greater *or more flourishing* city than Rome.

NOTES.

superstition and falsehood, that Augustus, to put a stop to the folly and madness of the people, who gave readily into all their novelties, was obliged to make a select collection. He ordered above two thousand volumes to be burned, and retained only such as bore the true character of the Sibyls. He enclosed them in two coffers of gold, and placed them under the pedestal of the statue of Palatine Apollo. These are the books of which Horace here speaks, and which he calls verses, because they were written in hexameters.

6. *Virgines lectas puerosque castos.*] They were children of the first quality: and it was required that they should have both father and mother alive. For this reason they were called, by the Romans, *Patrimi Matrimi*. This scruple proceeded from the aversion they had to every thing they thought unlucky, or a bad augury; and as they were persuaded that Apollo and Diana were the causes of all the deaths which happened, they thought it criminal to present a child whose father or mother they had killed.

9. *Alme Sol.*] The god whom he had before called Phœbus, here he calls Sol, and Apollo in the thirty-fourth verse; for Apollo, Phœbus, and the Sun, have been always looked upon as the same god, although in certain respects different functions are frequently attributed to them; but the reason of Horace's changing the name is, that it was a superstitious custom among the heathens, in their hymns, to give the gods all their different names, for fear of omitting any thing that might be more agreeable. In this piece the boys call the son of Latona, *Phœbe, Alme Sol, Apollo, Augur, decorus arcu, acceptus novem Camenis;* and the girls call the sister of this god *Ilithyia, Lucina, Genitalis, Siderum Regina, Diana*, and *Luna*.

10. *Aliusque et idem nasceris.*] It is impossible that any thing should be more happily expressed, or serve more admirably to denote the property of the day, which, indeed, is in appearance always the same, although, by the motion of the sun, days different in number are constituted; for the present day is not the same with the preceding; and thus it is that months and years are made up.

Chorus Puellarum.

Ritè maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres;
Sive tù Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.
Diva, producas sobolem; Patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Feminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege maritâ.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos,
Ter die claro, totiesque gratâ
Nocte frequentes.

ORDO.

Chorus Puellarum.

O Ilithyia, rite lenis aperire partus maturos, tuere matres, sive tu probas vocari Lucina, seu Genitalis. O Diva, producas sobolem, prosperesque decreta Patrum super feminis jugandis, legeque marita feraci prolis novæ.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

Ut orbis certus per decies undenos annos referat cantus, ludosque frequentes ter die claro,

NOTES.

13. *Ritè maturos aperire partus lenis Ilithyia.*] The goddess Ilithyia is the same with Diana, who presided over women in childbed, and was adored under the names of Lucina, Ilithyia, and Genitalis. See Ode twenty-second, Book third. *Ilithyia lenis aperire*, for *Ilithyia quæ leniter aperis.*

15. *Sive tu Lucina probas vocari.*] This is taken from the solemn custom of invocations, in which, out of fear that they might not address the gods by the names they were best pleased with, it was usual to say, "Or "whether you rather choose to be addressed "by such and such a name;" or, as Catullus says to Diana, *Sis quocunque tenuta nomine.*

17. *Patrumque prosperes decreta.*] He says *decreta patrum*, because, when the prince wished to enact a law, he spoke of it to the senate, and if the senate found the thing just, it was proposed to the people, whose suffrages were indispensably requisite before it could be established as a law.

18. *Super jugandis feminis.*] Horace speaks here rather of women than men, because he addresses Ilithyia, or the Moon, who had a particular care of married women, as Apollo had of the men. Moreover, the law of which mention is here made, chiefly favoured the women; for, among other articles, it was permitted, that not only the commons, but even the patricians, the senators only excepted, might espouse freed-women, or the daughters of freed-women.

19. *Prolisque novæ feraci lege maritâ.*] Theodorus Marcilius, Torrentius, and M. Le

The Chorus of Virgins.

Good Ilithyia, who presidest over births, whether thou art pleased to be called by the name of Lucina, or that of Genitalis, take care of our teeming dames. Kind goddess, give a numerous offspring *to the Romans,* and bless the decree of the senate in favour of marriage, which we hope will prove a fruitful supply of subjects to the state.

The Chorus of Youths and Virgins.

May the stated revolution of one hundred and ten years renew these songs and these solemn games, which we celebrate *with so much pomp and devotion* three bright days and three agreeable

NOTES.

Fevre, have very well remarked, that *lex marita* is not here the same with *lex Julia Poppæa* (Augustus not publishing this law till towards the end of his reign, seventeen years after Horace's death), but *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus.* This law was enacted by Augustus a few months before Horace composed this poem; and the poet took care not to omit a circumstance so proper to enter into a hymn addressed to the gods for the prosperity of the empire, as this law was expressly made to promote and encourage marriage, the source of life.

21. *Certus undenos decies per annos.*] This is the true reading, and not *certus ut denos*, &c. for the secular games were not celebrated at the end of every hundred years, as some learned men have imagined, but at the end of every hundred and ten years, *undenos decies per annos.* This appears by the law itself, to which they owe their rise, I mean, by the Sibylline oracle, which begins with these words; "When an age, which is the "longest measure of the life of man, and "which takes in the space of a hundred and "ten years,———" This may be farther evinced by observing the different periods in which these games were celebrated.

The first were held in the year of the city 297, under the consulship of M. Valerius and Sp. Virginius; the second in 407, when Valerius Corvinus and Petilius were consuls; the third in 517, under the consulship of Lentulus and Varus; the fourth in 627, in the consulate of Emilius Lepidus and Aurelius Orestes; and the fifth, which were under Augustus, were held in 736, Furnius and Silanus being consuls.

Any one that will be at the trouble to compute, will find that there have always been about one hundred and ten years between every two times of celebration; and this could not happen otherwise, because it was always at the beginning of the twenty-third lustrum, as I have already taken notice on the fourth verse. The successors of Augustus did not observe this space of time in the celebration of these games, which were entirely abolished under Constantine and Constantius. And Zosimus makes no scruple to attribute the fall of the Roman empire to this omission.

23. *Ter die claro, totiesque gratâ.*] The secular games continued three days and three nights. Besides that the number three was mysterious, I farther imagine that this institution had an allusion to the triplicity of Phœbus, of Diana, and the Destinies.

Vosque veraces cecinisse Parcæ,
Quod semel dictum est, stabilisque rerum
Terminus servet, bona jam peractis
Jungite fata.
Fertilis frugum pecorisque tellus
Spiceâ donet Cererem coronâ;
Nutriant fetus et aquæ salubres,
Et Jovis auræ.

Chorus Puerorum.

Condito mitis placidusque telo,
Supplices audi pueros, Apollo:

Chorus Puellarum.

Siderum regina bicornis audi,
Luna, puellas.

ORDO.

totiesque grata nocte. Vosque Parcæ veraces cecinisse quod semel dictum est, stabilisque terminus rerum servet, jungite fata bona *fatis* jam peractis. Tellus fertilis frugum pecorisque donet Cererem corona spicea; et aquæ salubres et auræ Jovis nutriant fetus.

Chorus Puerorum.

O Apollo, mitis placidusque audi pueros supplices, condito telo:

Chorus Puellarum.

O Luna bicornis, regina siderum, audi puellas.

NOTES.

25. *Vosque veraces cecinisse Parcæ.*] After Ilithyia, or Diana, who presides over women in childbed, Horace addresses the Destinies, because they assisted Diana in this office. The reason is evident. The Sibyls had expressly ordered that sacrifices should be offered to them the first night. *Nox quando supervenerit, sole abscondente suam lucem, sacrificato omnium generatricibus Parcis agnos et capras.*

26. *Quod semel dictum est, stabilisque.*] This passage is very difficult, nor is what interpreters have said upon it at all satisfactory. What appears to me most reasonable is this; *Quod semel dictum est,* is a periphrasis to express truth itself, which is always unchangeably the same. Instead therefore of saying, that the prophecies and decrees of the Destinies are irrevocable, he says, "That they "sing truly what is never said but once;" that is, what they sing is invariable, and subject to no change. Cicero says of Cæsar in much the same manner; *Eum facile exoravi, Cæsar, tum semel exorari soles;* that is, when he once granted a pardon, there was no ground to apprehend that he would change his mind; and it was not necessary to apply to him a second time for the same favour. *Quod semel dictum est,* is properly the same with *fatum constans irrevocabile.* For the laws of Providence have been but once made and proclaimed, nor are they capable of change.

29. *Fertilis frugum.*] These four lines are incomparable: and, in them the poet gives an admirable description of what in Ode fifth, Book fourth, he calls *alma faustitas,* which is the bounty of the gods. The first two

nights. And ye fatal Sisters, whose prophecies are ever true, and whose decrees, always irrevocable, never fail to have the effect that ye designed, add happy times to those ye have had the goodness already to grant us; that the earth, abounding with fruits and cattle, may present Ceres with a crown of *golden* ears of corn, and that the tender brood of our herds may have wholesome water to drink, and a temperate air to breathe in.

The Chorus of Youths.

Apollo, be so good and gracious as to sheathe your *deadly* arrows, *unbend your bow*, and vouchsafe to hear the desires of thy suppliant youths.

The Chorus of Virgins.

Diana, queen of the stars, who appearest beautiful with thy crescent, favourably hear *the prayers of* thy virgins.

NOTES.

verses are to ward off famine, and the two others to ward off the plague and mortality: and this was what they usually desired of the gods in the secular poems. It is for the same reason that in Ode twenty-first, Book first, Horace says to the choral youths and virgins,

Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem,
Pestemque, à populo et principe Cæsare, in
Persas atque Britannos
Vestrâ motus aget prece.

31. *Nutriant fetus.*] The petitions Horace puts up here, that the earth may offer to Ceres a crown of the ears of corn, that wholesome waters and a salutary air may nourish the young of the flocks, and make them grow, put it beyond all question that these secular games of Augustus were celebrated according to ancient custom during the feasts called *Palilia*, about the end of April.

33. *Condito mitis placidusque telo.*] This is imitated from Homer, who says, that when Apollo bends his bow, he sends a contagion. The reader may consult the remarks upon these lines of the tenth ode of Book second,

——*Neque semper arcum*
Tendit Apollo;

And those of Servius upon the 188th verse of the third book of the Æneid,

Corrupto cœli tractu.

The prayer of Horace to Apollo ought to be explained according to this sentiment; for, in any other sense, the arrows of that god are far from being dangerous; on the contrary, they often bring safety and health into the places where they come; which contrariety is owing to this, that a contagion is sometimes occasioned by an excessive moistness in the air, and this last is dissipated by the sun.

35. *Audi, Luna, puellas.*] Care has been taken to distinguish the two choruses, and to mark when they speak together, and when they speak one after the other; for the choruses were separated by the express command of the oracle; "Let the virgins make a distinct chorus by themselves, and the youths another." This distinction adds great light to the poem.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliæque
Litus Etruscum tenuere turmæ,
Jussa pars mutare lares et urbem
Sospite cursu;
Cui per ardentem sine fraude Trojam
Castus Æneas patriæ superstes
Liberum munivit iter, daturus
Plura relictis;
Dî probos mores docili juventæ,
Dî senectuti placidæ quietem,
Romulæ genti date remque, prolemque,
Et decus omne.
Quique vos bobus veneratur albis,
Clarus Anchisæ Venerisque sanguis,
Imperet bellante prior, jacentem
Lenis in hostem.
Jam mari terrâque manus potentes
Medus, Albanasque timet secures:
Jam Scythæ responsa petunt, superbi
Nuper et Indi.
Jam fides, et pax, et honor, pudorque
Priscus, et neglecta redire virtus
Audet; apparetque beata pleno
Copia cornu.

ORDO.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

Si Roma est vestrum opus, turmæque Iliæ tenuere litus Etruscum sospite cursu, pars jussa mutare lares et urbem, cui castus Æneas, superstes patriæ, sine fraude munivit iter liberum per ardentem Trojam, daturus plura relictis; Dii date mores probos juventæ docili, Dii *date* quietem placidæ senectuti, remque, prolemque, et omne decus Romulæ genti. Clarusque sanguis Anchisæ Venerisque, qui veneratur vos albis bobus, imperet prior *hoste* bellante, lenis in hostem jacentem. Jam Medus marique terraque timet manus potentes, securesque Albanas: jam Scythæ et Indi nuper superbi petunt responsa. Jam fides, et pax, et honor, pudorque priscus, et virtus neglecta audet redire; Copiaque apparet beata pleno cornu.

NOTES.

37. *Roma si vestrum est opus.*] Rome may be said to be the work of Apollo, because it was a colony of Troy, of which Apollo was the founder, and because the Trojans settled in Italy, and founded Rome, by his express order.

41. *Cui per ardentem sine fraude Trojam.*] Servius explains this passage in his remarks upon the first book of the Æneid, and says, that Horace here adds the words *sine fraude*, to vindicate Æneas from the reproach cast upon him, of betraying his country to save himself. But that learned grammarian is certainly very much deceived. Horace was too wise and discreet to renew in the minds of his countrymen a suspicion of that nature

The Chorus of Youths and Virgins.

Powerful deities, as Rome is the work of your hands; as, in obedience to your oracles, the Trojan troops landed on the Tuscan shore, under the conduct of pious Æneas, who brought them safely through the flames of Troy, to put them in possession of an empire more flourishing than that which they had left, inspire our docile youth with virtuous principles. Grant to our aged a *retired and* pleasing rest, and to the Romans in general a numerous offspring with riches and honour.

Above all, ye gods, may our great prince, the illustrious descendant of Venus and Anchises, who now offers on your altars a sacrifice of white bulls, *ever* reign over us, triumphing over his enemies, *and* pardoning those who submit to his mercy. The Mede is already alarmed at our power by sea and land, and dreads the Roman arms. The Scythians, and Indians, who were but lately *so very* haughty, now obey our orders with entire submission. Now sincerity, and peace, and honour, ancient modesty, and virtue long neglected, dare show their heads again; and rich Plenty pours on us her rich store from her bountiful horn.

NOTES.

upon so solemn an occasion as this. He knew very well that such an excuse would have been far from satisfying Augustus, and that to please him he must seem ignorant that any such crime had ever been imputed to Æneas. *Sine fraude* is the same as *sine noxa, sine damno flammæ*, without sustaining any injury from the flames, as in Ode nineteenth, Book second,

Nodo coerces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines.

45. *Di probos mores docili juventæ.*] These four lines appear to me admirable, and full of a decorum and comeliness that can never be enough commended. What we ought chiefly to beg of heaven for the youth, is probity and good manners; for old age, quiet and repose; but as for what we commonly call glory and prosperity, or a flourishing state, this should be asked for the people in general, and the whole empire.

49. *Quique vos bobus veneratur albis.*] It appears, by this passage, that at the singing this hymn the emperor was present in person, and offered a sacrifice of white bulls to Apollo, Diana, and Jupiter; the ceremony concluded with the sacrifice and singing of this hymn. The emperor was at the head of the Quindecimviri who offered this sacrifice; or we may rather suppose that he was himself one of the *Quindecimviri*, as is evident from a medal, where may be seen the head of this prince, with these words, *Augustus Tr. Pot. VII.* and on the reverse a pillar, with this inscription, *Imp. Cæs. Aug. Lud. Sac.* on the right and left of the pillar, *XV. S. F.* that is, *Quindecimviris sacris faciundis.*

54. *Albanas secures.*] The Roman power. Rome, which was at first a colony of Alba, afterwards gave law to that city. Tullus Hostilius caused it to be destroyed, transferring the inhabitants to Rome, and incorporating the nobles with the senate.

57. *Pudor priscus.*] The laws established by Augustus for the celebration of these secular games, furnished a striking example of his attention to the regulation of manners. According to Suetonius, he forbade the youth of either sex to appear at these nocturnal ceremonies, unless accompanied by one of their parents, who might have a close eye over them, and be responsible for their con-

Chorus Puerorum.

Augur, et fulgente decorus arcu
Phœbus, acceptusque novem Camenis,
Qui salutari levat arte fessos
Corporis artus;
Si Palatinas videt æquus arces,
Remque Romanam. Latiumque felix,
Alterum in lustrum, meliusque semper
Proroget ævum.

Chorus Puellarum.

Quæque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
Quindecim Diana preces virorum
Curet, et votis puerorum amicas
Applicet aures.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

Hæc Jovem sentire, Deosque cunctos,
Spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
Doctus et Phœbi chorus et Dianæ
Dicere laudes.

ORDO.

Chorus Puerorum.

Oramus, ut Phœbus augur, et decorus arcu fulgente, acceptusque novem Camenis, qui arte salutari levat fessos artus corporis, si æquus videt arces Palatinas, proroget remque Romanam, Latiumque felix, in alterum lustrum, ævumque semper melius.

Chorus Puellarum.

Dianaque, quæ tenet Aventinum Algidumque, curet preces quindecim virorum, et applicet aures amicas votis puerorum.

Chorus Puerorum et Puellarum.

Ego chorus, doctus dicere laudes Phœbi et Dianæ, reporto domum spem bonam certamque, Jovem cunctosque Deos sentire hæc.

NOTES.

duct. But the poet had moreover in his eye the laws enacted by Augustus in the preceding year, *de pudicitia, de maritandis ordinibus*, &c.

65. *Si Palatinas videt æquus arces.*] Horace says here *Palatinas arces*, because this hymn was sung in the temple of Palatine Apollo, which had been consecrated to him by Augustus.

67. *Alterum in lustrum.*] *Lustrum* is here the same with *ævum* in the following verse. *Alterum in lustrum, to the coming of another age.* For the age began with the twenty-third lustrum, which was the most solemn of all. Martial for this reason calls it *ingens lustrum* in the first epigram of his fourth book.

67. *Meliusque semper proroget ævum.*] This is taken from the form of prayer used on these occasions, *Ut Dii populi Romani res majores amplioresque facerent.*

69. *Aventinum.*] Aventinus, the third

The Chorus of Youths.

May Phœbus, the god of auguries, who, graced with a shining bow, is so agreeable to the nine Muses, and, by his salutary art, raises the languid, *and renews their strength,* if with a favourable eye he views these stately buildings of mount Palatine, *where we adore his divinity,* preserve the empire in this flourishing state to another age, and, *if it is possible,* add from age to age something to its grandeur!

The Chorus of Virgins.

And thou, Diana, who art adored on *the sacred hills of* Aventine *and* Algidus, hear the prayers of the fifteen priests, and give a gracious ear to the requests of these youths.

The Chorus of Youths and Virgins.

We, who have been chosen and taught thus to sing the praises of Phœbus and Diana on this solemn festival, return home with assured hope that Jupiter, and all the other gods *whom we have invoked,* will grant *to the empire* all the favours we have requested of them.

NOTES.

king of Alba, and successor of Romulus Silvius, gave his name to the mountain in which he was interred, and which was afterwards enclosed within the walls of Rome. The Tiber watered the foot of this mountain, which was separated from the rest by a marsh. Some pretend that the Latin name of this mountain came from the Sabines, who brought it with them to Rome, to preserve the name of the province they had quitted, which was called *Aventinus Pagus,* from the river Avens running through it.

70. *Quindecim virorum.*] The oracles of the Sibyls which concerned the Roman empire, were anciently put in a coffer, deposited under ground in the Capitol, and committed to the care of two priests, who were called *Duumviri Sacrorum.* Their principal employment was to consult these books in the pressing exigencies of the state, which was to be done only by the express order of the senate. In 388, eight more were added to the first two, and afterwards the number was increased by Sylla to fifteen. The Capitol being burnt in 671, these books of the Sibyls perished in the flames. Sylla rebuilt the Capitol, and the senate sent three deputies into Ionia, to collect all that they could of the writings of the Sibyls. These were preserved with the same veneration as the former till the time of Honorius, under whom they were burnt by Stilico at the command of that emperor.

74. *Spem bonam certamque.*] The hope here spoken of was this, that these games had been celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and with formalities exactly agreeable to the command of the oracle; for it was on these conditions the Sibyl had promised that the Roman empire should always flourish.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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